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MYTHOLOGY AND MONUMENTS
OF
ANCIENT ATHENS

Pausanias.

MYTHOLOGY & MONUMENTS

OF

ANCIENT ATHENS

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BEING A TRANSLATION OF A PORTION OF THE
'ATTICA' OF PAUSANIAS

BY

MARGARET DE G. VERRALL

WITH INTRODUCTORY ESSAY AND ARCHÆOLOGICAL
COMMENTARY

BY

JANE E. HARRISON

AUTHOR OF
MYTHS OF THE ODYSSEY,' 'INTRODUCTORY STUDIES IN GREEK ART,' ETC.

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TO

THOSE WHO HAVE TAUGHT ME

I DEDICATE

THIS BOOK

J. E. H.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA

Page xlvi, line 31—For ' Stamatovu*ric*' read ' Stamatovu*ni*.'

Page cxxxviii, line 23—For ' tradition and *coinage*' read ' tradition and *cultus*.'

Page 441, line 20—' I believe him to be the symbol of Poseidon's spring. This idea was suggested to me by Mr. Cecil Smith. The arguments in support of it will be stated by him in a paper shortly to appear in the *Jahrbuch*.

Page 444 and *passim*—For ' Cephis*s*us' read the earlier form ' Cephis*u*s.'

Page 517, line 10—After ' do ' read ' so.'

NOTE 1.—The map of Athens is taken in part from Dr. Baumgarten's *Rundgang durch Athen*, but with many alterations and additions ; the plan of the Dipylon from the Guide Joanne, *Athènes* ; the plan of the theatre from Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, but with the addition of the orchestra.

NOTE 2.—Inscriptions are facsimiled only when they appear in the plates.

PREFACE

I HAVE tried by the title chosen to express the exact purport of my book. Its object is, first and foremost, to elucidate the Mythology of Athens, and with this intent I have examined its Monuments, taking Pausanias as a guide.

I am anxious to make this clear, because to produce an adequate archæological edition even of one book of Pausanias would have been in some respects beyond my scope. Such an archæological commentary would demand a scholar who should be at once philologist, topographer, epigraphist, architect, as well as mythologist and mythographist. My competence, at first hand, is confined to the last two branches of classical learning.

My work as regards the other departments has been rather to weigh the opinions of others than to originate my own. The Commentary is addressed, not to the professional archæologist, but to the student, whose needs I have constantly borne in mind. On the other hand, in the Mythological Essay I venture to hope the specialist may find material worthy of his criticism.

As regards this Essay, I have laid special stress on three points, the first of which at least may be somewhat novel to the English reader :—

First, I have dealt specially with vase-paintings as *sources*. The study of vase-paintings at all, so long seriously pursued

by German archæologists, is new among us. Even abroad their study *as sources* is in its infancy. We are accustomed to turn to the pages of epic poets and tragedians as evidence for the date of a myth; we make little use of the contemporary and sometimes prior sources of art, and specially ceramography. The use of vase-paintings *as sources* is, I admit, beset with difficulties. It does not do, because a myth has not appeared on a vase-painting of the fifth century B.C., to conclude off-hand that the myth was not current at the time. To employ their evidence at all, the mythologist must have a thorough knowledge of ceramography in general, of the principles of typography, and the conditions under which it developed. All this is not learnt in a day. To employ a vase haphazard as an illustration is for any scientific purpose often worse than useless. In the matter of suggestion, in raising problems in the mythologist's mind which from literary versions might never have occurred, lies, I think, their chief scientific value. This I hope to have abundantly shown in the myths of Triptolemos, of Procne and Philomela, of Prokris and Kephalos.

Second, I have tried, in dealing with literary sources, to distinguish with the greatest care early and late versions, and to disentangle the often almost hopelessly intricate web that logographers and Latin poets have woven for us. In our Lemprière or our Smith a myth is given in its final form, always as a connected story, with occasional references to Homer, Sophocles, Ovid, Hyginus, as if they were all authorities of equal value and contemporaneous date. No attempt is made to arrive at primitive form and trace its development, to formulate and eliminate constantly-recurring factors, to detect Roman "contaminatio," to trace in the modification of myth either the political purpose of the statesman or the personal *tendency* of a Euripides or a Pindar. In fact, mythology is treated as if it were a crystallised form, almost

a dogma, instead of the most vital and pliable of human growths.

Third, I have tried everywhere to get at, where possible, the cult as the explanation of the legend. My belief is that in many, even in the large majority of cases *ritual practice misunderstood* explains the elaboration of myth. I hope to have given salient instances of this in the myths of Erichthonios, of Aletis, and of Kephalos. Some of the loveliest stories the Greeks have left us will be seen to have taken their rise, not in poetic imagination, but in primitive, often savage, and, I think, always *practical* ritual. In this matter—in regarding the myth-making Greek as a practical savage rather than a poet or philosopher—I follow, *quam longo intervallo*, in the steps of Eusebius, Lobeck, Mannhardt, and Mr. Andrew Lang. The *nomina numina* method I have utterly discarded —first, because I am no philologist; and second, because, whatever partial success may await it in the future, a method so long over-driven may well lie by for a time. That I have been unable, except for occasional illustration, to apply to my examination of cults the comparative method is matter of deep regret to me, and is due to lack of time, not lack of conviction. I may perhaps be allowed to ask that my present attempts be only taken as *prolegomena* to a more systematic study.

I have attempted the examination of Athenian *local* cults only. It may surprise some that in an essay on such a subject no place is given to Athene. The reason is simply this—Athene was not the object of a merely *local* cult, as Cecrops was. She reigned at Athens as one of the orthodox Olympian hierarchy—nay, more, there is constant and abundant evidence of her forcible propagandist entrance, of her suppression of Poseidon, her affiliation of Erechtheus. Any examination of Athene's mythology would include the Homeric system, and be of far wider scope than the analysis of a local cult. Athene

is mentioned in her place on the Acropolis, just as Dionysos is treated of in his temples and theatre, Asklepios in his hieron. My rule throughout has been to examine the stranger gods only as they occur in the text of Pausanias, and to reserve all thorough investigation of *local* mythology for the Essay. In this matter of the distinction between popular *local* cults with their endless diversity and the orthodox and ultimately dominant Olympian hierarchy I should be ungrateful if I did not acknowledge my deep debt to Sir Charles Lyall's fascinating *Asiatic Studies*, a book that shows a marvellous insight into the "tangled jungle" of classic polytheism. The twelve orthodox Olympian gods have so imposed themselves upon our modern imagination that it is perhaps only those who, like Sir Charles Lyall in India, have watched mythology in the making who can realise a classical world peopled, not by the stately and plastic figures of Zeus, Hera, Artemis, Apollo, Athene, and Hephaistos, but by a motley gathering of demi-gods and deified saints, household gods, tribal gods, local gods, and can note how these live on as an undercurrent even after the regular hierarchy, with its fixed attributes and definite departments, has been superimposed by some dominant system.

With respect to the Commentary, my definitely mythological purpose will, I hope, explain some apparent inconsistencies. My aim has been to discuss in full detail every topographical point that could bear upon mythology, and, for the sake of completeness, to touch, but very briefly, on such non-mythological monuments as were either noted by Pausanias or certainly existed in his day. Many points, which at first may seem irrelevant to my purpose, turn out on closer examination to have a definite mythological significance. For example, the circuit of the Thucydidean walls and the precinct of the Pelasgikon might seem to be purely topographical; but their limits once understood, a flood of light is thrown on the significance of the Areopagus cults and the double legend of the

grave of Œdipus. The "Enneakrounos episode" might seem mere matter of contention for topographer and linguistic scholar; but, sever the Enneakrounos from the Areopagus, and we rob the Eleusinion of half its meaning, and make mere nonsense of one form of the legend of Oreithyia. So, again, with sculpture. What has mythology to do with the lovely grave reliefs, the human family groups of the Hagia Trias? This—as I have tried to show—that the very form and grouping of those figures that seem merely human has its root and ground in mythology.

I had intended to devote a chapter to the bibliography of the subject. Space has failed me, and happily the appearance of two important works on the subject renders such a labour superfluous. If the student will supply himself with the second augmented edition of E. Hübner's *Bibliographie der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft* (Berlin, 1889), which has just appeared, he will have before him the whole *apparatus* of his subject. Specially valuable will be the historical summary of the progress of classical studies in ancient times, dealing, as it does, with matters such as the scholia on the various authors, the lexicographers, and Byzantine scholarship. All the editions of fragments, lexicons, and remoter authors are carefully noted. Moreover—a great merit in the eyes of the English student—a list is given of all foreign academies, institutes, etc., and full reference to all monographs appearing in the various periodicals issued by them. In the department devoted to the fine arts a complete list is given of books and monographs, not only on architecture, sculpture, and painting, but on figured mythology, vase-paintings, terracottas, and the like. In the department of mythology I have only one important addition to make. J. Toepffer's *Attische Genealogie* appeared just too late for me to avail myself of his investigations. I am glad to find that in the one or two

matters in which, since going to press, I have been able to refer to his book, our views on some mythological points agree. I can only regret that I was unable to support these views, which I could only hazard as plausible conjecture, by the vast stores of learning at his command. I commend his book especially to students, because it carries the investigation a step farther than my limits allowed, and by a scrutiny of the lineage of sacred families links mythology and history.

For those who desire a more detailed guide, Iwan Müller's great *Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthumswissenschaft* is now fast approaching completeness. The section by Dr. Lölling on the "Topographie von Athen" reached me midway in my work, and to it I am much indebted. The sections on "Nachklassische Litteratur" and on "Griechische und Lateinische Lexicographie" should also be consulted. So much of our knowledge of Athenian antiquities, both as regards mythology and topography, is based on the various lexicons of Harpocration, Hesychius, Suidas, the author of the *Etymologicum Magnum*, and the like, themselves compilers from earlier authorities, that some notion of the sources from which they borrowed and of their mutual relation is necessary to their just appreciation as authorities. In the *Handbuch* will also be found full information as to the life, works, and personal *tendency* of the various mythographers, such as Apollodorus and Hyginus, to whom constant reference is made.

It is by a thorough acquaintance with the ancient bibliography of the subject that we come to our fullest appreciation of Pausanias himself. To the student who has lamented the loss of such writers as Polemon and Heliodorus, who is wearied and confused by the vague and often palpably ignorant and second-hand statements of scholiasts and lexicographers, our own periegetes, whose guide-book has been preserved in its entirety, and who was an eye-witness of what he describes, comes as a veritable godsend. I say advisedly eye-witness,

though certain modern critics seem to hold that Pausanias was, as J. C. Scaliger said, "omnium Graeculorum mendacissimum." I have read carefully all the attacks upon my author by Dr. Wilamowitz (*Hermes*, xii. 346) and by Dr. A. Kalkmann (*Pausanias der Perieget*, 1886). The controversy is one which can only fairly be waged in relation to the whole periegesis, and therefore is beside my province.

I feel bound, however, to record my own conviction that the narrative of Pausanias is no instance of "Reise Romantik," but the careful, conscientious, and in some parts amusing and quite original narrative of a *bona-fide* traveller. If Pausanias did read his Polemon before he started, and when he got back to his study in Asia Minor posted up his notes by the help of the last mythological handbook, what educated man would do less? Moreover, was the second century A.D. an age of exact and minute reference to authorities? In those days, when the weekly papers were not, all the learning of the past was the free and happy hunting-ground of the original writer of the present. Even to-day, which of us, in writing our reminiscences of Athens, not for the specialist but for the general educated public, might not permissibly refresh our memories by a glance at our Murray or our Baedeker? who would be extreme to confess precisely what ignorance or haste had left unnoted on the spot, or how many lines were written in to veil a discreditable mental lacuna? And if, nearly two thousand years ago, he did the same, is it any reason why we should pillory Pausanias before the literary world, and call him a "Dutzendmensch ohne Originalität"? In the face of recent excavations, which everywhere, save in the most trivial details, confirm the narrative of Pausanias, such criticism proves nothing but that there is a vast amount of energy and learned ingenuity out of work.

Setting controversy aside, a word must be said as to the character of the narrative of Pausanias. This is best under-

stood by remembering the date at which he wrote. Born, probably, during the last years of Hadrian's rule, he lived during the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-160 A.D.) and part of that of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 A.D.)—*i.e.*, his whole life falls during the quiet times of the good emperors.

These were days of peace for Greece, and of a certain well-assured, if somewhat stagnant, material prosperity. Hadrian, as we shall constantly see, tried to revive for Athens her faded glory. He restored old temples, built new ones, erected libraries, gymnasia, baths, watercourses. He supplied anew all the outside apparatus of a vigorous city life, but he could not stay the progress of that death which is from within. Accordingly this prosperous period of the reign of Hadrian has the irony of a magnificence purely external. Greece endured to the full the last ignominy of greatness, she became the fashion of the vulgar. Pausanias, of course, did not feel the pathos of this situation. Perhaps no contemporary thinker could have stood sufficiently aloof to see how hollow was this Neo-Attic revival.

Anyhow, Pausanias was not the man to feel these larger issues of things; he was essentially an antiquarian, and only by parenthesis either politician and patriot. Such a man is, as we might expect, diligent always in the collection of facts, curious in inquiry into recondite detail, prolix often in narration, intelligent sometimes with that depressing form of intellect to which all things are interesting, which is hungry for facts rather than their significance, against whose mental horizon all things are ranged in a somewhat dreary level of flatness, unrelieved by the perspective of a personal point of view.

With respect, however, to two of his characteristics Pausanias is not only a man characteristic of his times, but he also betrays a personal bias. As these two characteristics influence considerably the way in which I propose to treat his narrative, I must note them distinctly.

First, Pausanias, when politics engage him, is distinctly *imperial* in tone. An anonymous translator of the last century hits the mark, I think, when he says that Pausanias has, with "consummate accuracy and diligence" in every part of Greece, given an account of "the mutations of empires and the illustrious transactions of kings." This imperial bias of Pausanias leads him into wearisome and well-nigh interminable digressions. If Pyrrhus, if Attalus, if Antigonus are mentioned ever so casually, Pausanias is off at a tangent into pages of eulogistic narration. We must do him the justice to say he returns to his starting-point; but the mythologist, after following the migrations of the Gauls over half a continent or the adventures of Ptolemy through a lifetime, retraces his steps jaded and weary. Whenever, therefore, Pausanias thus indulges his love for the "illustrious transactions of kings," I have decided to omit the digression entirely, or, if interesting in connection with the context, briefly to note its contents. I am aware that this proceeding will be viewed by many with suspicion, but from my point of view it is, I think, justifiable. My object in bringing this book of Pausanias before the general reader is not in the least to make him known as a writer, it is rather that he may help to make Athens and the Athenian people known to us; hence, when he digresses to tell the fortunes of foreigners and barbarians, because his story is no longer serviceable to my purpose, I omit or curtail it.

Thus far I may seem, though I will not impugn his veracity, to have but slight reverence for my author. It may occur perhaps to some reader to ask—"Why select for purposes of strictly popular utility an author with so little to recommend him? Why follow this old-world cicerone at all if his footsteps are halting and devious?" I answer in the first place that the intellectual shortcomings of Pausanias constitute also in a sense his peculiar merit. A more able man might often

have been a less trustworthy guide. If we are conscious, on the one hand, that in the view taken by Pausanias of the monuments of Greece there is a certain want of perspective, a lack of grouping, an inability to see the relative proportion of things, we feel at least that we get our facts undistorted by the medium of a powerful personality, untinged by any colouring of formative theory.

But Pausanias has another peculiar and positive merit which makes him for my purpose a desirable guide. I mean his marked *antiquarian* bias.

In this matter, as in others, we have Pausanias at his worst in the *Attica*. It is unfortunate that on the most difficult portion of his work he had to try his 'prentice hand; he is manifestly ill at ease, and oppressed by the burden of impending material, nor has he yet quite felt his way to his own proper manner. Still, in the *Attica*, as throughout, be his faults and shortcomings what they may, with Pausanias we feel that—for us mythologists—his heart is in the right place; for that which is archaic, quaint, obsolete, whether in art or custom, he cherishes a special affection. When a priest will tell him a half-forgotten local legend or divulge a secret ceremony, when he lights upon a rude shapeless xoanon, the object of some lingering barbarian cult—these are his happy moments. An age of scepticism will always cherish and admire the rude symbols of a primitive faith; an urbane and effete civilisation delights to contemplate the customs of the rustic barbarian. We cannot call Pausanias a sceptic, he everywhere expresses a reverent belief in his country's gods and heroes; but his faith is not simple and spontaneous, it is of the protesting, deprecating, consciously conservative sort. When we become *interested* in the gods, when we study the minutiæ of their worship and recount their variant legends, the days of love and fear are long since over and gone. So it is also with art. Pausanias loves to linger over the strange images wrought

by Daedalus and his fellows, and yet we somehow feel it is not that he is attracted by their real inherent merit, by their straight simplicity, their direct truth, their plain unconsciousness, rather it is because they are odd, grotesque, and out of the way, because they serve as material for recondite exposition.

The motives, however, of the antiquarian curiosity concern us little, the fact is all-important. In our quest of knowledge concerning the mind of Greece it is above all things necessary we should study the beginnings of their religious thought, get as near to the fountain-head as we may. Early art, early custom betrays itself with a naïve and childlike unconsciousness; as yet it knows and fears not the critic; it utters itself clearly in its own mother tongue touched with the lingering provincialism that is soon to be silenced by the growing habit of cosmopolitan speech. Therefore the record of primitive custom, the description of archaic works of art in which Pausanias is constantly diligent, is for us supremely valuable. In this matter I shall follow and even outstrip his guidance. I shall pass with scant notice all temples, buildings, statues of the decadence, be they ever so showy and spacious; I shall be sparing in details of Roman architecture and topography —let those discuss them to whom they are dear—but wherever Pausanias stops to tell some early legend, or to describe the rude image of some primitive faith, we will stop with him. Because my object is not all Hellas, but, so far as it can be separated, Athens only, I shall stop longest where the shrine is of some *indigenous* Attic worship, but no early cult shall pass unnoticed. Athens welcomed within her hospitable walls many a foreign cult; whatever she received we shall not disallow.

The task before me is touched with inevitable sadness. The record we have to read is the record of what we have lost. That loss, but for Pausanias, we should never have realised. He and he only gives us the real live picture of what the art of ancient Athens was. Even the well-furnished

classical scholar pictures the Acropolis as a stately hill approached by the Propylaea, crowned by the austere beauty of the Parthenon, and adds to his picture perhaps the remembrance of some manner of Erechtheion, a vision of colourless marble, of awe, restraint, severe selection. Only Pausanias tells him of the colour and life, the realism, the quaintness, the forest of votive statues, the gold, the ivory, the bronze, the paintings on the walls, the golden lamps, the brazen palm tree, the strange old Hermes hidden in myrtle leaves, the ancient stone on which Silenus sat, the smoke-grimed images of Athene, Diitrephes all pierced with arrows, Kleoitas with his silver nails, the heroes peeping from the Trojan horse, Anacreon singing in his cups; all these, if we would picture the truth and not our own imaginations, we must learn of, and learn of from Pausanias.

But if the record of our loss is a sad one, it has its meed of sober joy; it is the record also of what—if it be even a little—in these latter days we have refound.

The translation of the text of Pausanias is throughout by Mrs. Verrall. Her responsibility begins and ends there, and with the appended critical notes. But though she is answerable for no mistakes in the Archæological Commentary or Introductory Essay, I should like to say here how much I owe to her for her constant kindness in the tedious and arduous task of revising proofs and verifying references, and also to Mr. Verrall for his frequent aid in the discussion of difficulties of textual interpretation, a matter which archæology can never safely disregard.

With regard to the vexed question of the spelling of proper names, the general principle adopted has been that of retaining the more familiar Latin forms in the case of the better known names, but using the Greek spelling wherever it could be used

without a shock to literary associations. It seemed equally inappropriate to write Korinth and Asclepius. But where so uncertain a standard has been adopted as the presumed familiarity of the reader, there will be many disputable decisions, and the only inconsistency I have endeavoured to avoid has been that of spelling the same name in various ways.

In the matter of illustrations, I owe special thanks to Mr. Kabbadias, General Ephor of Antiquities at Athens, for his most kind permission to reproduce the coloured plan of the Acropolis immediately after its appearance, and I take this opportunity of thanking him for the constant facilities he afforded me for study while at Athens. Professor Percy Gardner has kindly allowed me to make free use of the numismatic commentary which, conjointly with Dr. Imhoof Blumner, he has published in the *Hellenic Journal*; and the Council of the Hellenic Society have allowed the reproduction of the numismatic and several other plates. My frequent obligations to foreign and other publications are, I hope, fully stated in the notes. I am indebted to many friends for the original photographs, which they have either made expressly for this book or allowed me to make use of; to Mr. Peveril Turnbull for the illustrations on pp. 108, 228, 347, 367, 387, 389, 405, and 416, and for his unwearied help given me at Athens in the reproducing and verification of inscriptions; to Mr. J. S. Furley for the views on pp. 19 and 20. Section xii. also owes to him the beautiful view of the Epidaurus theatre (p. 294) and the general views on pp. 272 and 286, and to Mr. Elsey Smith those on pp. 272, 277, and 284. I have only to regret that, owing to the unavoidable reduction of size, these views give but an inadequate notion of the clearness and detail of the originals. The same should be said of the views, kindly taken for me this spring by Mr. Walter Leaf (pp. 349, 354, and 404), of the south-west side of the Acropolis, the Pelasgian

wall near the Propylaea, and the precinct of Artemis Brauronia, all of which are of special value, as they represent the result of recent excavations.

Finally, to Dr. Dörpfeld I owe a double debt. During the spring of 1888 I had the privilege of attending his lectures at Athens on the Dionysiac theatre, the "Theseion" and Pnyx, and the successive temples at Eleusis. Up to that time the study of topography had been to me a weary and most distasteful necessity; then, and not till then, I began to realise its close and intimate relation to my own special study, and I saw with constantly increasing clearness that the juxtaposition of shrines and cults must be a constant factor in the interpretation of both ritual and myth. With a rare generosity Dr. Dörpfeld has allowed me to make use of many of his as yet unpublished views, which are acknowledged in their place in the Commentary, and lastly, has, with the most patient kindness, gone through the whole of my proofs, a task, I must fear, rendered trebly irksome by a foreign idiom, the unscientific nature of my book, and the heavy pressure of professional duties. This revision has not only saved me from numbers of minor topographical and architectural blunders, but has added many important suggestions, which are in part incorporated in the Commentary, in part printed as addenda to the various sections. On one important point only—respecting the newly discovered temple on the Acropolis—I have felt obliged to maintain an opinion directly contrary to his. I can only say that it is this portion of my book I send forth with the greatest misgiving.

For my double debt I can offer to Dr. Dörpfeld no adequate thanks.

JANE E. HARRISON.

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THE MYTHOLOGY OF ATHENIAN LOCAL CULTS

PAUSANIAS was himself as well aware as any modern mythologist that, in dealing with Attic genealogies, his material was of questionable authenticity. In speaking of the parentage of Eleusis (i. 38, 7) he goes to the root of the difficulty. "The ancient Eleusinians," he says, "when they have nothing to go upon for their genealogies, think it well to invent fresh ones, and especially in the genealogies of heroes." The descent of gods was of course matter for more reverent tradition.

In recounting such genealogies as were related to him, Pausanias exercised a for us unfortunate discrimination. He ends his account of the wrestling of Theseus and Kerkyon with this remark: "Such are, according to my view, the most noteworthy things to be seen and heard of among the Athenians, and from the outset in my discourse I have selected from many matters what seemed to me to be appropriate to history." We should have preferred to be ourselves the judges of what was "appropriate," but we must take our author as we find him. His account of the earliest Attic kings will be found in Book i. 2, 6 (p. 6). My genealogical table is based on the account of Pausanias, but supplemented when needful by details from Hellanicus, Apollodorus, etc., which will be noted in their place. For convenience it is given in full on page xxii., and taken section by section in the text.

TABLE OF ATTIC GENEALOGY

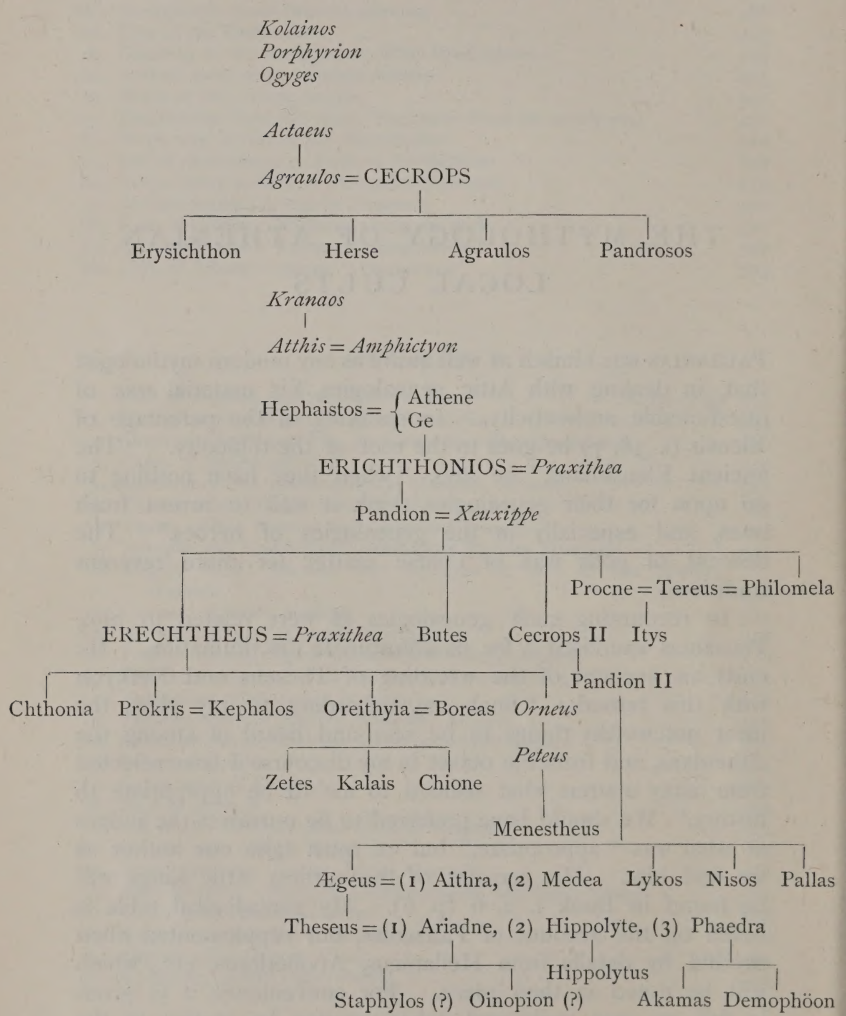
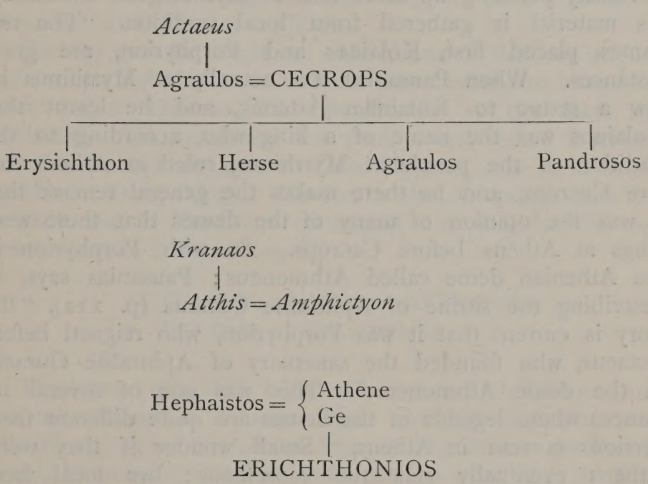


TABLE OF ATTIC GENEALOGY (SEC. I.)

Kolainos, P., i. 31.
Porphyrion, P., i. 14.
Ogyges, Hellanicus, Fr. 62.



In treating of mythological genealogies, it is of the utmost importance to distinguish between actual mythological personalities — *i.e.*, names about whom popular legends have gathered, and with whose traditions ritual practice is associated —and names which are in fact mere mythological dummies, put in either to account for the name of a place or to weld together the actual personalities. In the genealogy just given the dummy names are printed in italics; they can very briefly be despatched before the actual personalities are discussed in detail. Often, as will be seen, the real mytho-

logical personage of one local cult becomes the dummy name of another.

It has been usual to speak of the complex mythological genealogies as due to the ingenuity of Alexandrian or Athenian grammarians. The *Bibliotheca* of the Athenian Apollodorus, who lived in the second century B.C., is one of the main sources of Attic genealogy; but it must never be forgotten that, except where the grammarian is obviously patching up some rent in mythological continuity, his material is gathered from local tradition. The two names placed first, Kolainos and Porphyrion, are good instances. When Pausanias was actually at Myrrhinus he saw a statue to Kolainian Artemis, and he learnt that Kolainos was the name of a king who, according to the tradition of the people at Myrrhinus, ruled at Athens before Cecrops, and he there makes the general remark that it was the opinion of many of the demes that there were kings at Athens before Cecrops. So with Porphyrion in the Athenian deme called Athmoneus; Pausanias says, in describing the shrine of Aphrodite Ourania (p. 112), "the story is current that it was Porphyrion, who reigned before Actaeus, who founded the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in the deme Athmoneus." This was one of several instances where legends in the demes are quite different from versions current in Athens. Small wonder if they were. Athens eventually gets the supremacy; her local hero Cecrops must henceforth begin the line, with perhaps allowance made for Actaeus, but only that Cecrops may have a wife of kingly descent. Athens might reign supreme, but she could not make Athmoneus forget Porphyrion or Myrrhinus Kolainos. Had but Pausanias troubled to tell us, no doubt many another deme quietly cherished the remembrance of many another local hero. They dared not interfere with the orthodox genealogy after the civilised Cecrops; they could only seek a place for their heroes in the dark ages before. And here it should be noted that though Porphyrion and Kolainos are printed in italics as dummy names, it is not to be supposed they were so in their own local cults; it is only in Athenian genealogy that

they are shadow kings. It is the same with Ogyges; in his reign tradition said the great flood came, but here is an obvious interpolation of Thessalian legend. The mythological sense recognised that Ogyges and the flood story were not Attic, for though Hellanicus carefully dates him at 1796 B.C., it is universally allowed that a long interval elapsed before the coming of the really indigenous king Cecrops. With Cecrops—according to Apollodorus, first king of Athens—the real live mythology of Athens begins; he is a person in art as well as in literary tradition.

Cecrops gave his name not only to one of the four original Attic tribes, but also to one of the later twelve; to him, as to some earlier Theseus, the consolidation of the State was attributed. He numbered the people, established marriage, and first erected an altar to Zeus Hypatos, and forbade the sacrifice of living things. He was to the Athenians their first civilised man. Tradition connected him closely with two great events in Attic history—

1. The strife of Athene and Poseidon.
2. The birth of Erichthonios.

The legend of a strife between two gods for a favoured city was not confined to Athens. Hera and Poseidon, Pausanias tells (ii. 15, 5), contended for Argos. The ancient dwellers in Argos, Phoroneus, Cephisus and Asterion were, like old King Cecrops, arbitrators in the strife; they, like Cecrops, adjudged the prize to the goddess, and Poseidon in his vengeance took away their water from the city. The manner of the strife at Athens is always the same; the rival gods show their σημεῖα, their tokens; it is only the manner of arbitration that differs; sometimes it is Cecrops, sometimes the Athenians who decide by vote, later, probably, when the Olympian system got the upper hand, it is the twelve orthodox Olympian gods. The rise of such a story seems easy enough: a queer crooked olive tree, too strangely shaped to be quite of natural growth, and near to it a brackish spring and an odd mark on a rock that might be a trident; these, with the rival worships of Athene and Poseidon, were enough material in a myth-making

age. One point, however, deserves notice; there is, so far as I know, no trace of the myth earlier than Herodotus. May it not have been one of those invented, or at least emphasized, quite late to exalt the glory of Athene? Had the myth been popular in early days, it could scarcely have escaped representation in black and early red-figured days; it is at least remarkable that the only representation we have (p. 442) is of very late Attic work. There is nothing in the nature of the myth to forbid its representation in the earliest art; the figures of Athene and Poseidon were ready to hand, the combat scheme abundantly prepared. On a fine black-figured vase in the Cabinet des Médailles of the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fig. 1) Athene and Poseidon appear together, but after a fashion that does not suggest the thought of warfare. Poseidon (ΠΟϟΕΙΔΟΝ) holds his trident; a controversy is possible, but if it exists it is strictly peaceable. The vase is signed with the potter's name; "Amasis made me" (ΑΜΑϟΙϟ ΜΕΠΟΙΕϟΕΝ) runs down the length of Poseidon's trident. Athene (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ), full armed, uplifts her left hand. The vase is of the very finest and most delicate black-figured style, and may probably be dated about the end of the sixth century. Archaic art, which delighted to tell the strange story of Athene's birth, knew nothing of the second act in the drama, the contest for Athens.

Cecrops was connected with the strife as arbitrator, but the link is a loose one. The event was placed—probably by late grammarians—in his reign with a view to providing it with an early date. His connection with the birth of Erichthonios is far more intimate and vital. The whole legend is of the utmost interest, because it affords a most curious and satisfactory instance of ætiological myth-making of a special kind, of a legend that has arisen out of a ritual practice, the original meaning of which had become obscured. Apollodorus (iii. 14, 6) tells the story in full. Briefly it was this. Erichthonios was said by some to be the son of Atthis and Kranaos, by others of Athene and Hephaistos. According to this—the more prevalent—form, Hephaistos loved Athene, but Athene, maiden goddess as she was, rejected him. Gaia (the earth), in place of Athene, became the mother of the child of

Hephaistos, Erichthonios. When the child was grown to be a boy, Gaia delivered him up to the tendance of Athene. Athene placed him in a chest or wicker basket, and gave him to the three daughters of Cecrops — Herse, Agraulos, Pandrosos—with orders not to open the chest. The two sisters, Herse and Agraulos, overcome by curiosity, opened the chest, and saw the child with a snake coiled about him. Some

FIG. 1.—AMASIS VASE: ATHENE AND POSEIDON (BIBLIOTHÈQUE NATIONALE, PARIS).

said they were destroyed by the snake, others that, fearing the wrath of Athene, they cast themselves down from the Acropolis.

It is at once apparent that the story is composed of two factors easily separable — the *birth of the child from the earth*, and the quite distinct factor of the *opening of the chest*. The story of the birth is easily understood. The eponymous hero of the Athenians was Erichthonios, who,

it will be seen later, was no other than Poseidon himself: the Athenians were Erechtheidae, but also autochthonous; hence Erichthonios must be earth-born. At the same time, it was necessary, when the worship of Athene became dominant, that he should be linked in the closest manner with the goddess. The Greek mind did not lend itself to any notion of immaculate conception. Hephaistos was worshipped in conjunction with Athene, therefore his fatherhood offered fewest difficulties. But in days when Athene

FIG. 2.—TERRA-COTTA: BIRTH OF ERICHTHONIOS (BERLIN MUSEUM).

had developed into her ultimate aspect of Parthenos, it was necessary that she should resist marriage; all these conflicting interests were reconciled by the motherhood of Gaia. This satisfactory version of the story was, I imagine, only recently formulated when Euripides wrote his *Ion*. The persistence with which he makes his characters recite the creed has the flavour of recent conviction (Eur., *Ion*, 269):—

> "And did Athene uplift him from the earth?
> Yes, in her maiden hands, she did not bear him."

Euripides certainly manifests a new-found joy in the story, but he did not invent it. Art was before him, and indeed his words read as if he had some art representation before his very

FIG. 3.—CYLIX: BIRTH OF ERICHTHONIOS (BERLIN MUSEUM).

eyes. A small archaic terra-cotta (fig. 2) in the Berlin Museum is, I believe, the earliest "source" for the birth of Erichthonios. Out of the earth itself rises half-way the figure of the Earth-

Mother. Athene stretches out her arms to take the child. Close at hand is old Cecrops, half man half snake, to show his earth-born nature; but for all his snake tail he is a decorous and civilised king. He wears a neat chiton, and holds an olive twig in his right hand; his left is raised to his lips as though to touch them to a sacred silence. The terra-cotta was found at Athens, "a votive offering of some Athenian," like the group that stood at the door of Ion's tent (Eur., *Ion*, 1163). The idea of this terra-cotta is very simple; it merely expresses the fact that Erichthonios is earth-born, that Athene receives him as her foster-son in the presence of Cecrops. Its date must be early in the fifth century B.C.

The next monument (fig. 3), a vase-painting (Berlin Cat., 2537), is later in date by some half-century, but still earlier than Euripides; it gives a fuller version. The main group on the obverse of the vase repeats the terra-cotta type, with only such graceful variations as the freer hand of the artist suggested. The tail of Cecrops falls in laxer spirals; in place of the reverent silence gesture he holds a fold of his fuller chiton in the right hand; Gaia rises up higher from the earth; Athene wears no helmet, she has hitched her ægis round to the back, slight touches that mark her as mother now and warrior maiden no more. For mythology the accessory figures are all-important. Hephaistos stands immediately behind Athene; he is not, except as artificer, a common figure on vases, and it does not admit of a doubt that his presence here is evidence that the vase-painter knew the story of his fatherhood. To the depiction of the birth is added the suggestion, not the expression, of the story of the chest. This is most skilfully done: Herse (the last figure on the obverse) comes running up; immediately after her (first to the left on the reverse) Agraulos, then Erechtheus, Pandrosos, the head and shoulders broken away; next, Ægeus; and last, standing still, Pallas. Erechtheus, Ægeus, and Pallas will be noted later. They are kings of later date, and are here, by a pleasant anachronism, interested in the birth of their great ancestor. The artist no doubt wanted some male character to break up the running line of maiden figures. It may possibly be urged, with respect to the three maidens, that they are there simply as spec-

tators with their father Cecrops, that there is no implication of the coming disaster. A careful examination of the gesture of the three maidens does not admit of this explanation. They each, in common with the rest of the figures, have their names clearly inscribed, so that their identity allows of no doubt. Herse and Agraulos run cheerfully up; Pandrosos stands midway between the two kings, her hands extended in manifest deprecation. Pandrosos was the faithful sister, and *as such* the artist is determined to distinguish her; he gains thereby as much in meaning as in composition. The whole vase is a little manual of early Greek mythology; its inside picture, to be noted later, shows Kephalos and Eos.

Apart from its charm as a picture, the vase-painting in question tells us just this much, that in the middle of the fifth century not only was the birth of Erichthonios known, but the story of the faithful and the faithless sisters. Even the simple subject of the birth is, however, a rare one; many vases hitherto explained by reference to Erichthonios are now, since Dr. Robert's discussion of the subject (*Archäologische Märchen*, p. 179), rightly referred to the birth of Dionysos. In deciding whether the type of the woman rising from the ground to present a child represents the birth of Erichthonios or that of Dionysos, the true touchstone is the character of the by-standers. For a certain representation of the birth of Erichthonios the presence of Cecrops is essential. The myth of the birth of Erichthonios was, there is good reason to suppose, invented at the same time as the myth of the contest of Athene and Poseidon. The peculiar purpose it served will be emphasized later.

As to the story of the chest, so far as I know, it appears actually only on one vase (fig. 4), an amphora of rough late style in the British Museum (Cat., E. 418). The subject is unmistakable. On a rude heap of stones—which indicate, no doubt, the scene of the story, the Acropolis—is a sort of box or chest; below lies the wicker lid twined with olive. That it is made of some sort of wicker work—*vimine texta*, as Ovid says—is shown by the cross lines of the drawing. Out of the chest springs the child with uplifted hand, and

to either side is a bearded guardian snake, the δίσσε δράκοντε of Euripides. As to the snakes, the story has unimportant variations; sometimes the child is turned into a snake, sometimes is half snake, half human. If the well-known Brygos cylix (Klein, *Meistersignaturen*, Brygos 1) refers to this myth, the two sisters on that vase are pursued by one huge snake; sometimes, as here, by two. The vase is so late that it is possible the artist may have decided to ensure accuracy by copying Euripides. Athene stands to the left gazing at the mischief done; two figures escape on the opposite side of the vase. The roughness and carelessness of the work is clearly shown by the fact that the two figures

FIG. 4.—AMPHORA: ERICHTHONIOS IN THE CHEST (BRITISH MUSEUM).

are drawn male, not female, wearing the himation only—being, in fact, mere "mantle figures." The artist seems to be copying some more careful original he has only half understood.

This vase-painting brings us no nearer to any explanation of the myth. It was natural enough that a story should be invented to show that the eponymous king was earth-born, and to prove that he was at once son of Earth and fosterling of the goddess Athene. So far so good, but the sequel bears upon it the impress of elaborate ætiology. In the natural course of things, Athene would have taken the new-born child and herself reared him from that time forth in her own temenos. What more could tradition desire? Instead, we

have a childish story that the infant is put in a chest and given out to nurse to three maidens, *who may not open the chest.* Two of the maidens are disobedient, and ultimately Athene has to take the infant herself, as she might as well have done at first. A story so unsatisfactory must have been invented for a cause, and this cause I believe to be simply the mysterious ceremony of the Hersephoria. There is no more fertile source of absurd mythology than *ritual misunderstood.*

Pausanias lets out the secret, though he little guesses it himself. After describing the Erechtheion (p. 482), he comes to the precinct and temple of Pandrosos, the only one of the sisters who was guiltless, as he says, in the matter of the chest. He then proceeds to tell of the surprising ceremony performed by the Arrephoroi, as he calls them—how at the time of the feast the two maidens took upon their heads what the priestess of Athene gave them, neither she nor they knowing what it was; how they went down by a subterranean passage to a precinct not far from that of Aphrodite in the Gardens, there deposited their burdens, and took up something also covered up. Now, with reference to the connection between this ritual and the myth in question, it may be noted—

1. That Pausanias does not actually say the ceremony of the Arrephoroi had to do with Pandrosos, but he mentions the one immediately after the other, so some connection may —if it seem otherwise probable—be implied.

2. He uses the form Arrephoroi, but there is an alternative form, Ἑρσεφόροι (Hersephoroi). The two are thus explained by the scholiast on line 641 of the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes. The Athenian woman, describing her life from girlhood to womanhood, says, "When I was seven years old, then at once I performed the part of an Arrephoros." And the scholiast comments—"Some say, on account of the α, that it is ἀῤῥηφορία, because the maidens carry ἄῤῥητα (things nameless) in chests to the goddess; others, on account of the ε, say it is ἑρσεφορία, for they go in procession in honour of Herse, daughter of Cecrops, as Istros relates." The spelling with an α was tempting, as it at once connected the name with the *mystery*, the *unspeakableness* of the ceremony; but the ε form never died out, even by the side of this plausible etymology,

and this is strong evidence for its originality. Moreover, in the two earliest inscriptions where the word occurs (*C. I. A.*, iii. 318, 319) it is spelt ἑρσηφόροι. So strong has been the feeling that this form was original, that much ingenuity has been expended in finding a plausible meaning. Ἕρση means "dew," and some say the Ἑρσεφόροι are the dew-carriers. Preller (i. 173) speaks confidently—The ceremony is conducted "ohne Zweifel mit Hindeutung auf den nächtlichen Thau und die Erfrischung der schmachtenden Feldfrüchte, denn ἀῤῥηφόροι oder ἑρσηφόροι sind wörtlich Thauträgerinnen." That young maidens clad in white should carry dew-laden boughs would be a pretty enough ceremony, if somewhat unpractical; but if this were all, why the *strict secrecy*? What was the mystery in a dew-laden bough that neither priestess nor child might know, and the discreet Pausanias could not tell? Some countenance is lent to the interpretation of Herse as the dew-goddess, and Hersephoroi as the dew-bearers, by the other sister's name, Pandrosos, if understood as meaning the all-dewy. As a fact, it may be taken as almost certain that the names of both sisters have less poetical significance. The two words, δρόσος and ἔρση, mean not only "dew," but "young things," young animals, lambs, sucking pigs, and the like. Apollo Hersos was worshipped in the cave of Pan at Vari (p. 544), no doubt as god of young things. In the *Agamemnon* (v. 147) Artemis is addressed as the fair goddess who is kind to the uncouth offspring (δρόσοισι) of creatures who are fierce, where the δρόσοι are manifestly in a kind of apposition to the sucklings (φιλόμαστοι) of the next line. I take it, then, for the present that the Hersephoroi may have been the carriers, not of dew-laden boughs, but of very young animals—sucklings.

3. It happens that a scholiast on one of Lucian's dialogues, quoted on p. 102, gives a full account of the ceremony of the Thesmophoria. It consisted of casting pigs into certain chasms, where the flesh was allowed to putrefy. This done, the flesh was taken up, laid on altars, and afterwards sown on the fields as a charm to produce a good crop. The same ceremony, the scholiast says, is called the Arretophoria. Clement of Alexandria (*Protr.* 14, 15) also says that the Thesmophoria,

Skirophoria, and Arrephoria are the same in kind. In the Thesmophoria, as well as the pigs' flesh mysterious sacred objects were in use, made of the dough of wheat, and *in the shape of forms of snakes and men.* The whole gist of a mystery among the Greeks was the handling and transferring of mysterious symbols, among which snakes were frequent.

The exact details of the Arrephoria I do not pretend to reconstruct, but—given that it had a general analogy to the Thesmophoria—the origin of the foolish myth of the child, the chest, and the snake is clear. The maidens of the Hersephoria carried on their heads some objects whose nature was a secret to them. We may suppose that these objects were shut up in *cistae*, something like the olive-crowned cista from which in fig. 4 the child springs up. From the name of the maidens (Hersephoroi), understood as explained above, and from their connection with Pandrosos we may suppose that the objects in question were in part figures (πλάσματα) of young things, among them possibly the figure of a human child. From the analogy to the Thesmophoria there would also be figures of snakes. If any maiden broke the rule she would see within the chest images of snakes and a child; it was most undesirable she should; hence the scare story of the faithless sisters.

4. It is worth noting that the maidens carried their secret burden to a peribolos near the precinct of Aphrodite in the Gardens. Pausanias does not say where or what exactly the precinct was; perhaps he did not know, perhaps he might not tell. The two inscriptions mentioned above give a hint of the manner of cults with which Hersephoroi were connected. In the one (*C. I. A.*, iii. 319) we have Ἑρσηφόροις β. Εἰλιθυία[ς] ἐν Ἄγραις ("To the two Hersephoroi of Eileithyia in Agrae"); in the other, Ἑρσηφόροις β. [Γ]ῆς Θέμιδος ("To the two Hersephoroi of Ge Themis"). Eileithyia, goddess of child-birth; Ge Themis, the great Earth-Mother—the one for human, the other for agrarian fertility. The precinct of Eileithyia could not (p. 210) be very far from the *Gardens*, though this would scarcely be the precinct of Eileithyia *in* Agrae. It seems to me highly probable that to this precinct of Eileithyia near the Gardens the maidens went down.

The gist of the ceremony is now clear enough. The purport of the Thesmophoria was, the scholiast tells, to secure the fertility of the fields, and, he adds, the same ceremony is used to produce the "fruit of the earth and the offspring of men." The Hersephoria was a perfectly practical ceremonial, direct and plain in its symbolism, and intended to be magical in its effect. The girl child, even at the early age of eleven, must propitiate Eileithyia. She must carry on her head to the precinct of the goddess young animals and snake symbols, but she must not know what she is doing. The full-grown woman of the Thesmophoria performs the rite with distinct knowledge of its significance, but the child undergoes this unconscious initiation. No religion worth the name cares to postpone initiation till its ritual is understood. By and by the child would have to dance as a bear before the maiden goddess Artemis (p. 402) on this same Acropolis. With Artemis and Eileithyia to either hand, the Athenian maiden must begin the work of propitiation betimes.

Probably quite early the strictly practical significance of the Hersephoria was lost sight of. The Hersephoroi were thought of as maidens who wore white raiment and wove the peplos for Athene. But the shut chest and the underground ceremony went on as before, and the priestess, who surely did not know the real reason any more than the children, would be keen to invent a story to account for it all. So bit by bit grew up the myth of Erichthonios. It is not often we are fortunate enough to know these ritual details, or many a foolish seeming myth might yield up its practical secret.

Cecrops had a son Erysichthon, but he died before his father. Erysichthon is a shadowy personality, who has manifestly more to do with Delos (p. 186) and the local cult of Prasiae than with Athens. When the worship of the Delian Apollo became popular, Theseus and his ship were associated, as will be seen, with Apolline feasts. Perhaps this did not satisfy the theological imagination. They desired a more primitive association, and so gave Cecrops a son, who dedicated the earliest xoanon at Delos. But he was always a stranger,

an interpolation; and the myth tells that, for he never came to the throne, and died childless.

After Cecrops came, not his son, but Kranaos, an eponymous shadow-name, king of the stony hill country; then a more violent interpolation, that of Amphictyon. Amphictyon is again merely an eponymous shadow-king, the representative of the Delphic Amphictiony. Some called him son of Deucalion and Pyrrha; anyhow, he is no Athenian, and therefore has no son to succeed him. With a certain sense of mythical appropriateness tradition told that in the reign of this foreigner Amphictyon the stranger god Dionysos came to Attica. This story Pausanias alludes to briefly (p. 5), but it is of sufficient importance to be told fully from other sources.

The legends about the introduction of the worship of Dionysos into Attica vary considerably, but on one point they all agree. Dionysos came from without; he came as a wanderer, his godhead unknown, for a while rejected and maltreated, and went from place to place till he was hospitably received at last. This notion of the incognito of a god is common to many tales and many lands. As a wanderer Dionysos is well shown on an archaic terra-cotta (fig. 5) in the museum at Berlin. He is seated side-ways—as every peasant rides now-a-days in Greece—on a mule; in fact, he is half slipping from it, for he is clearly a victim to his own divinity. In his left hand he clasps even in his drunken sleep a thyrsus, in the right his typical wine-cup, the two-handled kantharos. A horse-tailed Satyr, with an anxious crumpled face, dutifully supports his master, and a small slave-boy leads the mule on its way. To ancient Greek thinking, there would be no irreverence in such a picture. No doubt the terra-cotta is an offering, and an acceptable one, to the god himself. The Greek of modern days is no unworthy descendant. Mr. Bent, in his book on the *Cyclades* (p. 373), notes that in Paros "there is a church dedicated to the Drunken St. George. On the 3d of November, the anniversary of St. George's death, the Pariotes usually tap their wine and get drunk; they have a dance and a scene of revelry in front of this church, which is hallowed by the presence of the priests."

As to the story of his entertainment and the subsequent catastrophes, it was connected principally with two names, that of Pegasos of Eleutherae in the days of Amphictyon, and that of Ikarios. The story of Pegasos alluded to by Pausanias

FIG. 5.—TERRA-COTTA: DIONYSOS ON MULE (BERLIN MUSEUM).

(i. 2, 6; p. 5) is semi-Boeotian, and therefore cannot be discussed here. It is told in full detail by the scholiast on the *Acharnians* of Aristophanes (v. 243), and is substantially the same as told of Ikarios. It is valuable to us for the present purpose, as showing that according to one version at

least the worship of Dionysos came from Boeotia by way of the vine-clad slopes of Cithaeron to Athens.

The story of Ikarios, however, is the indigenous Attic myth, and it therefore must be told. The fullest version in some respects is given by the scholiast on Lucian (*Dial. Meretr.* vii. 4). The story was briefly this :—Dionysos was received by Ikarios, and taught him the culture of the vine. Ikarios gave wine to the peasants round about; intoxicated, they thought themselves poisoned and slew Ikarios. Coming to their senses they buried him. His daughter Erigone, guided to the spot by her faithful dog, Maera, hanged herself on the tree above her father's grave. Dionysos sent on the inhabitants of the country a revolting plague; it could only be appeased by the offering to him of the phallos. Further, the death of Erigone had to be appeased. The Athenian maidens all began to try and hang themselves. This madness could only be appeased by the institution of the festival of the Aiora, in which the maidens swung themselves on trees.

It may be taken as a general rule that when a myth relates that a festival was founded because of an occurrence, we have our ætiology the wrong way round. The occurrence is invented to account for the festival, not the festival because of the occurrence. As in the case of the Hersephoria, the Athenians found themselves face to face with certain cultus practices, the origin of which they were perhaps in part ashamed of, in part puzzled by; anyhow, for such practices it seemed reasonable to give some quasi-historical explanation. In the case of the Ikarios myth, a complex one, there were two practices, at first, I imagine, distinct, but which they accounted for by one elaborate story. These were—

1. The sanctity and cultus use of the phallos.
2. The festival of the Aiora.

The cultus use of the phallos is by no means specifically Attic, and needs no comment. About the Aiora a good deal

* The passage is quoted by E. Rohde, *Rheinisches Museum*, 1870, vol. xxv., p. 882. It is for obvious reasons not given in full here, but should be consulted, and with it Rohde's commentary.

of uncertainty still hangs. All we know of what actually passed at the festival is this:—Pollux (*Onomasticon*, iv. 55) says, in his account of local songs—"And the 'Aletis' was a song sung at the Aiora (it was made by Theodoros of Kolophon)"—(ἦν δὲ καὶ ἀλῆτις ᾆσμα ταῖς αἰώραις προσαδόμενον, Θεοδώρου ποίημα τοῦ Κολοφωνίου). Athenaeus tells a little more. He says (*Deipnosoph.* xiv. 10)—"There was also a song which they sing in the Aiora about Erigone, which they call Aletis. Anyhow, Aristotle, in his discourse on the constitution of the Kolophonians, says—'And Theodorus himself perished by a violent death. He is said to have been a luxurious sort of man, as indeed is clear from his poetry. For the women even to this day sing his songs about the Eora.'" That lost song probably would have told the whole secret—the gist and intent of the festival. All we know now is that it was about Erigone, sung at the festival, and luxurious in its character (*i.e.*, if we may so interpret the γάρ of Athenaeus). The song was undoubtedly called Aletis (the wanderer), and it is usually supposed that this was because Erigone *wandered* in search of her father. I cannot help thinking that this is a gratuitous etymology, and that the song of that name had nothing whatever to do with wandering. The wanderings of Erigone, had they been important, could have been more suitably commemorated than by a song on a swing, and they really have no necessary place in the story, since, as I believe, they came from the name misunderstood. Respecting the feast itself the *Etymologicum Magnum* (*sub voc.* Ἀλῆτις and Αἰώρα) has two notices which, though they are vague and unsatisfactory, cannot be neglected:—"The Aiora, it is said, is a feast of Athens which they call 'well fed' (εὔδειπνον). It is said that Erigone, daughter of Ægisthus and Clytaemnestra, went with her grandfather Tyndareus to Athens to accuse Orestes, and when he was acquitted she hanged herself; and this became a pollution to be purified to the Athenians, and, in accordance with an oracle, they instituted the rite in honour of her." Out of this statement we get two notable points—(1) the swing festival was, by some at least, distinctly regarded as a piaculum, an expiation; (2) its other name (εὔδειπνος) shows that it had a festive side. Turning to the word "Aletis" in the

Etymologicum we get a step further:—"Aletis. Some say that she was Erigone, daughter of Ikarios, and that she *wandered* about in all directions seeking her father. Others say that she was daughter of Ægisthus and Clytaemnestra; others, again, that she was daughter of Maleates the Tyrrhenian; others that she was Medea, who, after the death of her children, took refuge in her wanderings with Ægeus; others that she was Persephone, because when they were grinding (ἀλοῦντες) they offered her certain cakes." In all this confusion one thing is very clear, the Greeks themselves had not the slightest idea who Aletis was. She was indifferently the "Grinder" and the "Wanderer." The Wanderer seemed the more plausible, but even that opened a wide field to the liveliest conjecture. Whatever goddess or heroine was at the time popular could, with a little ingenuity, be arranged to have wandered sufficiently.

In discussing the word "Aletis" it never seems to have occurred to the author of the *Etymologicum* that Aletis need be neither Grinder nor Wanderer but a third being, more closely associated with ritual practice, more of avail when the country was polluted by a προστρόπαιον. But in discussing the masculine form of the word (Aleites) he all unconsciously lets out the secret:—"'Aleites'* means 'the guilty and unjust

* Since writing the above I find that Aletes was an actual mythical person, whose history Hyginus (Fab. cxxii.) recounts in full—"Aletes, son of Ægisthus, when he had heard (by a false messenger) that Orestes, with his friend Pylades, had been put to death at Tauris, concluding that there was no one left of the stock of the Atreidae, began to get possession of the kingdom at Mycenae. Electra went to Delphi to ask about Orestes, and it happened that while she was there Orestes and Iphigenia came there too; the same messenger who had brought the false news about Orestes said that Iphigenia was the slayer of her brother. When Electra heard that, she snatched up a burning log from the altar, and, not knowing Iphigenia as her sister, would have put out her eyes, only Orestes intervened. Recognition having taken place, they came to Mycenae, and Orestes killed Aletes, son of Ægisthus, and would have killed Erigone, daughter of Ægisthus by Clytaemnestra, but Diana caught her away and made her priestess in Attica."

This is the same story that the *Etymologicum Magnum* alludes to; Erigone is clearly Aletis. It is noticeable that both Aletes and Aletis are the victims of hereditary guilt; as such the two, male and female, might well be regarded as the mythical prototypes of two φάρμακοι, like those who, it will later be seen, were driven forth beyond the borders of the land in the Attic festival of the Thargelia. I am tempted to think that the whole myth of the Aiora is a "contaminatio" of primitive Dionysiac and later Apolline cults; from the

man,' . . . for the expression is used 'to take vengeance on the Aleites';" and he goes on to note the form with "o," "Aloites." As a matter of fact it probably mattered as little in pronunciation to the ancient as to the modern Greek whether the word were written ἀλοίτης or ἀλείτης, or ἀλήτης or ἀλίτης. And if ἀλήτης meant the guilty man, why not ἀλήτις the guilty woman? Who other, indeed, should be the προστρόπαιον and need the piaculum?

In a word, what it comes to is this. The Athenians found themselves in possession of a swing festival which was known to be expiatory. Expiatory of what? they naturally asked. To the myth-making mind that was simple enough. Somebody had hanged themselves; somebody else must, in the most literal sense, "swing for it." That some one naturally was called Aletis (the guilty one). But "Aletis" means also "the wanderer," hence that pretty story of the loving daughter and the faithful dog. Even that dog I suspect of being, as dogs have often been, a piaculum, and then, of course, in Alexandrian days he was translated to the skies.

Why the wave-offering of swinging is considered expiatory, I do not clearly know. The thing hung on the tree, the oscillum, may have been at first some special form of dedication merely. But the notion of swinging as a cultus practice is not, I believe, confined to the Greeks.

It must not be forgotten that there yet remains the εὐδειπνος aspect of the ceremony. A banquet must have formed part of the rites, and here, no doubt, came in the luxurious element of which Athenaeus speaks. The banquet was of course part of the offering to the god; the worshippers joined, at first accidentally, later systematically, and no doubt *luxuriously*. There may have been this further significance—the Aletis once swung, the piaculum was considered to have been offered; the blight, or plague, or curse, whatever it was, was removed; health and plenty might reign again.

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primitive Dionysiac side would come the idea of the wave offering on the tree, from Apollo the notion of the expiation of hereditary guilt. A number of fragments from a play by Sophocles called *Aletes* have been preserved by Stobaeus, but though the idea of vengeance (τιμωρός) is mentioned, the sentiments expressed are too vague and trite to be any help.

In connection with the Aiora, I cannot refrain from noting a modern parallel, though I am far from certain that it is any distinct survival of the ancient rite. A swing festival among the Greeks at Seriphos is noted in Mr. Theodore Bent's *Cyclades* (p. 5):—"In one of these narrow streets, on the Tuesday after Easter, the maidens of Seriphos play their favourite game of the swing (*κουνία*). They hang a rope from one wall to the other, put some clothes on it and swing, singing and swinging, one after the other. Aware of this, the young men try to pass by, and are called upon for a toll of one penny each, a song, and a swing. The words they generally use are as follows:—

'The gold is swung, the silver is swung, and swung, too, is my love with the golden hair.'

To which the maiden replies—

'Who is it that swings me? that I may gild him with my favour, that I may work him a fez all covered with pearls.'

Then, having paid his penny, he is permitted to pass, and another comes on and does likewise."

Here all sense of the ceremony being a piaculum, if it ever was, is wholly lost. The festival is joyous, and savours, as the old song did, of luxury. But Mr. Bent kindly tells me there is another swing festival of a serious and even mournful character. He writes as follows:—"The swing festivals we saw at Karpathos were more elaborate than those at Seriphos, and partook more of the nature of Passion plays. They took place on each of the four Sundays before Easter, when nearly the whole village assembled at a given place, when a swing was hung up, and woman after woman swung, singing, as she moved to and fro, certain *μυρολόγια*, or death wails, such as they learn for the Good Friday night services and sing in church, around the tombs, about the sufferings and Passion on the Cross." Here, at least, the notion of the piaculum can scarcely be quite extinct.

It will be seen in dealing later with the Dionysiac theatre that the sacrifice to Dionysos by Ikarios and his daughter is

the subject of one of the slabs that decorate the stage of Phaedrus. A vase-painting in the Berlin Museum (Cat., 2589) has been much discussed in connection with the festival of the Aiora. The obverse of the vase is given in fig. 6. A maiden is seated on a chair-swing, which a Satyr has just pushed high up into the air. To the right, above the maiden, are the letters ΑΛΗ—*αλη*. It is tempting to see in this inscription the beginning of the name Ἀλήτις; but, on the other hand, it is quite probable that they only formed part of the customary exclamation, *καλή* ("the beautiful one"). Of letters either preceding or following those given there is not

FIG. 6.—VASE: SATYR SWINGING MAIDEN (BERLIN MUSEUM).

the faintest trace. Over the head of the Satyr are seven letters, ΕΙ ΑΟΕΙΑ. The fact that they seem to form some female name strengthens the supposition that the *αλη* is part of *καλή*. The question remains, Have we here a representation of the Aiora, or is it simply a genre scene, in which the Satyr, as so often, takes the place of an ordinary mortal? I do not think a decided answer can be given. Swinging scenes which are purely genre occur not unfrequently on vases, but the fact that a Satyr appears, and still more, that he wears a very peculiar head-dress, inclines me to think a specific festival is intended. Anyhow, the picture can be taken as a charming

and vivid representation of what must have gone on at the Aiora.

To return to Ikarios. He never appears on vase-paintings; his myth was probably too much that of a local deme. But in later art, when the artist began to be somewhat learned, a whole class of reliefs are devoted to the scene of his reception of Dionysos. Of these, one instance—a relief now in the Louvre *—is given in fig. 7. A middle-aged man is reclining on a couch, by his side a table with food, near it a snake. A

FIG. 7.—RELIEF: ENTRANCE OF DIONYSOS (LOUVRE).

woman is seated at the foot of the couch, a slave-boy stands at the head to serve. The man extends his hand with a gesture of surprise, for to him enters, leaning on a Satyr, the young Dionysos, holding his thyrsus in his hand. It is clear enough that this is an adaptation of the familiar "funeral banquet" reliefs. The figure of the standing attendant youth, so often found at the foot of the couch, is here supplanted by the

* F. Dehneken, "Einkehr des Dionysos," *Arch. Zeit.*, 1881, p. 272; S. O. Jahn, *Arch. Beiträge*, p. 198.

Dionysos group. The man lying on the couch is obviously not Ikarios himself, but some real dead man pourtrayed in the character of Ikarios—a special votary, no doubt, of Dionysos, and like him, Dexion, Receiver of the God. In other and later reliefs the type is extended, and the whole treatment more pictorial. For example, in a relief in the British Museum (Third Graeco-Roman Room, no. 176) the same scene is laid in the courtyard of a house, adorned with festoons, and Dionysos enters, not supported by one Satyr only but attended by a whole thiasos. The early relief given in fig. 7 cannot be before the time of Alexander, and the amplified type must be a good deal later.

It must be noted that Ikarios was not alone in claiming the honour of receiving the god. Apollodorus (i. 8, 1) tells that in Œtolia Dionysos was received by Orneus, and gave him in exchange the gift of the vine; and Stephanus of Byzantium records (*sub voc.* Semachidae) that Dionysos was received as guest by the daughters of Semachos. But the story of Ikarios and Erigone seems to have got the upper hand, possibly owing to some political supremacy of the deme Ikaria.

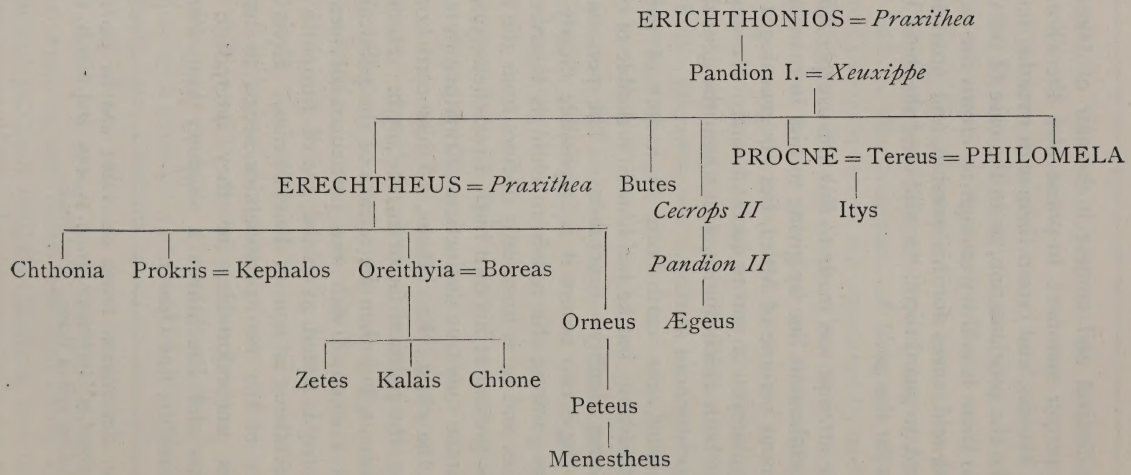
A few years back no one could certainly tell where this deme, honoured of Dionysos, lay. Now, thanks to the American excavators, all is clear. Before Theseus made his synoikia there existed in Attica a combination of three townships, called Epacria; these were the townships of Plotheia, Semachidae, and Ikaria. If Plotheia had her local legend of Dionysos, it has perished; that of Semachidae just barely survives; that of Ikaria triumphs; and the upland farm where lay the buried remains of the township still bears the name "Dionyso." Above, at Stamatovuric, the ancient Mount Ikarios rises steeply. The soil has yielded monuments that date through a period of something like 1600 years. Among them, happily, are abundant choragic inscriptions, one of which, dating about 360 B.C., may be quoted:—"On the motion of Kallippos it was voted by the Ikarians to praise Nikon, the demarch, and crown him with an ivy wreath, and that the herald proclaim that the Ikarians, and the deme of the Ikarians, crown Nikon, the demarch, because he has con-

ducted the festival and contest in honour of Dionysos in a good and proper manner; to praise also the choregoi, Epikrates and Praxias, and crown them with wreaths, and that the herald make the proclamation, as in the case of the demarch." At Dionyso there is still ivy enough to crown the worshippers of the god, and caves for his worship, and goats to do him sacrifice, and, to guard them, "a wild-eyed shepherd boy called Dyonsjotes for the god." *

A feeble attempt was made to link the usurper Amphictyon to the autochthonous line by giving to him in marriage Atthis, the eponymous heroine of Attica, but no genealogist dared to give to Amphictyon a son to succeed him. He was deposed by the earth-born Erichthonios, with whom the genealogy takes a fresh autochthonous start.

Erichthonios, the earth-born, is a sort of genealogical double of Cecrops; but he has himself a double of closer and more confusing identity—Erechtheus. The personalities and priority of these two names it is impossible clearly to settle. On the vase-painting the new-born child is inscribed clearly Erichthonios, and he is manifestly distinct from the full-grown king who is present at his own birth, Erechtheus; and herein, I think, lies the only true distinction. Erichthonios is the child hidden in the chest; Erechtheus, no less earth-born, is the mature king, the political factor in the myth. Homer knows only Erechtheus, but then he speaks of the political founder, and is not concerned with the particulars of local legend. Where priority is stated, as in the *Ion* of Euripides (267 and 1007), Erechtheus is son of Erichthonios. Here, however, the identity of the two personalities seems to have made genealogists uncomfortable, for they interpolate between Erichthonios and Erechtheus a shadowy king Pandion, to make the dividing line clearer.

* L. Dyer, *The Nation*, March 22, 1888; and for the inscriptions, *American Journal of Archæology*, iv. 4, p. 421, and March 1889, "The Choregia in Athens and at Ikaria," Carl Buck.


ERICHTHONIOS = *Praxithea*
Pandion I. = *Xeuxippe*
ERECHTHEUS = *Praxithea*
Butes
Cecrops II
PROCNE = Tereus = PHILOMELA
Itys
Pandion II
Chthonia
Prokris = Kephalos
Oreithyia = Boreas
Orneus
Ægeus
Zetes
Kalais
Chione
Peteus
Menestheus

Pausanias himself (p. 55) got puzzled over this reduplicated genealogy; which Cecrops and which Pandion the Athenians honoured as Eponymi, he declined to decide. Yet it is with respect to the second Pandion that he tells the story of Procne and Philomela, whom he makes sisters of Ægeus. In this respect, however, he runs counter to the usually accepted genealogy, so I shall take Procne and Philomela later, and according to the accepted view as sisters of Erechtheus and Butes.

To King Erechtheus with the joint personality of Erichthonios were naturally attributed all such social and political advances as seemed too forward for the old serpent king Cecrops. Erichthonios himself had been, according to some authorities, half a serpent; but Erechtheus, though earth-born, is purely human. To Erichthonios the dedication of the old xoanon of Athene is usually attributed; but Erechtheus establishes the Panathenaea of the goddess — he coins money, institutes chariot-driving, and the like. All such statements are of but little interest, either mythologically or historically. The main important thing to be borne in mind is this, that there was a full-grown King Erechtheus and a *careful elaborate legend about the birth* of the same personality under the slightly modified name Erichthonios.

Before I go on to Erechtheus, his fight with Eumolpos, and his general connection with Eleusinian mythology, the incoming of another great stranger deity, Demeter (whose worship, at first quite distinct, was in later days closely linked with that of Dionysos), must be briefly noted—very briefly, for she and her whole complex cycle belong properly to Eleusis, and can only be dealt with here in so far as they are needful for the understanding of Athenian mythology.

Tradition differed as to whether Demeter came to Eleusis in the time of Pandion I. or in the reign of his successor Erechtheus. Anyhow, her coming must be noted before Erechtheus, as she was fully established by the time the fight came between Athens and Eleusis in the days of Erechtheus.

The story of the rape of Persephone, the grief of Demeter, her service with Metaneira,—the whole lovely legend of the

Homeric hymn, must be taken as known. Demeter is recognised as goddess, matters are arranged about Persephone, the earth is released from famine, and the goddess teaches her rites "to Triptolemos, horse-driving Diokles, the strength of Eumolpos and Keleos the leader of the people."

Of this assembly of chieftains, grouped together as of equal importance, Diokles and Keleos seem to have remained merely local celebrities. Triptolemos and Eumolpos emerged into a

FIG. 8.—HIERON VASE: STARTING OF TRIPTOLEMOS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

wider fame, and must be discussed here on account of their connection with Athens. They both appear, and after a very instructive fashion, on the vase-painting in fig. 8. The representation is in some respects unique, and deserves the closest attention, as well for its severe beauty as for its mythological significance.

The vase is signed by the potter Hieron, and is now in the British Museum (Cat., E. 137). On the obverse, in the centre, Triptolemos (ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ), holding his corn-ears in his

left hand, starts for the journey in his winged car; in his right he holds a bowl, into which the goddess who faces him, Persephone (ΦΕΡΟΦΑΤΤΑ), pours a parting draught. Behind his car stands Demeter (ΔΕΜΕΤΡΕ), with a torch in her right hand, corn-ears in her left. Behind Persephone the nymph Eleusis (ΕΛΕΥΣΙΣ) personifies the place. On the reverse beneath each handle is a seated figure: the one to the left concerns us much; he is Eumolpos (ΕΥΜΟΛΠΠΟΣ), with his sceptre in his hand as king of Eleusis; he is here, not as warrior, but as eponymous of the Eumolpidae (the sweet singers), and near him, to symbolise his function, is a large swan. The circle of spectators is completed by Zeus (ΙΕΥΣ), with sceptre and thunderbolt; Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ), with ivy-wound staff; Amphitrite (ΑΝΦΙΤΡΙΤΕ), holding a dolphin; and Poseidon (ΠΟΣΕΙΔΟΝ), seated. Poseidon balances Eumolpos doubtless with a distinct intention, to be noted later.

The vase-painting of Hieron is of great importance because of the presence of Eumolpos; but the picture on the obverse, the sending forth of Triptolemos, must be noted first. A good deal will be said later on about Triptolemos in connection with his brother Eubouleus (p. 95); but for the present Triptolemos must be spoken of alone. It is a curious fact that of all the circumstances attendant on the coming of Demeter it is the sending out of Triptolemos, and this only, that has taken real live hold on Attic vase-paintings. It cannot be denied that other scenes appear—on *one* vase-painting of good style the uprising of Kore from the earth is figured, on many *late* vases the rape of Kore by Pluto. This last representation only comes in when the vase-painter begins to be learned and to cast about for material.

This predominance of the type of the "sending forth" of Triptolemos is not at all what would *a priori* be expected; there are other incidents, apparently more striking and certainly as easy of artistic representation, which yet are absent. It only remains to accept the fact that the sending forth became a fixed type, the other scenes are scattered instances. Stephani (*Compte Rendu*, 1859, p. 82) counts forty-two instances on vase-paintings, and to these, no doubt, there might now be

many additions made. Just to fix the type and show the simple character of the variations, another instance (a kalpis) is given in fig. 9, from the British Museum (Cat., E. 229). Triptolemos, Demeter, and Persephone form the central group, much as before; the accessory figures are less minutely characterised. Hecate in her characteristic attitude, with outstretched arms, is inscribed; old Plouton, with his sceptre, his white hair, and cornucopia. The maiden near him may be Artemis, the other maiden to the right with the basket is uncertain.

The first thing to be noted in the type of Triptolemos is that it runs counter to all previous conceptions. Bred up as we are on *Latin* thought, Triptolemos is to most of us the "uncique puer monstrator aratri" (*Georg.* i. 19). We are even

FIG. 9.—KALPIS: STARTING OF TRIPTOLEMOS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

prepared, on the strength of this prepossession, to say that Triptolemos is, by derivation as well as function, the *thrice plougher*. There could be no more salient instance of the mythological value of a study of vase-paintings. Whatever Triptolemos was to Ovid, whatever he has become to us, with the forty-two vase-paintings staring us in the face one thing is certain—to the vase-painter of the fifth and early fourth centuries, and the public he worked for, Triptolemos was not the exhibitor of the crooked plough, but the grain-giver who rode on the winged chariot. We are bound to renounce the thrice-ploughing *origin*, though we may, and probably must, retain it as a later fanciful attribution. If vase-paintings cannot teach the philologist, they can and must correct him. It is a singular instance of the force of a preconceived notion that in the article "Triptolemos" in Baumeister's *Denkmäler* the

derivation τρίς πολέω is given on one page and the representations of the corn-carrier in the winged chariot on the two next. The opposing facts are absolutely confronted, and yet no conclusion drawn.

That Triptolemos was not the thrice plougher to the Athenian of the fifth century is, one might think, patent to every student of vase-paintings ; that he became the plough hero to Ovid, every schoolboy knows. How it came that he passed from one character to the other it is the merit of Dr. Otto Kern * to have discovered, and it is a vase-painting again

FIG. 10.—VASE : TRIPTOLEMOS IN EGYPT (HERMITAGE).

that, if it does not let out the secret, at least gives the hint. In the vase from the Pizzati collection, now in the Hermitage (fig. 10), the scene represents, not Triptolemos starting from Eleusis, but Triptolemos *starting from Egypt.* The painter leaves no doubt. In place of the old standing spectators there are grouped about the usual accessory seated figures common to most late vases—Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho, Pan with his pipes near a tree, and, in this particular scene, the two Horae ; and below winds a river with reeds and rushes, most fortunately inscribed Nile (ΝΕΙΛΟΣ), near it a

* "De Triptolemo Aratore," *Genethliacon Gottingense,* 1887.

cat with a bird in its mouth—the tell-tale symbol of Egypt. Triptolemos is still in his winged chariot. The vase-painter dare not depart from tradition so firmly established, but in Egypt he met the arch-plougher Osiris, and from him borrowed his symbol of the crooked plough. Henceforth, for Alexandrian poets and their Latin imitators, his function is fixed. The two personalities are fused; and Servius hints at the confusion in commenting on the passage "uncique puer monstrator aratri":—* "Some think that the Attic Triptolemos is intended, who, tradition says, went in a winged chariot. . . . But there is no doubt that Osiris was the first to plough with two oxen. . . . Some say it is Triptolemos; some Osiris, which is more true. For Triptolemos portioned out grain. And Ceres is said to have loved Triptolemos, because he first in Greece, as Osiris first in Egypt, discovered the plough and the most important part of agriculture."

Thus much seems to me certain. Triptolemos, at the time of the Homeric hymn to Demeter (seventh century B.C.), was one chieftain among many; in the early fifth century, on red-figured vase-paintings, his type is fully established as the corn-sower in the winged chariot. In Alexandrian times he becomes, by confusion with Osiris, the arch-plougher. This last transformation I shall show later (p. 167) was, I believe, helped out by the analogy between Triptolemos and the Attic Bouzygos. The point that still escapes me is precisely what influence led to the special popularity of Triptolemos as distinguished from the other chieftains, and what influence fixed his type on vase-paintings.

I pass — still in connection with the Hieron vase — to Eumolpos. Eumolpos, like Triptolemos, has emerged from the group of local chieftains; he is seated as king and equal among Olympian gods. He was the eponymous of the Eumolpidae, to whose care was given the golden key laid on the

* "Quidam putant Triptolemum Atticum dici quem in volucri curru tradunt. . . . Sed constat et arasse primum Osirin duobus bubus. . . . Alii Triptolemum atri Osirin volunt quod magis verum est. Nam Triptolemus frumenta divisit. Triptolemum Ceres dicitur amasse quia primus in Graecia sicut in Ægypto Osiris aratrum et magnam agriculturae partem adinvenerit." —*Servius ad Virg. Georg.* i. 19, and *Mythogr. Vat.* iii. 7, 1.

tongue of the initiated (Soph., *Œd. Col.* 1051). His significant swan marks him out as the sweet singer. In the days at least of Philostratos a good voice was a qualification for the office of Eumolpid: he says (*Vit. Soph.* ii. c. 20, p. 600) that the hierophant was entrusted with the sounds (φωνάς) which proceeded from the shrines; probably he had to produce as well as interpret them. Apollonius, Philostratos goes on to say, became a hierophant when quite old, and had not so fine a voice as his predecessors.

So far all is simple. When the regular rites and mysteries of Demeter were ordained, there was an order of priests, the Eumolpidae; they had to have an eponymous; he was naturally Eumolpos (the sweet singer). But the genealogy and history of Eumolpos have more behind, of which Hieron gives clear indication. Immediately opposite Eumolpos, in a precisely parallel attribute, is Poseidon, seated beneath the other handle. The parallelism of place and pose indicates, I think, close connection; they are father and son. They are also seated as king and divinity in special honour at Eleusis. There is no mistake about the tradition; to quote but one instance, the rhetorician Aristides says distinctly (i. 418) "the Eumolpidae and the Kerykes trace their descent up to Poseidon and Hermes." The Eleusinians, Pausanias noted (i. 38, 6), had a temple to Poseidon *the father*. Of the feast of the Haloa (the threshing-floors), Harpocration expressly says that Philochoros in his book about feasts stated that it was held in the month of Poseidon. During that feast there was a procession to Poseidon, and it will not be forgotten that in the great Eleusinian festival one of the days went by the name of the ἅλαδε μύσται ("to the sea, mystics"). In the Dionysiac theatre one of the seats was set apart (p. 275) to the priest of Poseidon Phytalmios (Poseidon the Planter or Nourisher). Plutarch, in his *Banquet of the Seven Sages* (C. xv.), makes Kleidemos class Poseidon with the cycle of agricultural gods. "Small honour will there be," he says, "for Zeus of the Showers (Ombrios), for Demeter of the Tillage (Proerosios), and for Poseidon the Nourisher (Phytalmios). Where will be her altar, where his sacrifice?" Accustomed as we are to regard Poseidon as the god of the "unharvested sea," this

may seem strange, but it gives us one of those frequent glimpses back into the remote days when all local divinities were gods "of all work," and the special functions of sea-god and corn-goddess were as yet not separated off.

Anyhow, to be descended from Poseidon, the great god of the isthmus and neighbouring coast, was creditable even to the venerable and sedate Eumolpidae. But another legend was told of the ancestry of Eumolpos, less creditable, and at first sight hard to reconcile. Apollodorus is responsible for it; he says (iii. 15, 4), after telling of the marriage of Boreas and Oreithyia—to which we shall come later—that their daughter Chione became a mother by Poseidon. "She gave birth in secret to Eumolpos, and that his birth might not be known she threw the child into the depths of the sea. But Poseidon took the child up and carried it to Æthiopia and gave it to Benthesikyme, his daughter by Amphitrite, to bring up. And when Eumolpos was fully grown, Endios, husband of Benthesikyme, gave one of his daughters to him to wife. And Eumolpos tried to do violence to the sister of his wife, and being banished for this offence came with his child Ismaros to Tegyrios, king of the Thracians, who gave his daughter to the son of Eumolpos. And finally conspiring against Tegyrios it became evident who he was, and he took refuge with the Eleusinians, and contracted a friendship with them. And again, when Ismaros was dead Eumolpos came at the invitation of Tegyrios, and having made up the previous quarrel, succeeded to the kingdom. And a war arising between the Athenians and Eleusinians, and he having been summoned to aid the Eleusinians, went and fought as their ally with a great force of Thracians. And the god, when consulted by Erechtheus as to how the Athenians might obtain a victory, said that he would make the war a success if Erechtheus would sacrifice one of his daughters. And when he had sacrificed the youngest the rest slew themselves, for, as some say, they had made a compact among themselves that they would perish together.* And when the battle

* The story of the sacrifice of a maiden appears and reappears in Attic tradition. It was a good dramatic motive; we have it in Iphigeneia, and again in the daughters of Leos, who seem but the mythical doubles of the daughters of Erechtheus (Ælian, *Var. Hist.* xii. 28). Attica was threatened

took place after the sacrifice, Erechtheus slew Eumolpos, and Poseidon brought destruction on Erechtheus and his whole house."

The venerable priest who sat so quietly with his swan has become a turbulent warrior, with a stormy and disreputable past. The lawful son of Poseidon is born out of wedlock, and himself is but another Tereus in his lawless desires; he is the ally of Thrace, the foe of Athens. How has it all come about? It puzzled the orthodox genealogist greatly, and drove him to suppose that the warlike Eumolpos was a descendant of the fifth degree from the peaceful priest. The scholiast on the *Œdipus Coloneus* (v. 1053) says the question is asked—Why in the world are the Eumolpidae presidents over the mysteries, when they are foreigners? And one answer is that some say it was Eumolpos, son of Diope, daughter of Triptolemos, who first instituted the mysteries, and not the Thracian; and Istros recants this in his discourse on the ἀτάκτα. And Akestodorus says that the one who instituted the mysteries was the fifth from the first Eumolpos. Five generations allowed time to settle down.

Hieron, I think, hints at the clue to the mystery, though he does not know it himself. On the reverse of the Triptolemos scene (fig. 8) are a number of figures whom it is usual to explain as "an assembly of the gods watching the sending forth of Triptolemos;" this is true, but needs more precise statement. In a vase by Hieron we may fairly expect that the gods are not chosen haphazard. For Poseidon and Amphitrite reason sufficient has been shown; the emphasis on the Poseidonian aspect of Eleusis extends even so far as to the sacred

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with a famine, and the Delphic oracle declared that it was only by the sacrifice of his daughters that it could be averted. He freely offered up all three—Phasithea, Theope, and Euboule. In honour of the maidens the Athenians erected a shrine called the Leokorion, which Pausanias does not mention. It was near to this Leokorion that Hipparchos was marshalling the Panathenaic procession when Harmodios and Aristogeiton fell upon him and slew him (Thucyd., i. 20). The Leokorion must have been of considerable note. Hegesias, quoted by Strabo (§ 396, Bk. ix.), notes it among the marvels that impressed him at Athens—"Here is the Leokorion, there the Theseion." There was another statue of Leos at Delphi among the group of eponymous heroes dedicated there from the spoils of the battle of Marathon (P., x. 10, 1).

robe of Demeter adorned with *chariot races* and *dolphins*, no doubt a reminiscence of actual vestments. Zeus is fairly present as canonically supreme. For Dionysos a more specific reason must be sought. It is all very well to say the "god of the vine" is naturally associated with the goddess of corn, but in the Homeric hymn (early seventh century) there is *not a trace of the association of the worship of Dionysos and Demeter.* In the primitive rites of Eleusis he had no part or lot. He came as a stranger to Eleusis, as he did to Attica; and he was affiliated as Iacchos, who, it is quite possible, took the place of Eubouleus. With him came in the mystic turbulent element, as it always does and must with wine. Out of a primitive agricultural rite was developed a mystery; and Dionysos as a mystery god — that is my point for the moment—*came from Thrace*; there his orgies were celebrated after the most complete and turbulent fashion. When with Dionysos came in the mystery element with its Orphic, Thracian associations, then, and not till then, it seemed fitting that the great Eleusinian eponymous priest should become a warlike Thracian prince, fit combatant for King Erechtheus.

The story of the fight between Erechtheus and Eumolpos cannot, so far as I am aware, be traced back farther than the *Erechtheus* of Euripides. Euripides, always ready to improve the mythological occasion, associated it with a mythical prototype; it was but the echo of the contest of Athene and Poseidon. The sacrifice of Chthonia offered a grand tragic motive, and all went well. But there seems always to have been a lurking under-current of doubt as to the fitness of things; the figure of the peaceful priest Eumolpos still held its own. This comes out in the doubt expressed by Pausanias (i. 27, 4) as to who was represented in the group on the Acropolis. He says — "And there are also some large bronze images representing men striding (διεστῶτες) forward to the combat; one of these they call Erechtheus, the other Eumolpos, but those of the Athenians who are familiar with antiquities know that it was Immarados, the son of Eumolpos, who was killed by Erechtheus." After the play of Euripides it was all very well to call the opponent

of Erechtheus Eumolpos, but the early authorities did not forget that it was *really* Immarados, or, as he is sometimes called, Ismaros, a real out-and-out Thracian, who was fathered on Eumolpos the Eleusinian.

There was another and a better reason, had they but known it, why Erechtheus could not and would not ever have fought with Eumolpos. Eumolpos was son of Poseidon; Erechtheus was Poseidon himself. However carefully Euripides and many another devoted Athene worshipper might conceal it, the fact is patent, and explains many an inconsistency. Poseidon had been in all probability — as, according to Isocrates (*Panath.* 193), Eumolpos himself urged—established at Athens long before Athene came. One of the names of the great Ionian sea-god was Erechtheus, or, as will be seen in detail later in dealing with the Oreithyia myth, Erichthonios. Poseidon-Erechtheus, Poseidon the *shaker* or *splitter*: Hesychius says ἐρέχθων, διακόπτων; he expressly states that Erechtheus is "Poseidon at Athens" (Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις). Inscriptions give clear evidence; a seat in the Dionysiac theatre, to take only one instance, was reserved for the priest of "Poseidon the Gaieochos and the Erechtheus" (p. 274), where Erechtheus is as much a title as Gaieochos.

When Athene and her worship prevailed at Athens there was Poseidon-Erechtheus to be settled with—Poseidon, whom Athene always hated. It was all arranged with the utmost mythological craft. As Poseidon it was impossible to affiliate him completely, so for Poseidon was invented the myth of the contest and subsequent supremacy of Athene. But Erechtheus was more malleable; he became the foster-son of Athene; he first consecrated her image and arranged her festival, the Athenaia.

It has been owned on all hands that Erechtheus was but a title of Poseidon; but I do not think the significance of this in relation to the double personality, Erechtheus-Erichthonios, and especially the birth of Erichthonios, has been pointed out. Erechtheus, the full-grown king, is a possible double of Poseidon the sea-king; but to leave things thus was precarious.

Erechtheus had to be *born again*; he must break utterly with his past; hence the constant and elaborate emphasis laid on the birth-scenes, recited, as has been seen, like a creed by Euripides. Once properly re-born, genuinely autochthonic, there was no need to be nervous. Erichthonios, or rather Erechtheus, could even be made to fight with his sea-god double, Eumolpos.

So much for Erechtheus, the sea-king turned agriculturist. As agriculturist and new-born home hero, he gets confused with old Cecrops; he even borrows his serpent-tail sometimes, though he never is quite at ease with it.

The three daughters of Erechtheus seem to have got confused with the more famous daughters of Cecrops. The scholiast, in a passage on Demosthenes (Dem., 438, 17), says that Agraulos, to save the city from conquest, threw herself from the Acropolis, and in guerdon for this she had a sanctuary near the Propylaea, in which the youth of Athens had to make their oath at their institution as Ephebi. Another scholiast says that, on the death of Agraulos, Herse and Pandrosos also devoted themselves to death (Schol. Arist., *Panath.* 119). Probably just the reverse is the case. The legend of the faithless sisters came first, and then borrowed their tragic but ineffective death from the self-sought fate of the devoted three. Of the daughters of Erechtheus, Chthonia, who sacrificed herself for Athens, has already been noted; Prokris and Oreithyia remain. Oreithyia, it will be later seen, signally belies her father's origin; but for the present I have to deal with Prokris.

The story of Prokris is bound up with that of her husband Kephalos, and, as we know it in the version of Hyginus, also with that of the goddess Eos. It is so good an instance of Latin "contaminatio," and of the use of vase-paintings for the discrimination of late and early versions, that it is best given in full. I give first the version of Apollodorus (iii. 15, 3). Speaking of the daughters of Erechtheus, he says—"And Boutes married Chthonia, and Xouthos Kreousa, and Kephalos, son of Deion, Prokris; but she, accepting the golden crown, yielded to Pteleon, and being detected by Kephalos, fled to Minos. And

he loved her, and entreated her to be his wife. But if any woman yielded to Minos, it was impossible for her to escape destruction; for Pasiphae, because Minos was in the habit of having many women to wife, had wrought a charm upon him, so that when he betrayed her the woman should be poisoned, and thus perish. Now as he had a swift dog and an unfailing javelin, Prokris, for the sake of these, yielded to Minos, having first given him a Circaean root to drink to make him harmless. But being again in fear of the wife of Minos, she came to Athens, and being reconciled to Kephalos, went with him out hunting, for she was fond of hunting. And while she was engaged in the chase in a thicket, Kephalos unwittingly took aim, and he chanced to slay Prokris; and he was brought to trial before the Areopagus and condemned to perpetual banishment." Here, it must be noted, we have not a word of Eos. Moreover, Prokris is corrupted, not at the instigation of her own husband, but at that of the wooer Pteleon. The story ends with a lawsuit. The accusers must have been the relations of Prokris, and the story was brought into connection with a curious funeral custom called ἐπενέγκειν δόρυ, which Harpocration explains as follows—"To put the spear on," said in the case of a funeral and an address made upon tombs. Istros, in his collection of the Attic writers, speaking about Prokris and Kephalos, writes as follows:—"Some say that it was Erechtheus who made the spear be driven into the grave, and that he placed it there, and gave evidence of his wrong, because it was customary to institute the prosecution of murderers in this way." This looks as if Kephalos were a *cause célèbre* for the Areopagus, possibly before his fame was supplanted by Orestes.

I pass to the later version of Hyginus (Fab. clxxxix.):—"Prokris, daughter of Pandion; her Kephalos, son of Deion, had to wife. They, being attached by a mutual love, gave each other a promise that they would never be faithless. Kephalos was devoted to hunting, and went out upon the mountain in the early morning; and Aurora, wife of Tithonus, loved him, and sought him for her husband. But Kephalos denied her, because he had given his word to Prokris. Then Aurora said, 'I do not wish you to break your word unless she first breaks

hers.' And then she transformed him into a stranger, and gave him beautiful gifts, which he was to take to Prokris. And Kephalos, thus disguised, gave the gifts to Prokris, and induced her to yield. Then Aurora took away from him the appearance of a stranger. And when Prokris saw Kephalos she knew she had been deceived by Aurora, and straightway she fled to Crete, where Diana was hunting. And when Diana saw her she said, 'Maidens go a-hunting with me; you are no maiden, depart from our company.' And Prokris told her misfortunes, and how she had been deceived by Aurora. Diana, touched with compassion, gave her a dart which never missed its aim, and the dog Laelaps, from whom no wild beast might escape, and told her to go forth and contend with Kephalos. And she, having cut her hair and put on the raiment of a youth, went by the will of Diana to Kephalos, and asked his love, and that after she had conquered him in hunting. Kephalos, when he saw what might was in the dart and the dog, asked of his guest, not knowing who she was, that he would sell him them. She began to refuse him. He offered her in addition a part of his kingdom; she refused, and made answer, 'If you persist in wishing them, give me your love.' He, fired by the love of the dog and the dart, promised her, and thereupon Prokris showed herself to him as his wife. And Kephalos accepted the gifts, and there was peace between them. But none the less she, fearing Aurora, followed him in the early morning that she might watch him, and lurked among the bushes; and when Kephalos saw the bushes move, he hurled the resistless dart and slew Prokris his wife, by whom Kephalos had a son, Arcesius, whose son was Laertes, father of Ulysses."

Hyginus, ending with a genealogy, takes us by a somewhat startling leap to Ithaca and Ulysses; and we have to refer to other writers, and notably to Pausanias and Strabo, to fill in the intervening space. Pausanias, in noticing the temple of Apollo near the Cephissus (i. 37 *sub fin.*), says—"They report that Kephalos, the son of Deioneus, went, together with Amphitryon, to the Teleboae, and he first dwelt in the island which is now called Kephallenia after him. Up to that time he had dwelt in Thebes, having been banished from Athens

on account of the slaying of his wife Prokris." Pausanias then proceeds to tell the legend of the coming back of the descendants of Kephalos to Athens, to which I shall later return. For the present Kephallenia concerns us, as there we complete the disastrous story of Kephalos. It was natural that the Kephallenians should have an eponymous hero Kephalos, and that they should put his head on their coinage. As Odysseus "led the Kephallenians" (*Il.* ii. 631), he had, of course, to be brought into connection with the eponymous hero. What more concerns us is the local legend of the death of Kephalos. Strabo says (x. 452-9) that on the promontory of Leukas which juts out towards Kephallenia there was a temple of Apollo Leukatas, and the "leap" which it was thought was the end of love. Here, according to Menander—"Sappho first, pursuing proud Phaon, and goaded by maddening desire, threw herself from the aerial peak praying to thee, lord and king." Strabo adds significantly—"Menander says Sappho was the first, but *those who are better acquainted with ancient accounts* say it was Kephalos, who loved Pterelas, son of Deioneus."

To Strabo's account of the ritual custom by which the fate of Kephalos was commemorated, I shall return. For the present we have got together from various sources the full and complex story of Eos, Prokris, and Kephalos, as told by Crete, Thoricus, Thebes, Kephallenia, and Athens, and with it in our minds we turn to vase-paintings of the fifth century B.C., and see how much of the pathetic story they knew, or at least saw fit to tell.

In the centre of the Berlin cylix (fig. 3), already discussed with reference to the birth of Erichthonios, the story of Kephalos appears. Eos (ΗΕΩΣ), with large, strong wings, strides away, bearing in her arms the young hero Kephalos (ΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ); the striding pose is a remnant of archaic tradition, and indicates flight. Eos woos Kephalos, but after a drastic fashion that admits of no refusal. There is evidently no thought of Prokris in the mind of the vase-painter, no indication even of a struggle in the pose of Kephalos; he is borne away, willing or unwilling, by the strong goddess. The question is never raised :—

"They know how on a time
Fair-shining Eos Kephalos caught up
For love's sake to the gods, and yet they dwell
In heaven, nor shun the converse of the gods,
And still endure, handselled methinks by Fate."
(Eur., *Hipp.* 454.)

"Caught up" (*ἀνήρπασεν*) is the keynote of the myth and of the composition. The rape of Kephalos was one of the typical *ἆθλα* (deeds) of Aphrodite. Hesiod (*Theog.* 980) knew of the love of Eos and Kephalos, and makes the son of Kephalos a sort of double of his father rapt by Aphrodite (p. 26).

If this vase-painting stood alone, it might, of course, be due to the individual fancy of the artist, but it is only one instance of a frequent and well-established type. An archaic Etruscan terra-cotta (fig. 6, p. 26) shows the same type in an earlier form, and it is known from Pausanias that the subject appeared on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae (P., iii. 18, 7)—"And there is Kephalos, who, on account of his beauty, was carried off by Hemera;" here we have the same notion of forcible carrying off, inconsistent altogether with the story of Prokris. The Attic vase-painter certainly did not invent the type, he utilised ready-made material; he took the type of the strong-winged woman carrying a youth, and adapted it to two stories —Eos carrying off Kephalos, and Eos carrying the body of Memnon. In archaic representations I do not think, unless the design is inscribed, that we are justified in stating that Eos and Kephalos are intended. It was characteristic of Eos to carry away beautiful youths; she carried away Tithonus and Orion, and the Tithonus story is as early as the 4th Homeric hymn; there the word *ἀνήρπασε* ("caught up") is used of Tithonus, just, as elsewhere, of Kephalos. The identity with Kephalos only begins when Attic myths came into prominence.

It is curious to note that side by side with the "rape" type is another, the "pursuit" type, more gently conceived. A good instance of this is found on a vase by Hieron, now at Neuburg, near Heidelberg (fig. 11). The inside picture

shows a winged woman pursuing a youth, who seems to seek to escape. The only inscription is the word ΚΑΥΟΣ, but there is no doubt that the two figures are Eos and Kephalos. It may fairly be urged—Does not this type, where Kephalos *evades* the pursuit of Eos, point to a knowledge of the story of

FIG. 11.—HIERON CYLIX: EOS PURSUES KEPHALOS (NEUBURG).

Prokris? Is not his fidelity implied? I think not. If the pursuit scheme had been invented to express the myth of Kephalos, the argument would have been strong; but it also lay ready to hand, it was in use for many a god and hero and many a maiden. Possibly to some vase-painter the rape scheme, the woman carrying the strong youth, seemed too

drastic, so he adopted the equally appropriate pursuit scheme. My view is, I think, borne out by the remainder of the vase. On the exterior of the vase (fig. 12) are the circumstances of the rape. An elaborate hunting scene is depicted—old men and young men with staves and hunting-net. One of them,

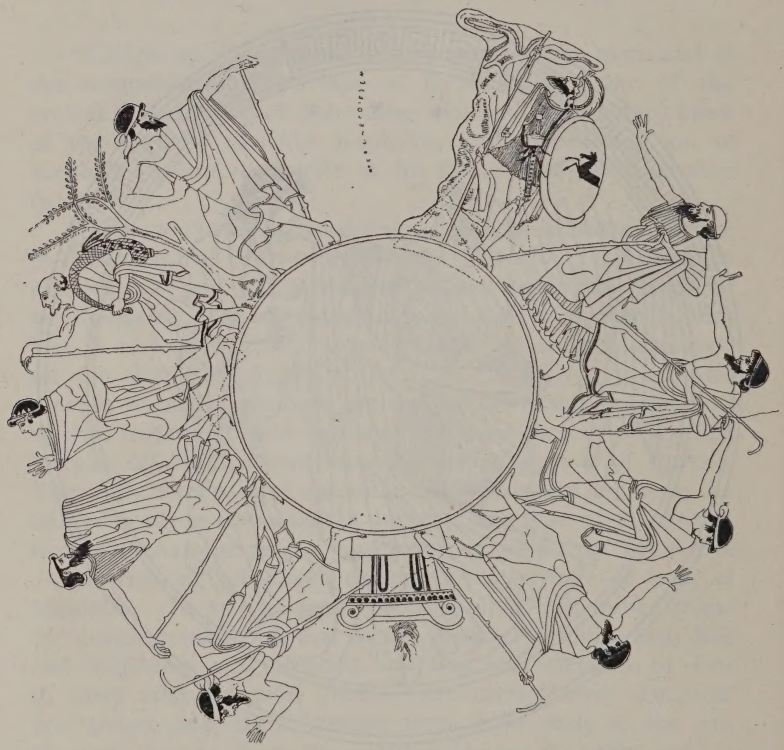


FIG. 12.—HIERON CYLIX (EXTERIOR): HUNTING SCENE (NEUBURG).

an armed warrior with a shield, climbs a rock; others turn their faces upwards with gestures of wonder. I do not deny the interpretation has its difficulties. Why should the man in full armour be the one to climb the rock; and what is he doing in full armour at a hunting scene? The altar, I think, merely adds sanctity to the scene; it is present as the

altar is at the rape of the Leukippidae on the Meidias vase (p. 161). The general meaning of the vase is, as it seems to me, clear beyond a doubt. We have the companions of Kephalos, who was caught out hunting. And the fact that they gaze upwards in astonishment proves, I think, that the rape took place actually—that Kephalos, though only pursued, was unable to withstand Eos; she had, after all, caught him up on the high mountain the warrior is trying to climb. Had Hieron known of the Prokris story in conjunction with that of Eos, nothing would have been easier than to have introduced the figure of Prokris in the hunting scene; but he knew only of the rape, so he chooses it as the central scene, and then adapts the groups of youths and men he loved so well to the circumstance of the hunt.

One vase still remains for consideration before Eos is dismissed—the famous Blacas krater (fig. 13) of the British Museum

FIG. 13.—BLACAS KRATER: EOS PURSUES KEPHALOS AT SUNRISE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

(Cat., E. 176), where the myth of Eos and Kephalos appears in all the glory of its cosmic setting. A bygone school of mythologists not only unhesitatingly stated that Eos was the dawn, which she undoubtedly is, but went on to announce that Kephalos must have an *ν* to his name and become Knephalos (*κνέφας*, "the twilight"), and Prokris be "der Mond unter dem gewöhnhichen Bilde einer Frau von ausgezeichneter Schönheit und Würde" (*πρόκρις ἡ προκεκριμένη*). The modern mythologist is chary of his etymologies, and exceedingly shy of a dawn or moon myth, but he cannot get rid of Eos as the dawn goddess. There is, however, not the smallest reason, because Eos is a native myth, to fit out the rest of the *personale* with cosmic meanings. The hunter went out at dawn. It was natural enough that the strong, beautiful woman who personified

the dawn should love the fair youth who was abroad at her hour. Prokris, either moon or no moon, has, it will be seen, nothing originally to do with the Eos story, so need not concern us. To return to the Blacas krater. To the right Helios is rising with his four-horse car; before him fall the stars, figured, as elsewhere, as boys diving and bathing in the sea, from which Helios rises; Pan, a god much in fashion on late vases, springs up behind a hill, near which is a tree, for he is a woodland god, and this is a woodland scene. At the extreme left Selene, the moon goddess, rides quietly away on her horse. This is the setting; the actual action is confined to two figures. Kephalos turns round to hurl a stone at the winged Eos, who pursues him; near him is his dog. Now the presence of the dog has made some interpreters see in this picture an implied reference to the dog Laelaps, part of the Prokris story; but I do not think such an interpretation is needful, or indeed possible. A dog is the natural companion of a hunter, and I do not feel sure that the dog is Laelaps at all.

One word as to the cosmic setting. Had the vase been of earlier date (it cannot be earlier, and may be later than the end of the fifth century B.C.), the presence of sun and moon might have been strong evidence for the view that the whole story was a sun, moon, and dawn myth—that Kephalos was the impersonation of the shadows chased away by Eos. But it is a well-known fact that after Pheidias had set the fashion in the east pediment of the Parthenon (p. 435), it became usual for the vase-painter as well as the sculptor to give to scenes of special significance this cosmic note—to make them take place at sunrise. The battle of the gods and giants, the judgment of Paris, the presentation of Theseus to Amphitrite, are all depicted in this cosmic fashion. The myth of Eos lent itself remarkably well to such treatment, but it must be remembered that it did not stand alone.

The main fact that emerges from a study of the vase-paintings representing Eos and Kephalos is the marked and persistent absence of Prokris. At first the myth is represented simply as a rape, with no attendant circumstances. Then the absence of Prokris, even if she were known of, might not

be remarkable. Later, when it takes the form of a pursuit, and when the circumstances of the hunt are depicted, as on the Hieron and Blacas vases, her absence from art representations can only be explained on the supposition that her story was not associated with that of Eos. In the Blacas vase especially, had the vase-painter wished to introduce her, she would have taken with admirable fitness the place of Pan starting up behind the hill.

Is the story of Prokris, then, absent from vase-paintings? Not wholly. One vase of late date (fig. 14) in the British

FIG. 14.—VASE: DEATH OF PROKRIS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

Museum (Cat., E. 826) depicts her death. In the centre Prokris falls, pierced by a spear. To the right a bearded king, carrying a sceptre, uplifts his hand in token of amazement. He can scarcely be other than the father of Prokris, variously given as Pandion or Erechtheus, but usually Erechtheus. To the left Kephalos, in hunter's garb, holding his dog in a leash, puts his hand to his head in grief and dismay. Above Prokris is a bird with woman's head, which, I confess, I do not think is easy of interpretation, but it does not concern us here. The vase gives us an undoubted representation of the death of "poor

jealous Prokris." Unfortunately it stands alone; we cannot argue about it as we can about a well-established type like that of Eos and Kephalos. Such as it is, it goes to show that the story of Prokris was originally separate from that of Eos. Prokris is not present in depictions of Eos and Kephalos; Eos is not present at the death of Prokris. It would have been easy and natural to have introduced her here as an interested spectator in place of Erechtheus. If the testimony of vase-paintings is in favour of the Eos and Kephalos and Prokris and Kephalos myths being at first wholly separate, literature tells the same tale. We have no evidence of a "contaminatio" of the two stories till Roman days. Eos and Kephalos were known, it has been seen, to Hesiod. Prokris is mentioned alone in the *Odyssey* (xi. 321) with the hapless daughters of Minos, Ariadne and Phaedra, whom Odysseus saw among the famous daughters of Minos. The first certain source of the joint story of Kephalos and Prokris is the historian Pherekydes, as quoted by the scholiast on this *Odyssey* passage. The version of Pherekydes made no mention of Eos, but made Kephalos try the faith of his wife out of pure curiosity. It is also noticeable that the story makes clear that Prokris followed Kephalos out hunting out of vague jealousy, not from fear of Eos. This is shown by the fact that the slave she sent first to watch reported that Kephalos was wont to cry out, "Come, Nephele, come;" and that it was on hearing that cry she rushed forth and was slain. Ovid even keeps this version, only he substitutes Aura for Nephele. It would have been simple enough, and more natural, had the Eos story been known, to make him cry Eos. What form was given to the story by Sophocles in his tragedy *Prokris* is unhappily not known. In describing the great fresco of Polygnotus at Delphi, Pausanias notes that one of the figures represented Prokris, daughter of Erechtheus, and next her, turning her back to Prokris, was Klymene, who in the *Nostoi* was represented as the wife of Kephalos. Pausanias adds—"The story of Prokris all the poets sing; how she first was wife to Kephalos, and after what fashion she died by the hand of her husband" (P., x. 29, 2); but she is here only one among a company of famous women. There was clearly no special reference to her

death. Because Pausanias knew it, we must not conclude that the painter made it his subject.

So far, we have from literature and art got little further than the fact—an important one—that the whole legend as it appears in Hyginus is a "contaminatio" of two stories originally quite distinct. Leaving the Eos legend alone, can any clue be got to the origin and significance of the more complex Prokris tale? I will apply my usual test, and see if in relation to the myth there was any cultus, any ritual observance, by the examination of which we may get a hint. Already one ritual practice has been noted—the planting of the spear on the grave; the significance of this, of course, is the atonement by blood, vengeance on the man-slayer. Strabo, at the end of the passage already quoted (x. 452), happily gives us another. After speaking of the fatal leap of Kephalos, he says—"It was also a local custom among the Leukadians, at the yearly festival in honour of Apollo, to hurl down from the cliff one of the condemned persons, as an averter of evil. They fastened to him various sorts of wings, and even hung birds to his body, so that by fluttering they might break his fall. And below there were waiting people in small boats to receive him, and they did all they could to save his life, and convey him away beyond the limits of the country." This is transparent enough. Apollo demanded a human sacrifice. As his temple was on a high cliff, he liked a person thrown down that cliff—at first, no doubt, anybody, just to please himself; then, as the god advanced in morality and civilisation, a criminal. Even for that later ages became too squeamish, so every possible care was taken to save the human sacrifice. But even if saved, he was still a piaculum, a προστρόπαιον, a thing accursed; the boatmen must remove him beyond the borders of the land. *From this ritual custom, I believe, the story of Kephalos—and I may add incidentally the legend of the death of Sappho—had its rise.* The legend is Apolline. Kephalos is like Aletis, a mythical piaculum invented to account for a cultus practice. His slaying of Prokris, and his death by the leap from the rock, are the main original elements of the myth, especially his leap from the rock, a factor often omitted, but really central and essential.

With this clue once in one's hand, it is remarkable how

other seemingly accidental traits in the story become significant. Kephalos in all versions of the myth is away on a journey when Prokris is tempted; here we have the essential element of the *banishment.* Prokris is a servant of Artemis, sister of Apollo. She is one of the women hunters who appear, like Atalanta in Calydon, wherever the huntress goddess is worshipped; as such she has the magical dog Laelaps and the dart that never missed its aim. Pausanias (ix. 19, 1), in speaking of Teumessus in Boeotia, tells of the famous fox brought by the wrath of Dionysos to work ruin for the Thebans; and when the dog which Artemis gave to Prokris, daughter of Erechtheus, was about to take it, both the dog and the fox were turned to stone. Apollodorus (ii. 4, 6), *apropos* of Theban affairs, gives more details as to this Minotaur-like fox, into which we need not enter here.

As regards the local rise of the legend, I do not in the least think that the story originated in Kephallenia. We happen to have the cultus practice recorded there; but Apollo's early manners and customs were much the same everywhere. He had at first human sacrifices, even at the Athens of King Erechtheus; witness the φαρμακός, the scape-goat of the Thargelia. Just across the Cephissus Pausanias saw a sanctuary, of the founding of which he gives, for us, very important particulars. In this sanctuary, he says (i. 37, 6), were images of Demeter and her daughter, and of Athene and Apollo, *but originally it was built for Apollo only.* Then he tells, as has been seen before, of how Kephalos was banished from Athens because of the murder of Prokris; and he goes on—"And ten generations after this Chalkinos and Daitos, descendants of Kephalos, sailed to Delphi and demanded of the god their return to Athens. And the god commands them to sacrifice to Apollo first in that spot in Attica where they should see a trireme running along upon the land. And when they had come to the mountain called Poikilos, a snake (δράκων) appeared to them, going swiftly into its hole. And they sacrificed to Apollo at this place, and after that the Athenians made them citizens of their State." Of course the snake or dragon is thoroughly Apolline, but observe the pride of Athens. The Kephalidae were not citizens; they belonged to the deme, to

the by that time obscure deme. All I maintain is that the legend took its rise in connection with the worship of Apollo.

All were agreed that Kephalos lived at Thoricus, one of the twelve cities of Cecrops before the Thesean synoikismos. More likely the deme Kephalae, close at hand, was his real birthplace — Kephalae, where, it will be remembered, the Dioscuri had a famous local cult. Some of the past splendour of Thoricus has been given back to us by recent excavations, but the great glory of the city was in days far back before the supremacy of Athens. Pausanias did not even mention the place. What concerns us at present is that Thoricus, Kephalae, and the neighbouring deme of Potamoi are all thoroughly Apolline. At Potamoi (P., i. 31) was the tomb of Xuthus, who needs no evidence for his Apolline descent. Apollodorus (i. 9, 2) even makes Xuthus the grandfather of Kephalos. The legend, then, was local in the sea-coast demes and Apolline throughout. It remains to see the manner of its coming to Athens. It was not transplanted at once to headquarters—*i.e.*, in mythological language, Prokris was not at once made a daughter of Kephalae and Thoricus. But nothing is said about Kephalae and Thoricus. Apollo sends, not from his local shrines by the sea-coast, but from glorious world-known Delphi itself, a new patent of nobility, and after due probation on the hither side of the Cephissus, the Kephalidae are affiliated. It was easy enough, then, as indeed it was necessary, to make room for Prokris as daughter of Erechtheus. She was made indigenous; and Kephalos himself had lived at Athens before, there had been only an episode of banishment.

This mixture of savage ritual survivals and aristocratic myth-making may seem but a sorry substitute for the lovely story of

> "The cruel goddess and the twofold test,
> The breaking heart of hate, the poisoned hours"

dear to modern poet and painter; but, after all, it is no substitute, only an added wonder how factors so barbarous and prosaic could be fashioned into so fair a shape.

From the complex myth of Prokris and Kephalos it is a relief to turn to the comparatively simple tale of Boreas and Oreithyia, though here again a careful analysis brings to light elements at first little expected.

Our earliest authority for the story is Akysilaos, the logographer (*circ.* 525 B.C.), quoted by the scholiast on *Odyssey*, 14, 533. Apollodorus (iii. 15, 2) gives a fuller version as canonical in his days—"When Oreithyia was crossing over the river Ilissus, Boreas seized her and made her his wife. She bore him daughters Kleopatra and Chione, and sons Zetes and Kalais, who were winged. They sailed with Jason, and pursued the Harpies, and died;" or, as Akysilaos says, "They were killed by Herakles in the affair about Tenos. Phineus married Kleopatra, and had children by her, Plexippos and Pandion. And having these children by Kleopatra, he married Idaia, daughter of Dardanos, and she accused her first-born sons to Phineus, and Phineus believing her, blinded them both; and the Argonauts, sailing there with Boreas, punished him, and Chione married Poseidon."

According to Herodotus (vii. 189) Boreas attained a new popularity about the time of the Persian war—"It is said that the Athenians had called upon Boreas to aid the Greeks, on account of a fresh oracle which they had received ordering them to ask help from their son-in-law. For Boreas, according to Greek tradition, had married a woman of Attica—*i.e.*, Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus." Then he goes on to say that they sacrificed to Boreas and Oreithyia, and their prayer being answered, they built a shrine to Boreas on the Ilissus—*i.e.*, the supposed scene of the rape. The scene varies in the several versions; sometimes it is the Areopagus (p. 90), sometimes the Ilissus (p. 226); sometimes, to make the rape more striking, Oreithyia is carried off at the moment when she is acting as kanephoros to Athene Polias. The *topographical* importance of the variant Ilissus and Areopagus versions will be noted in their place. For the present I have only to deal with *mythology*.

Spite of his Attic alliance, Boreas is from beginning to end frankly no Athenian; his children are Thracians. Zetes and

Kalais, the winged Argonauts, are figures wholly un-Attic; so are Chione and Kleopatra. Chione's son, Eumolpos, only comes into connection with Athene *viâ* Thrace and Eleusis.

Oreithyia, on the other hand—though, as will be later seen, there is every reason to suppose she was originally no Athenian—got very early and very thoroughly Atticised. Her myth as an Attic maiden seems to have been known to poetry as early as Simonides. Pherekydes recounted it, and both Choerilus and Æschylus wrote tragedies with her rape for the plot. After the destruction of the Persian fleet it would doubtless be an appropriate and popular subject. The rape, conceived both as an actual carrying off and as a pursuit scene, appears on upwards of twenty-five red-figured vases. By far the finest of these is the well-known Munich amphora * (Jahn Cat., 376). Boreas (BOPAΣ) has seized Oreithyia (. REIΘY . .) in his arms and carries her off; his hair is long and fiercely pointed like icicles, his wings large and formal, his hands clasped in the conventional knot. The hair of Oreithyia is neat and symmetrical, as became a king's daughter, and her ample raiment undisturbed; she stretches out a hand to Herse (. PΣE), who pursues her on the right. On the other side, Pandrosos (. . NΔROΣOΣ) looks round amazed; in front of her a maiden, whose name is not clear, runs up to the bearded Cecrops (KEKROΨ), who holds a sceptre and turns away; Agraulos (AΓVAYROΣ), on the other side, runs up to Erechtheus (EPEXΣEΣ). Cecrops, although, according to orthodox genealogy, dead generations ago, is present here out of compliment and sympathy, just as Erechtheus is present at the birth of Erichthonios.

Could anything be more clearly Attic, more blatantly autochthonous? Be it remembered, however, that the vase is of the early fifth century B.C., just the time when, after his timely intervention against the Persians, the Athenians were inclined to be rather noisy about their son-in-law. Another

* I had hoped to give an illustration of this fine vase. I am unfortunately unable, as neither the British Museum nor the Archæological Library of the Berlin Museum contains the plates of the *Nouvelles Annales* of the Section Française.

and earlier work of art may perhaps hint at a different aspect of the case.*

On the chest of Cypselus, Pausanias (v. 19, 1) saw the myth of Oreithyia—"On the fourth side of the chest, as you go round from the left, there is Boreas, who has seized Oreithyia; he has the tails of serpents instead of feet." Boreas was represented, then, somewhat after the fashion of the giants on the Pergamene altar or the Typhon of archaic art. Pausanias was of course accustomed to the stock representation of Boreas, with wings indeed but otherwise human, as he appears on vases; hence his surprise and the special note he makes. What surprises us is not so much that Boreas should have serpents' tails, but that his rape of Oreithyia, *a supposed purely Attic myth*, should appear at all upon the chest of Cypselus (dating about 600 B.C.), with its mixed Corinthian and Ionian typology. So astonishing does this seem that Dr. Robert supposes Pausanias misinterpreted the representation, and that in reality what he saw was not Boreas but a Typhon or some such monster carrying off a maiden. This would be possible, and even probable, only, supposing it to be true that Boreas was represented after such peculiar fashion, what made Pausanias think of Boreas at all unless there was an inscription explaining the scene? The conclusion is, I think, certain. The rape of Boreas *was* represented and attested by an inscription; and hence, appearing as it did on a Corinthian monument of 600 B.C., it proves that the rape of Oreithyia was *not* an indigenous Attic myth. We must look elsewhere than to Attica if we would trace its rise.

Nor need we look far. The first mention of Oreithyia, though it is purely incidental and has nothing to do with the rape, is in *Iliad* xviii. 39. There we find her in unexpected company; she is one of the Nereids who flock around Thetis. It may be said that this is a mere coincidence of name. Be that as it may, the fact that Oreithyia is a Nereid's name is all-important. However late and "Hesiodic" the catalogue is, it is the first mention of *an* Oreithyia. Now let us see if

* The whole of the argument that follows is based on Dr. Loeschke's brilliant pamphlet, "Boreas und Oreithyia am Kypseloskasten," in the *Dorpater Programm* for 1886.

Boreas is ever found in like company. *Iliad* xx. 222 is the first account of his loves:—"Then Dardanos begat a son, King Erichthonios, who became richest of mortal men. Three thousand mares had he that pastured along the marsh meadow rejoicing in their tender foals. Of them was Boreas enamoured as they grazed, and in semblance of a dark-maned horse he covered them. Then they, having conceived, bare twelve fillies. These, when they bounded over Earth the grain-giver, would run upon the topmost ripened ears of corn and break them not; and when they bounded over the broad

FIG. 15.—DELOS AKROTERION: BOREAS AND OREITHYIA (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

backs of the sea they would run upon the crests of the breakers of the hoary brine." With the strongest indisposition towards "nature myths," it is impossible not to recognise here the old fancy that the waves are the sea-horses; the love of Boreas is the north wind sporting among the breakers.

Oddly and pleasantly enough for our purpose, ancient art, though not ancient vase-painting, has preserved one single trace of the primary meaning of the myth. Fig. 15 is Dr. Furtwängler's restoration of the central akroterion of one of the fragmentary compositions that adorned the pediments of a temple of Apollo at Delos. Whatever else be uncertain,

thus much is quite clear—the scene is the rape of Oreithyia; and somewhere in the composition, probably just where Dr. Furtwängler places it, was a small *galloping horse*. The sculptures are now in the Central Museum at Athens (Cat., 36-61). Dr. Furtwängler's restoration is taken from the *Archäologische Zeitung* (1882, p. 339).

Some have attempted to explain the horse as merely a symbol of the swiftness of Boreas or as a purely decorative adjunct introduced to balance the dog in the corresponding akroterion which represents the rape of Kephalos by Eos. A simpler and more adequate explanation lies to hand. The horse, or rather mare, is, as it were, the double, not of Boreas, but of Oreithyia; it is a reminiscence of the old Homeric form of the myth. Just as Thetis, another sea-nymph, had power at will, when Peleus attacked her, to transform herself into a lion, a dragon, and the like, so to elude her lover the sea-nymph Oreithyia had doubtless power to take the form of a mare, the symbol of her own sea-waves. And this power of transformation, as with Thetis, so with Oreithyia, is symbolised in art by the presence of the actual form supposed to be assumed. The stages of the story seem to have been something after this fashion. At first the north wind riots among the waves; this, anthropomorphised, is Boreas among the sea-nymphs. Then he individualises: he loves one sea-maiden, Oreithyia; but she still has power to transform herself into the symbolic horse. Finally, she leaves the sea altogether, forgets her horse, and becomes a mountain maiden, for Boreas blows upon the mountain too; she comes ashore for good, and ends as an Athenian princess.

But here a word must be said as to the manner of her affiliation into Attic dynasty. She is not, as is already abundantly evident, a mere vehicle to obtain an orthodox genealogy for Boreas; not simply foisted in, like Prokris, who, as has been seen, had nothing whatever to do with Erechtheus. Rather Erechtheus and she came in together. Erechtheus was her kinsman at sea long before he became her kingly father on the land. The Erichthonios of the *Iliad* was unmistakably a sea-king; and at Athens, do what they will, they cannot get rid of the stubborn fact of

Poseidon-Erechtheus. In the form of Erichthonios they give him earth, not sea, for his mother; they make Athene conquer Poseidon. There is a noisy insistence on both these orthodox myths, and but for Oreithyia—who knows?—the truth might never have come out; and yet every Athenian knew that on the altar of Poseidon in the Erechtheion they sacrificed to Erechtheus—"according to an oracle," says Pausanias; because they were originally one and the same, says common-sense. Poseidon-Erechtheus, the old Ionian sea-god, had a daughter Oreithyia, a sea-nymph, and Boreas loved her, and they had monstrous wind-god sons—such was the old

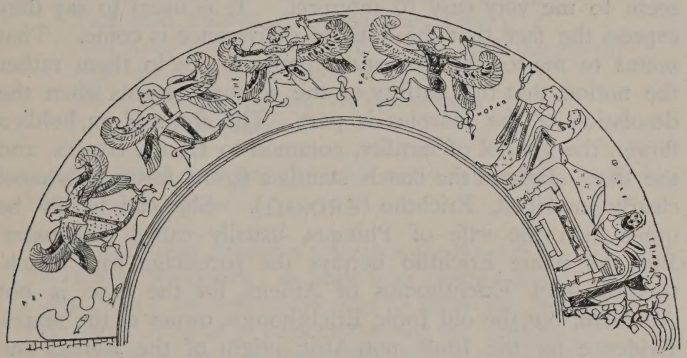


FIG. 16.—CYLIX: PHINEUS, HARPIES, ZETES, AND KALAIS (WÜRZBURG).

story. Poseidon-Erechtheus came to Athens and turned agriculturist, and dropped his Poseidon aspect as much as he dared, and got adopted as successor by old Cecrops, and was made foster-son to Athene. So the wild sea-nymph had to come ashore too, and gather flowers by the Ilissus or walk as sober kanephoros for Athene Polias, and all that stormy past of hers was kept for Thrace. But even at Athens, for all her flower-gathering, she loves a *spring*, a θάλασσα, the only bit of sea left her, be it the Ilissus, the Enneakrounos, or, best of all, the salt-sea spring on the Acropolis.

Her children, Zetes and Kalais, must always have been a crux to the respectable Athenian mythologist. They appear on the vase-painting in fig. 16, the obverse of

a cylix in the museum at Würzburg. Their great ἆθλον was to chase away the Harpies who vexed the life of Phineus, the blind king. Phineus (Φ . . . . Σ) lies at his fateful feast, piteous, with blind eyes. In the distance two Harpies (APE)—Arepuiai, as they are called in early art—take flight to the sea. The sea is clearly shown by the waved lines and dolphins. After them, sword in hand, came the winged sons of Oreithyia, Zetes (. . THΣ) and Kalais (KAΛIΣ). In front of the couch of Phineus stand two figures, who, but for their inscription, would be quite unintelligible; they are the Horae (HOPA). I confess they do not seem to me very easy to interpret. It is usual to say they express the fact that the hour of deliverance is come. That seems to me too fanciful, and I prefer to see in them rather the notion that the fertility of the seasons returns when the desolation of the Harpies is past. The front Hora holds a flower, the symbol of fertility, common to Hours, Graces, and the like. Behind the couch stands a figure, fortunately most clearly inscribed, Erichtho (ERIXΘΩ). She can hardly be other than the wife of Phineus, usually called Kleopatra But the name Erichtho betrays the parentage with Erichthonios—not Erichthonios of Athens, for the vase is not Athenian, but the old Ionic Erichthonios, owner of the mares. Evidence for the Ionic, non-Attic origin of the Boreas and Oreithyia story could scarcely be more complete.

The myth of Kreousa, Xuthus, and Ion is a transparent piece of political genealogy-making, made evident enough by Euripides in his elaborate efforts at concealment. There was a family of Ionidae of the deme of Thoricus, where from ancient days they worshipped Apollo. The simple fact that the eponymous Ion was son of a local hero Xuthus, and had his dwelling, as he had even in the days of Pausanias (i. 31, 2), at Potamoi, near Prasiae, was repellent to Athenian pride. Like Kephalos, if he would come into Attic genealogy, he must be affiliated to an Athenian king's daughter. Poor Xuthus, as actual father, had to be suppressed altogether, though he was allowed to adopt Apollo's child. That child, if he was to be a power at Athens, must be the son of a god, no matter by

what disreputable fraud, and born in a cave beneath the sacred Acropolis rock. It is interesting to read the *Ion* with this political intention of Euripides clearly in one's mind. It comes as a sort of refrain—"Whatever you do, don't think the simple truth, that Ion was son of Xuthus, the local hero of Potamoi. Xuthus was a stranger, and simply had Kreousa to wife as guerdon for help in war, just as Tereus got Procne." Hermes gives the keynote in the prologue (57-64)—

> "Kreousa, she, the mother of the boy,
> Was wed to Xuthus, by this chance constrained.
> 'Gainst Athens and against Chalkodon's race,
> That hold Euboea, came the roar of war;
> And Xuthus strove and helped them with the sword,
> And had Kreousa guerdon of his aid.
> No home-born hero he, but son of Zeus
> And Aiolos, Achaean."

And again, when Ion questions his unknown mother as to her husband (289-295)—

> "*Ion.* And what Athenian took thee for his wife?
> "*Kreousa.* No citizen; an alien from another land.
> "*Ion.* Who? for a well-born man he needs had been.
> "*Kreousa.* Xuthus, of Zeus and Aiolos the offspring he.
> "*Ion.* How might a stranger have thee, a native born!"

—and then she goes on to tell how the fortunes of war earned her as a bride for Xuthus.

Pausanias, even when he actually saw the tomb of Ion at Potamoi, thinks it was only by chance that he came to be buried there, and says, "for he also lived in Attica, and commanded the Athenians in a contest against the Eleusinians." It never occurs to him that Ion was buried in his own place. And again (vii. 1, 2), in speaking of Aigialos in Achaia, he tells of the wars and kingship of Ion, and remarks incidentally that when the Athenians were at war with the Eleusinians they invited Ion to be their leader, and "that which was ordained (τὸ χρεών) came upon him in Attica, and his monument is in the deme of Potamoi." Euripides has done his work well; to us Ion must always be, not the local hero of the

sea-coast tribe, but the fair young foundling priest of Apollo, who chanted before the temple gates at sunrise.

With the lineage of Oreithyia and the Ionian sea-god Erechtheus in our minds, Butes, the reputed brother of Erechtheus, is not hard to place. We are apt to think of Butes exclusively as an agricultural priest, the ox-man, the eponymous of the sacred aristocratic race of the Butadae, or, as they call themselves when encroachment made them exclusive, the *Eteo*butadae (the real true Butadae). The sanctity of the race is seen from their extreme care about their genealogy. Lycurgus, the great benefactor of statesmen, was one of the Eteobutadae, and in the pseudo-Plutarchic *Life* the fact is everywhere insisted on with constant pride. Certain names—such as Lycurgus (p. 70), Lycophron, and Habron—were hereditary in the family, and the whole family tree was written up on a tablet, presumably in the Erechtheion. In the Erechtheion, as will be seen, were three altars—one to Poseidon-Erechtheus, one to Butes, and one to Hephaistos; and the Eteobutadae held the priesthood of Poseidon-Erechtheus, but not, it should be noted, of Hephaistos. They claimed descent from "Erechtheus, son of Hephaistos and Ge." Erechtheus was the real cognate. Hephaistos and Ge, as has been already seen, were only ancestors by adoption. When Habron set up the tablet with the family tree, he also had painted, probably as headpiece to the genealogy, a picture of himself giving up the priesthood to Lycophron, his brother, and this was expressed by his *handing over the trident*. Nothing could be clearer.

When we come to look at the history of Butes before he became Atticised, we find that, like Eumolpos, he had, as became a sea-god, a stormy, and for his later functions of agricultural priest, a somewhat unsuitable past. "Pandion," says Apollodorus (iii. 14, 6), "married Zeuxippe, the sister of his mother, and had two daughters, Procne and Philomela, and twin brothers, Erechtheus and Butes." He then goes on to tell the story of Procne and Philomela, to which we shall come later; and ends—"And when Pandion died, his children divided their patrimony, and Erechtheus took the kingdom, and Butes took the priesthood of Athene and of Poseidon-Erichthonios."

From Diodorus (v. 50, 1) we are able to fill up the interval, and to see that Butes, like his brother Erechtheus, was at home on the Ionian sea before he came to Athens. Speaking of Naxos, Diodorus says—"They say that this island was at first called Strongyle, and that the Thracians were the first to inhabit it, and for these reasons. The story goes that Boreas had two sons, not by the same mother, Butes and Lycurgus; and Butes, being the younger, conspired against his brother, and when it was discovered, he suffered no harm from Lycurgus, but received an injunction to take ships, he and his fellow-conspirators, and seek for another country to live in. Hence Butes set sail with the Thracians he had got together, and, passing along through the Cyclades, he took possession of Strongyle, and taking this as his dwelling-place he made raids on those who sailed by. And as there were too few women who sailed by, he seized women from the country round about. But of the Cyclades near around, some were entirely desert and some but sparsely populated. Accordingly they sailed out farther, and being beaten off from Euboea they put in at Thessaly. And the companions of Butes landed, and chanced to come upon the 'Nurses' of Dionysos, who were celebrating their orgies to the god on the mountain called Drios, in Achaia Phthiotis. The companions of Butes made a raid on them, and some of them dropped their sacred gear and fled to the sea, others to the mountain Drios. But they seized Koronis, and forced her to be the bride of Butes; and she, ill brooking the outrage of the rape, called on Dionysos to help her. And he sent a madness upon Butes, and he in his frenzy cast himself into a well and so died."

This story in its Naxian connection will be touched later in connection with Theseus and Ariadne. For the present it is enough to note that it places Butes undeniably in the light, not of an agricultural priest, but of a sea-pirate. He is here the double of his wild brother Lycurgus (p. 259), whose rash sacrilege against Dionysos and his "nurses" was known as early as the (possibly interpolated) account in the sixth *Iliad* (*vide* p. 259).

Butes, too, was one of the Argonauts, and the only one who, sea-god as he was, could not resist the sweet singing of

the Sirens (Apollod., i. 9, 25). Why should the quiet agricultural priest fall before such a temptation?

Even if Butes be etymologically the ox-man—a point I do not pretend to settle—that does not sever him from Poseidon. Was not Poseidon worshipped as ταύρεος; might not his trident serve on occasion as a βουπλήξ? Were not the cup-bearers at the feast of Poseidon at Ephesus (Athen., x. 25) called ταύροι? Did not Poseidon come forth from the sea to fulfil his own curse, in the person of his vehicle the bull, to slay Hippolytus? With Poseidon, however, we have only to do in so far as he was Erechtheus, and as his priest and second double was Butes.

Next come the widely different sisters of Butes, not belonging to him in the least, but made his sisters for genealogical convenience, Procne and Philomela, and with them *their* real father, who had also nothing to do with Butes, Pandion.

The story of Procne and Philomela is the most transparent of nature myths, a legend invented in part, as Keightley (*Classical Mythology*, p. 337) says, "to account mythically for the habits and properties of animals." Even Pausanias has a suspicion of the truth; he adds to his account of the grave of Tereus (i. 41, 8) this reflection—"The tradition of the change into the nightingale and the swallow is, I think, because these birds have a melancholy song like a lament." Procne and Philomela were honoured as ancestors by the Athenians, but they remain purely poetical conceptions, they have no cult connected with them. Only Tereus seems to have been the object of a somewhat ironical ritual. Pausanias (*loc. cit.*) tells how, when Tereus, driven to despair by the contempt of his subjects the Daulians, committed suicide at Megara, they made him a grave, and offered him yearly sacrifice, *using pebbles instead of barley.*

The story, in part transparently a nature myth, got complicated by contamination and accretion, and in its later form needs some unravelling. It may be best to give the final Attic, non-original version first. Apollodorus, who, as usual, has got the matter into neat historical form, tells the story as follows (iii. 14, 8):—"War having broken out against Labdacus about the boundaries of the land, he (Erechtheus) called

in as helper from Thrace, Tereus, son of Ares, and having ended the war satisfactorily with his help, gave him his daughter Procne in marriage. He had a son by her, Itys. And having fallen in love with Philomela, he seduced her, telling her that Procne was dead, and he hid her in a wood. And having married again, he took Philomela as his wife, and cut out her tongue; but she wove letters into a peplos, and by that means told Procne her own calamities. And she, having sought and found her sister, killed the boy Itys, and served him as a meal to Tereus, who was unwitting. And she at once took flight with her sister. Tereus, becoming conscious of what had happened, seized an axe and pursued them. And they, dwelling in Daulis of Phocis and being in terror, prayed to the gods to be transformed into birds, and Procne became a nightingale, and Philomela a swallow; and Tereus also turned into a bird and became a hoopoe." Various minor and unimportant modifications occur in the story as told by Hyginus, Ovid, and others, but the main outlines are constant—the marriage of the one sister, the ruin of the other, the web, the joint revenge, the transformation. Of a nature myth nothing is left but the names and the transformation; it is a human tragedy of wars and alliances, crime, passion, and revenge, a version that no doubt the *Tereus* of Sophocles fixed indelibly in the popular mind.

A mythologist confronted with such a tale would be tempted to say that this is a late and tragic story; the metamorphosis is merely a fantastic completion, not an early nature myth. It happens that literary evidence makes this view impossible; the story of the nightingale is as old as Homer. When Penelope would tell the husband she so tardily owns how weary was the night time without him, she can find no better image for her sorrow than the song of the wakeful nightingale (*Od.* xix. 518) —"But when night comes, and sleep takes hold of all, I lie on my couch, and shrewd cares, thick thronging about my inmost heart, disquiet me in my sorrowing. Even as when the daughter of Pandareus, the brown bright nightingale, sings sweet in the first season of the spring, from her place in the thick leafage of the trees, and with many a turn and trill she pours forth her full-voiced music, bewailing her child, dear

Itylus, whom on a time she slew with a sword unwitting, Itylus the son of Zethus the prince. Even as her song, my troubled soul sways to and fro." The story hinted at here is told in detail by the scholiast on the passage. Zethus had married Aëdon, daughter of Pandareus; their children were Itylus and Neis. His mother Aëdon killed Itylus by night, thinking he was the child of Amphion, and being envious of Amphion's wife because that woman had six children and she only two; and Zeus sent a penalty upon her. But she prayed to be a bird, and Zeus made her a nightingale, and she ever laments Itylus her son.

Here we have the simplest version of the story. From the first the Greek starts with an odd mistake; he takes the male bird for the female; the song of passion is to him the wail of lament—the cry of the mother bereft of her child. The notion that a bird with a sorrowful cry was a mother bereft of her child is a simple one, and not confined to the Greeks. Mr. Lang (*Myth, Ritual, and Religion*, i. p. 141) says—"From one end of Africa to another, the honey-bird, schneter, is said to be an old woman whose son was lost, and who pursued him till she was turned into a bird, which still shrieks his name, 'Schneter, Schneter.'" He cites also a Red Indian nightingale myth in which some one was turned into a nightingale by the sun, and still wails a lost lover.

But even in this early version, Greek mythology adds a tragic touch unknown to the modern savage. So bitter is the song, that the nightingale must have sinned as well as suffered. She had killed her son, only at first she did it unwittingly (δι' ἀφραδίας); but she intended a crime, she meant to slay the son of another. It should be noted that in the Homeric version, even as explained by the scholiast, though a sister-in-law is involved, only one woman is turned into a bird, and the Tereus element is wholly absent. The name is Aëdon, not either Philomela or Procne, and Aëdon is married to a Theban prince, she herself being daughter of Pandareus of Miletus. The story has, as would be expected in a Homeric myth, nothing whatever to do with Athens. I cannot help suspecting that its transfer to Attic mythology, or at least its exact place in that setting, is due to the similarity of the two names—Pandareus and Pandion.

A different version of the story was given by Boios in his *Ornithogonia*, as cited by Antoninus Liberalis (*Anton. Lib.* 11), a Greek grammarian of the second century A.D. According to this, Aëdon was the wife of an artist, Polytechnos, who lived in Colophon. They had a son, Itys. As long as they reverenced the gods they prospered, but in impious fashion they boasted that their love as husband and wife was greater than that of Zeus and Hera, and Hera in consequence sent the goddess Eris to them, who aroused a rivalry as to their respective handicrafts. At the time, Polytechnos was busy at work at a chariot, and Aëdon was engaged in some spinning; and they agreed that whichever of them should finish first should make the other a present of a slave. Aëdon, by the help of Hera, won the wager; but Polytechnos, in the bitterness of his heart, went to his father-in-law at Ephesus and pretended he had been sent by Aëdon to fetch her sister Chelidon. Pandareus gave Chelidon to him. On his way back, Polytechnos did violence to her, and dressed her in other clothes, cut her hair off, and threatened to kill her if she betrayed his disgraceful act to Aëdon. So Chelidon, unknown to her sister, served her for a time as her slave. But one day, as she was lamenting her plight aloud by a spring, Aëdon listened to her, and the sisters recognised each other, and resolved to be avenged on Polytechnos. They murdered Itys, cut him in pieces, set him before Polytechnos as food, and fled to their father. When Polytechnos learnt from a neighbour what he had eaten, he pursued the two women, but was bound by the servants of Pandareus, daubed with honey, and thrown into a meadow. When she saw him so grievously tormented, Aëdon took pity on him and drove the flies away. Her parents and her brothers noticed this and would have killed her, but Zeus, who wished to ward off some greater misfortune, turned them all into birds—Pandareus into a sea-eagle; Harmothoë, the mother of Aëdon, into a halcyon; Polytechnos into a woodpecker; the brother of Aëdon into a hoopoe; Aëdon into a nightingale, which for ever lamented her Itys in the woods and by the rivers; and Chelidon into a swallow, which, by the will of Artemis, should always dwell

beneath the houses of men, because Chelidon in the hour of her betrayal had called on Artemis.

This version in some respects approaches the Attic story, but the sisters are Chelidon and Aëdon, not the Attic princesses Philomela and Procne. Polytechnos is the double of Tereus. In a story taken from an *Ornithogonia* we need not concern ourselves about the metamorphosis of subordinate figures. The notable point in this particular version is that the element of the web is present, but plays a different and much more rational part in the action. It is apparently in the Attic version that Philomela first loses her tongue, and this dumbness becomes the occasion for the web; but the construction of the plot is distinctly forced here, and I am inclined to think the version of Antoninus is the earlier one. Rivalry was at the bottom of the old Homeric form, envy of the fertile mother by the comparatively barren one; rivalry is again the keynote of the Antoninus version—rivalry at first of husband and wife with the gods, later, as retribution, of husband against wife in their handiwork. Married couples who were too ostentatiously happy were apt to be turned into birds; Ceyx and Halcyon were turned into sea-fowls for a like conjugal insolence. But in the Attic version there is no rivalry either between the two sisters or between husband and wife. I cannot avoid the conjecture, though no proof can be advanced, that the "voice of the web" (ἡ τῆς κερκίδος φωνή) was a purely Sophoclean invention. The whole thing smacks of the drama. It was an excellent tragic motive, and was the material for a splendid stage effect, the entrance of a messenger bearing the web. The tendency, no doubt, of the Sophoclean tragedy would be to shift *all* blame on to Tereus, the Thracian king. Thracian shoulders in Attic myth-making are always broad; in the version of Homer all blame lay on Aëdon; in the version of Antoninus the misery that comes is punishment for past pride; in the plot of Sophocles no blame attaches to the sisters, save that they took vengeance in their own hands; this, though a sin, was a highly respectable one, fit for two Attic princesses, revered ancestors. If Sophocles dealt with the Homeric material, he was quite right, from the tragic and orthodox theological point of view, to modify the situation.

A word is necessary as to the names in the Attic tale. We are accustomed, burdened as we are with Ovidian association, to think of Philomela as the nightingale. Such was not the version of Apollodorus, nor, so far as I know, of any earlier Greek writer. According to Apollodorus, Procne became the nightingale (*ἀηδών*), and Philomela the swallow (*χελιδών*). It was Philomela who had her tongue cut out, a tale that would never have been told of the nightingale, but which fitted well with the short restless chirp of the swallow. To speak a barbarian tongue was "to mutter like a swallow" (*χελιδονίζειν*). Possibly the Latin notion, common to Ovid and Horace, and transferred to modern verse, that Philomela became a nightingale, arose from some false etymology of the name as the "song lover."

The metamorphosis of Tereus into the hoopoe seems to have been of comparatively late origin, and to have resulted from a series of curious confusions, which have been unravelled with great patience and ingenuity by Dr. Eugen Oder.* He points out that the earliest evidence for the hoopoe version is a fragment quoted by Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* ix. 49; Dindorf, p. 305), and by him *wrongly* attributed to Æschylus —wrongly because internal evidence, such as the employment of *ἥνικα* and a certain participial use (*ἀποδηλώσας ἔχει*) prove it not to be earlier than Sophocles. The passage is so circumstantial, it may be quoted as emended by Dr. Oder:—

τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτην ἐπόπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν
πεποικίλωκε κ' ἀποδηλώσας ἔχει
θρασὺν πετραῖον ὄρνιν ἐν παντευχίᾳ
ὃ ἦρι μὲν φανέντι διαπάλλει πτερόν
κίρκου λεπάργου· δύο γὰρ οὖν μορφὰς φανεῖ
παιδός τε χαὐτοῦ νηδύος μιᾶς ἄπο . . .
νέας δ' ὀπώρας ἥνικ' ἂν ξανθῇ στάχυς
στικτή νιν αὖθις ἀμφινωμήσει πτέρυξ.
ἀεὶ δὲ μίσει τῶνδ' ἄπ' ἄλλον εἰς τόπον
δρυμοὺς ἐρήμους καὶ πάγους ἀποικιεῖ.

* "Der Wiedehopf in der griechischen Sage" (Oder, E.), *Rheinisches Museum*, 1888, p. 54.

Here the notable point is, that the hoopoe, the bold bird "in full armour" who dwells in the rocks, is described as changing in the spring to a "bright feathered hawk," and back again in the early autumn to his own shape. Such was the version, which, for convenience' sake, we may call Sophoclean; it is at all events post-Æschylean. Now it happens that we have one *genuine* Æschylean mention of the Tereus story, and here (Æsch., *Supp.* 63) the nightingale is κιρκήλατος ("hawk-pursued"). Sophocles is innovating, and to give the *cachet* of orthodoxy to his innovation he states elaborately that the old story and the new are one and the same, the hoopoe *is* the hawk. He would gain easy credence, for the Greeks were not precise naturalists, and they believed of many birds that one turned into the other, simply because they noticed that one bird has summer and winter clothes. How casual were their observations is shown by the fact that Sophocles is able calmly to give currency to the precise reverse of the truth, for the hawk comes in the winter, the hoopoe in the spring. Moreover, he shows his total ignorance of the hoopoe's character; about the bird there is nothing martial but his beak and crest; instead of pursuing the swallow, "a passing swallow frightens him" (Brehm, *Thierleben*, iv. p. 22).

This all points clearly to one fact. The hoopoe got into the saga and drove out the hawk, when he himself was a newcomer and his habits strange. That he was a stranger is clear enough from the absurd scene, in the *Birds*, at the hoopoe's house. The hoopoe comes out from his greenwood door, and Euelpides exclaims (*Aves*, 93):—

"Goodness gracious, what a creature, to be sure!
What feathers he's got! What's that triple crest on his head?"

And they go on for some time chaffing Tereus about his beak; for rarity and strangeness he might as well be a peacock (*vide* 102):—

"O Tereus, are you—is that a bird or a peacock?"

"The peacock," says Eubulus, quoted by Athenaeus (ix. 56), "is admired for his rarity." To bring in the rare new bird

points a joke for Aristophanes, but it is rather surprising that Sophocles should have cared to innovate and spend several lines in apologising for it.

But there was a further confusion of some importance for the myth of Tereus; not only was the κίρκος supposed to turn into the ἔποψ, but a bird kindred to the κίρκος, the ἱέραξ, turned into the cuckoo. Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.* vi. 7) says—"The cuckoo is said by some to turn into the ἱέραξ because the ἱέραξ disappears at this time" (*i.e.*, when the cuckoo appears). Now the domestic habits of the cuckoo are like enough to those of Tereus and Procne. Aristotle again (*Hist. Anim.* vi. 7 and ix. 29) writes—"Some say that the cuckoo takes up his abode and devours the nestlings of the bird that receives him." I do not, however, think for a moment that the myth of Tereus and his devouring his child arose from the habits of the cuckoo; there was precedent enough for his conduct in one respect from the Eumolpos, in another from the meal of Atreus; but I do think it is likely that the early Greek, better mythologist than ornithologist, when he first noted the habits of the cuckoo, thought he was Tereus metamorphosed. The human part of the myth might easily arise from the legend of a Thracian king, the marvellous change from the supposed analogy in bird life.

It is odd that cuckoo and nightingale and hoopoe in German as well as Greek mythology gave rise to transformation saga. A good instance is the *Rohrdummel und Wiedehopf* of Grimm and the Albanian story of Gjön and the Kjukje. Kjukje slew Gjön by chance with her scissors, and so great was her grief that she became a cuckoo, and her other brother became a gjön (a small owl); and the one calls "Gjön, Gjön," the other "Ku, Ku," which means "Where art thou?" just like the Greek ποῦ ποῦ. It is possible the name Itys, Itylus may have been suggested by the twitter of either nightingale or swallow, but, on the other hand, as the word means "tender," it was appropriate to any young child.

The general conclusion from an examination of the Tereus story is that the figure of Tereus as the hoopoe did not come in until the fifth century, and was probably first popularised by Sophocles.

It remains to see if anything can be got from the vase-paintings which depict this subject; they are three only in number, and so easily examined.

1. A cylix in Munich.
2. A cylix in the Louvre.
3. A lower Italy amphora at Naples.

These three vases happen to form an instructive sequence. It must be noted first that the myth does not appear at all on black-figured vases, and, as is evident, but very sparsely on red-figured ones. It is one of those myths which are represented only when the vase-painter has become consciously Attic, and casts about for material that shall confer local glory on his city.*

The first representation, that on the Munich cylix (fig. 17), is unhappily in bad condition; it has suffered much from restoration, as indicated by the dotted lines. Happily, however, the general composition and the invaluable inscriptions are clear. A woman holding a sword in her right hand is about to plunge it into the neck of a naked boy; with her left hand she holds his hair, keeping him backwards, the better to strike. The boy lies on a long couch, leaning against a cushion; he half struggles up, and stretches out his right hand to implore mercy. In front of the couch is a large vessel; suspended on the wall behind, a lyre and a sword-sheath. The boy is clearly inscribed ΙΤΥΣ (Itys). Over the woman's sword is written her name, Α . ΕΔΟΝΑΙ . , which may safely be restored as Αἰεδοναία, not the simple Homeric form Ἀηδών, but quite near enough for identification. The myth depicted here is clearly yet in its simple Homeric form, not in its later Attic amplification. This is shown by the absence of the second sister, by the name inscribed, and also incidentally by the fact that the child Itys is struggling *on a bed*. The scholiast on the *Odyssey* passage

* "Itys and Aëdon" (J. E. Harrison), *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, 1887. For other works of art representing the myth but not bearing on the present argument, see *Annali*, 1863; Klügmann, p. 106.

distinctly states that Itys and his cousin used to sleep together, and that Aëdon put Itys in the inner bed, in order that Amaleus might be the easier to attack. No Amaleus is depicted, but it is quite in the manner of the vase-painter of this date to seize only the essentials of the story—*i.e.*, that Aëdon slew her own child. The love-name Panaitios, of which only

FIG. 17.—CYLIX: AEDONAIA AND ITYS (MUNICH MUSEUM).

five letters remain, dates the vase as roughly contemporary with Euphronios and Duris — *i.e.*, of the early part of the fifth century. It becomes, therefore, an early *source* for the myth.

Of very nearly the same date is the second vase, but the myth is treated quite differently. The two sisters are present

(fig. 18); Procne undoubtedly is the mother holding the child. Philomela is close at hand with her sword by her side. The boy Itys is stark, either in fear or death. I am inclined to think he is dead, as there is no trace of a pupil to his eye; and to draw the eye without the pupil denotes the shut, blind, and dead eye, so I take it we have here the "small

FIG. 18.—CYLIX: PROCNE, PHILOMELA, AND ITYS (LOUVRE).

slain body." The hands of Philomela are uplifted, and, relying on the Ovidian form of the story, it has been usual to say Philomela is dumbly gesticulating—"pro voce manus fuit." I am inclined to think the hands are simply uplifted in terror and deprecation, not for definite gesticulation. I think this, because I do not feel sure that the element of the dumbness

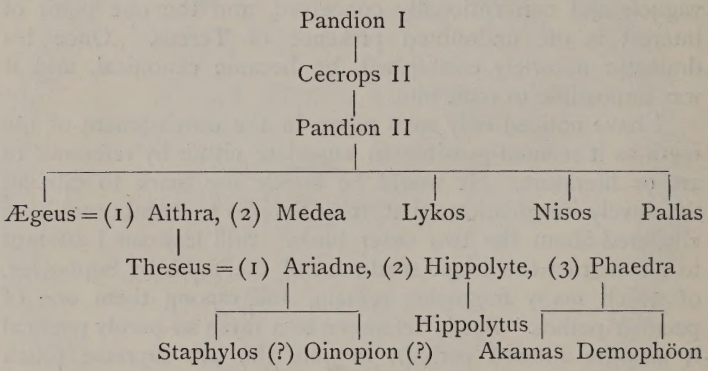
of Philomela had come in at this date. Be this as it may, one important fact remains undoubted. Tereus is absent from both vase-paintings, and this is, I think, strong evidence for supposing that until the drama got hold of the story Tereus played no prominent part. I am confirmed in this view by the fact that in the one late post-Sophoclean vase we possess Tereus *does* appear.* The design from this Naples vase shows two chariots driven each by a woman, the hindmost of which is inscribed Philomela; in the upper part of the design Tereus, also inscribed, pursues them on horseback, followed by two attendants; before him is the figure of Delusion (Apata), also inscribed. The situation is, as so often in this class of vase, vaguely and conventionally conceived, and the one point of interest is the undoubted presence of Tereus. Once his dramatic notoriety established, he became canonical, and it was impossible to omit him.

I have noticed only such points in the development of the myth as it seemed possible to elucidate either by reference to art or literature. It would be beside my mark to cite all the lovely imaginations that, from Sappho to Swinburne, have clustered about the two sister birds. Still less can I attempt to reconstruct the tragic treatment of the myth by Sophocles, of which many fragments remain, and among them one of peculiar pathos. But in reference to a myth so purely poetical it may be allowed perhaps to note the last supreme touch given by a modern poet. The nightingale sinned most, and her pain was, even to the ancients, the sharper; the swallow might sleep but half the night through, the nightingale never any more. But only a modern singer, in verses whose rhythm is framed on the beat of the swallow's wings, could tell of the nightingale's last bitterness when she cried—

> "O sweet stray sister, O shifting swallow,
> The heart's division divideth us;
> Thy heart is light as a leaf of the tree,
> But mine goeth forth among sea-gulfs hollow,
> To the place of the slaying of Itylus,
> The feast of Daulis, the Thracian sea."

* *Nouvelles Annales de l'Inst. Arch.*, plate xxi.

The famous daughters of Pandion have been noted, and it is now time to say a word of Pandion himself. Pausanias, in speaking of the statues of the Eponymi (p. 56), gives full details of Pandion, and states at the same time that which of the two Pandions, the first or second, was honoured with a statue he did not know. It was, however, he says, the last Pandion who was driven out by the Metionidae, who fled to Megara, and married the daughter of Cylon, the king. There he died, and was buried on the rock called after Athene Aithuia. This account is confirmed with somewhat less detail by Apollodorus (iii. 15, 3).



Of the Metionidae it may briefly be said that they claimed descent from Erechtheus, and to their stock belonged the artists Eupalamos and Daidalos, also Kalos and Perdix, who had their grave monuments — a pretty sure sign of autochthonous race—under the Acropolis itself.

Pandion lived and died at Megara, and clearly he belongs there ; he was only affiliated to the Athenian stock to give a link to his grandson, Theseus. He seems to be little more than the eponymous hero of the Pandia. In an Attic inscription found between the Dionysiac theatre and the theatre of Herodes Atticus (*C. I. A.*, 554 B) we have a decree passed by the tribe Pandion on the agora meeting after the Pandia (τῇ μετὰ Πάνδια), in which a golden crown is decreed to a priest

of Pandion. The stele was to be set up in a sanctuary, which, it seems probable, was that of Pandion on the Acropolis (p. 429).

It is odd how in the family of Pandion there ran a tendency to turn into birds. Pandion himself was buried on the rock of the diver-bird (Aithuia); Nisos, son of Pandion, was changed into a sea-eagle, and Scylla into a rapacious bird called a kiris. Nisos had a tomb at Athens (p. 208); but the whole romantic legend of Scylla and the purple lock is too Megarean to be told here. The four sons of Pandion must, however, be briefly noted in their topographical relations. Apollodorus (*loc. cit.*) says they returned and expelled the Metionidae, and divided the kingdom into four (τετραχῆ).

Strabo (c. 392) quotes a fragment of a lost tragedy of Sophocles in which Ægeus is made to deliver a very instructive geographical address. "My father," he says, "arranged that I should go away to the coasts of this land, taking an elder's portion. He gave to Lykos

> 'The garden opposite Euboia's coast;
> And Nisos took the land that lies hard by
> The shore of Skiron; Pallas had for lot
> The southern land—rough Pallas, he who rears
> A brood of giants.'"

"The garden opposite Euboia's coast" was inhabited by the Apolline Tetrapolis, the country of Kephalos; and Lykos is merely the eponym of the Lykian Apollo. Lykos does not appear, as a rule, on vase-paintings; but one painter, as will be seen later, to show his learning no doubt, introduces him together with Pallas. Strabo says that this division was matter of conviction to all, whatever else they differed about.

Ægeus, it was fabled, was an illegitimate son of Pandion, and here we strike the keynote of the Theseus legend. Theseus was not, could not be, an Athenian. The reason is simple. Cecrops in far-off remote ages could be an Athenian, autochthonic, and yet rule as king. Theseus, the founder of the democracy, could not be the ancestor of those nobles whom that democracy laboured to put down. He must be noble, and a stranger, yet with some link to Athens;

a king, but deprived of his rights, and coming back to win, by favour of the people, what was his own; a man contending with the nobles of the land, the Metionids, the Pallantidae, and Menestheus; a hero always ready to sacrifice himself for the people, yet whose throne was never stable. Here we have more of conscious heroising, of intentional myth-making, than about Cecrops or Erechtheus. Theseus is carefully modelled after Herakles (ἄλλος οὗτος Ἡρακλῆς). He gradually gathers about himself the deeds of other heroes. He obtrudes his own personality into other cults, dominates alien festivals, till at length his myth outsteps all limits, and taste, revolted, complains there is nothing without Theseus (οὐκ ἄνευ γε Θησέως).

The myths about his exploits fall naturally into certain groups as follows:—

1. Legends about his birth and early childhood.
2. Legends that deal with his journey from Troezen to Athens.
3. The Cretan legend, including the Marathonian bull.
4. Legends that deal with his adventures after he became king; his contests with Centaurs, Amazons; descent into Hades; rape of Helen; exile and death.

And closely connected with this part of his life—

5. The Troezenian legend of Hippolytus.

Of these, it is noticeable that the rape of Helen is a local Laconian legend. In it Theseus appears as nothing more than a northern robber. The legend never took hold on Athenian literature or art, but still, as it connected Theseus with the glories of the Trojan heroine, it is retained, however discreditable.

The Cretan legend seems the earliest; it alone appears on black-figured vase-paintings; it seems to have come to Athens by way of Phalerum. The later adventures—Amazons, Lapiths, Hades—are obviously mere replicas of the labours of Herakles and need no detailed consideration. The exploits from Troezen to Athens belong exclusively to Theseus, but are avowedly undertaken in imitation of Herakles.

Theseus was, to the Athenian imagination, nearer historical times, more actual than the heroes who preceded him. The element of the supernatural seems to have appeared to them and to all historians more incongruous in his story than in others, hence they sought jealously to exclude it. Plutarch expresses in characteristic words the feeling of his times, the tendency to soften down the stories of poets and logographers. "I desire," he says in the beginning of his *Life of Theseus*, "that the fabulous material I deal in may be subservient to my endeavours, and being moulded by reason, may accept the form of history; and when it obstinately declines probability, and will not blend appropriately with what is credible, I shall pray my readers may be indulgent, and receive with kindness the fables of antiquity." So forewarned, we may be sure that ancient fable has been freely tampered with by Plutarch, who none the less is our chief source as regards Theseus.

Theseus comes from Troezen, and to Troezen we must go for the legends of his birth. "The Troezenians," Pausanias (ii. 30) says, "were fond of their country, if any people are." For the land of Troezen, as well as for that of Attica, Athene and Poseidon had striven, and by command of Zeus they held it in common; only here Poseidon seems to have had the supremacy. At Athens Theseus had to be son of Ægeus; at Troezen he was son of Poseidon. The princess Aithra, local legend said, crossed over to the island Spharia, close to Troezen, with offerings to the dead, and there she met Poseidon and bore him a son. And she built a temple to Athene the Injurer, to whom the maidens of Troezen at their marriage dedicate their girdle; and the whole island belonged to Poseidon. The sonship to Poseidon must, one would have thought, have been offensive to Athenian prejudice, but their substitution of Ægeus was powerless to suppress the Troezenian legend, which comes out strongly in the story of Minos and the ring (p. 147).

The fatherhood of Ægeus was supported by all the weight of religious sanction, all the apparatus of oracular response. Ægeus, the childless king, goes to Delphi to ask how he may have a son. The oracle is ambiguous, but the wise old king

of Troezen understands or at least applies it to his own advantage, and gives his daughter Aithra to the Athenian king. The notion of the Delphic sanction took some hold on the popular fancy, as is seen in the beautiful red-figured vase-painting in fig. 19. The design is from the centre of a cylix in Berlin. The Delphic priestess is seated on her tripod. But she is not the Pythia; the days of Ægeus are earlier than this; she is Themis, who came after Ge and before Apollo (Æsch., *Eum.* 1)—

> "First before all the gods I pray to Earth,
> And Themis next, who, after Earth her mother,
> Tradition says, held this oracular seat."

The vase-painter adds learning to his piety. The design stands alone, the graceful fancy of one artist. The slender column shows the scene is within a temple. Ægeus stands without, the priestess within.

FIG. 19.—CYLIX: THEMIS AND ÆGEUS (BERLIN).

As regards the name and actual personality of Ægeus, it has often been conjectured, and rightly, that he is merely a personified attribute of Poseidon. The Athenians had to face the fact that Theseus was, by local tradition, son of Poseidon. No mythologist dared make of Poseidon an Athenian king; but Poseidon was also Ægeus, there was an Ægean Sea, and the colourless Ægeus could without prejudice be arranged for genealogically, the better too if Theseus was supposed to be an illegitimate son. The process is, in fact, strictly analogous to what went on with Poseidon-Erechtheus.

Pausanias (i. 27) repeats the pretty Troezenian tale of the little Theseus and the lion-skin. The trophies of Herakles

would not let him sleep, child though he was. Next came the test exploit of the stone and sword and sandals, an element so simple and natural that it needs no comment. In Troezen, on the mountains of Hermione, Pausanias (i. 32) saw the stone of Theseus, which in former times, he says, was called the altar of Sthennian Zeus. Troezen had many

FIG. 20.—HIERON CYLIX: AITHRA AND THESEUS (HERMITAGE).

famous stones. Behind the temple of Artemis Soteira he saw three seats of white stone, on which it was fabled (i. 31) that the wise Pittheus and two others with him gave judgment. The story of the sandals and sword was no doubt local, but it came to Athens and took hold there. A bronze group representing the raising of the stone was set up on the Acropolis.

It appears on Athenian coins, and on many late Graeco-Roman terra-cottas. One form of the recognition scene is depicted on a vase-painting (fig. 20) by Hieron in the Hermitage (Cat., No. 830). Aithra (ΑΙΘΡΑ) stretches out her two hands and touches the chin of Theseus (ΘΕΣΕΥΣ). Theseus wears his petasos, as if about to start on his journey to Athens. On his feet are his father's sandals, and he is in the act of drawing the sword. The vase is, I believe, the earliest source we have of the story of the recognition. But it should be noted that there is no trace of the lifting of the stone. It cannot be said that therefore the vase-painter did not know it, but it seems quite possible that the stone was a local Troezenian legend, and the drawing of the sword was at Athens the canonical test. On the other hand, the hero drawing a sword was a type that lay to hand for the vase-painter, and he may have used it in preference to creating a new one for the lifting of the stone.

It should be noted also that this vase is an isolated instance. Many *may* have perished; but Hieron was an artist quite capable of conceiving a perfectly original scene, and this single instance is no reason for supposing the recognition scene ever became popular in fifth century B.C. art.

It is widely otherwise with the next set of exploits—

2. From Troezen to Athens.

As the hero had to be brought from Troezen, it seemed fitting that his coming should be attended by every circumstance of glory. He would not go by sea, but chose the perilous land, that he, like Herakles, might cleanse the earth of monsters. He met and fought with—

(*a*) *Periphetes* in Epidauria, called also Korynetes (the club-bearer). Him he slew, and took his club; this was henceforth his characteristic weapon. Here manifestly he is but a replica of Herakles, who in like manner bore as his fixed attribute the skin of the Nemean lion.

(*b*) *Sinis Pityokamptes* (Sinis the Pine-bender), on the Isthmus. It was his custom to make travellers bend down his pine tree, which, when they could not hold it, tore them

up into the air. Him Theseus slew by the same device. Theseus loved his daughter Perigone, who used to pray to shrubs and herbs to protect her. Her descendants were the Ioxidae, who burn no rushes nor wild plants of a certain sort, but honour and worship them. On the Isthmus Theseus set up the boundary stone between Ionia and the Peloponnese, and instituted the Isthmian games. The pine of Pityokamptes was to be seen even in the days of Pausanias (ii. 1), who gave a slightly different account of the manner of death of the victims, involving two pines instead of one.

(*c*) *The sow of Krommyon*, called Phaia. Some said, according to Plutarch, that Phaia was an abandoned woman, whose life and manners were that of a sow. Her Theseus slew; after what fashion is not told.

(*d*) *Skiron*, on the borders of Megara. Respecting this exploit there are two points of importance to be noticed:—

(1) About Skiron's moral character, among all the robbers slain, tradition varied. Plutarch says that the local Megara legend, in contradistinction to all other ancient tradition, held that Skiron was neither robber nor villain, but a hospitable man, and himself a destroyer of ruffians, and, moreover, that he was thoroughly well connected—son-in-law to Kychreus, to whom divine honours were paid, and father-in-law to Æacus; and, as Plutarch naïvely remarks, it was not likely that a bad man would be so well connected. Here we have a hint of the diversity of tradition in different local communities; the hero of one was the robber and oppressor of another. Had Megara instead of Athens become dominant, we might have had among the exploits of the great hero Skiron the slaying of the robber Theseus.

(2) The exact manner in which the travellers, and ultimately Skiron himself, met their death differs very considerably in the various accounts, and the difference is, I think, interesting, as it seems to me to have arisen entirely from the misconception of works of art. Epicharinus, who flourished at the end of the sixth and beginning of the fifth century B.C., wrote a play called *Skiron*; thus much we know from Pollux (x. 86, 87), but we do not know what account he gave. The earliest particulars

we have of the myth are from Diodorus, the contemporary of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. He says (iv. 59)—"Theseus also took vengeance on Skiron, who lived on the rocks of Megaris, which bear his name. Skiron was accustomed to compel travellers to wash his feet on the precipice, and he kicked them suddenly, and hurled them down into the sea from the precipice, over what is called the Tortoise." Now here it seems to me one thing is clear, "what is called the Tortoise" is not an actual Tortoise. Chelone must be either a promontory or a district; anyhow, it is topographical. It should be noted that the tortoise is the regular symbol of Ægina, and might well stand for the opposite gulf. Plutarch, to whom we always look for a detailed version of the myth, simply says—"On the frontier of Megara he slew Skiron, the robber, by hurling him down a precipice, as is usually related; and they add that in sheer wickedness Skiron used to make travellers wash his feet, and while they were doing this he used to seize the opportunity to push them over." So far the two authorities are agreed; but when we come to the later authority, Pausanias, a new element is introduced (i. 44, 8). Pausanias says—"The Molurian rock is held sacred to Leucothea and Palaemon; but the rocks next are held accursed, because Skiron, when he dwelt there, used to throw into the sea all the travellers who came by. And a tortoise used to swim about near the rocks, and seize upon those who were thrown in. These sea-tortoises are like land-tortoises, only in size and the shape of their feet they are like seals. But Skiron in his turn was himself punished for this, for he was thrown into the same sea by Theseus." Still more explicit is the scholiast on line 979 of the *Hippolytus* of Euripides. He says—"Skiron lived in Megara, a tyrant hostile to travellers, who was thrown by Theseus to the tortoise; and the Skironian rocks are called after him, and he was the keeper of the tortoise, as mentioned by Callimachus. This Skiron was wont to compel passers-by to wash his feet, and then, kicking them with his foot, he sent them to be food to the tortoise; but Theseus, hurling him over his head and casting him into the sea, caused him to be eaten by the tortoise." Thus the legend differed. According to one form, travellers were

simply hurled into the sea; according to another, a tortoise was kept by Skiron, and they were hurled down to him for food. The reason of this variation will be seen when we come to the consideration of the vase-paintings depicting this myth.

(*e*) Near Eleusis he slew Kerkyon the wrestler. Pausanias (i. 39, 3) notes that "Kerkyon was stern to all strangers, and specially to those who did not contend with him in wrestling; and the place was called, even in his days, Kerkyon's wrestling-ground. And Kerkyon, it is said, killed all those who wrestled with him, except only Theseus; but Theseus wrestled with him by skill and science (σοφία), and so overcame him; and before the time of Theseus size and strength only were employed for wrestling." Kerkyon, who through his daughter Alope is connected closely with the Attic eponymous hero Hippothöon, looks as though, according to ancient thinking, like Skiron, he cannot have been wholly lawless.

Near to the wrestling-ground of Kerkyon Pausanias saw the tomb of Alope, mother of Hippothöon; and though it comes somewhat as a digression, as Hippothöon was one of the heroes who gave his name to an Attic tribe, his story must be told here.

[It has been noticed how frequently the influence of the sea-god—put mythologically as the parentage of Poseidon—comes in. Hippothöon is another case in point. Alope is the daughter of the robber Kerkyon, whom Theseus slew.

Kerkyon
|
Alope = (1) Poseidon, (2) Theseus
|
Hippothöon

She is one of the maidens whom Clement of Alexandria cites (*Protrept.* ii. 32) as victims of Poseidon—"Summon to my tribunal Poseidon and the band of maidens he has destroyed,

Amphitrite and Alope and Melanippe, Alcyone, Hippothoe, and others that are countless."

The story took its rise, no doubt, on the border-land between Eleusis and Megara, where tradition put the fight between Theseus and the robber. There Pausanias (i. 38, 4) says he saw "a heröon to Hippothöon, from whom one of the tribes takes its name," and not far away "a monument to Alope, who, it is said, was mother of Hippothöon by Poseidon, and was therefore put to death by her father Kerkyon." The first and only author who has left us the story in full is Hyginus (Fab. clxxxvii.)—"Alope, daughter of Kerkyon, was exceedingly beautiful, and Neptune (*i.e.*, Poseidon) loved her, and she bore him a son, and, unknown to her father, gave it to the nurse to expose. And when the nurse had exposed it, a mare came and gave the child milk. A herdsman followed the mare, and saw the child and took it up, and brought it wrapped in its royal robes to his hut. And another herdsman asked to have the child given to him. The first herdsman gave it to his fellow, but without the royal robe; and a dispute about this rose up between them, and they went to King Kerkyon to contend the matter before him. And he who had received the child from the other began to demand the royal insignia; and when these were brought in, and Kerkyon recognised that they had been torn off from the dress of his own daughter, the nurse of Alope gave evidence to the king that the child was the child of Alope. And Kerkyon ordered his daughter to be shut up till the day of her death, and the child to be exposed. And a second time a mare suckled it, and a second time herdsmen took it in, and gave it the name of Hippothous (horse-swift). Theseus, in his journey from Troezen, slew Kerkyon. But Hippothous came to Theseus and demanded the kingdom of his father; and Theseus willingly gave it to him when he knew him to be the son of Neptune, from whom he himself was descended. And Neptune changed the body of Alope into a stream, which is called by the name of Alope."

It is not hard to see that the story falls into two parts. First, there is the thrice-told tale common to many nations, of the royal child exposed and suckled by a mare, a goat, or a

bear. What creature suckled the child depends on the peculiar bent of the myth-makers. Thessaly first, and Athens later, were devoted to horse-rearing; they worshipped Poseidon of the Horses (Poseidon Hippios). "For heaven's sake," says the father of the horse-racing Pheidippides, "no swearing by Poseidon Hippios, he is the source of all my undoing" (Ar., *Av.* 83). Hence in Thessaly and Athens such stories bring in the mare as foster-mother. In pastoral Crete it is a goat who rears the foundling; in desolate Arcadia, a bear. Then later, the story common to many lands is linked on to Attic legend by the marriage of Theseus and Alope. Whoever would be connected with Athenian legend must find some kinship with the great Attic hero.

The story of Alope was dramatised by three poets—Karkinos, Choerilus, and Euripides. Of the play of Euripides we have a few fragments, enough just dimly to track the plot. A few lines are left, in which, it seems, Kerkyon chides his undutiful daughter; her crime to him is that by her descent she has failed to reverence her parents, that first and greatest thing. "The better women are reared, the lower they fall," says the indignant father. Kerkyon can scarcely have appeared in the play as the lawless robber of the Theseus legend, or he would not have taken this high tone about home influence; indeed, we learn from Aristotle (*Nic. Eth.* 7-8) that in the play of Karkinos, Kerkyon appears as broken down by grief at his daughter's sin. It is pardonable, and one cannot be surprised if a man be overcome by excessive pleasure or pain, if he has to bear the blows of calamity—"like Philoktetes, stung by the serpent in the play of Theodektes, or Kerkyon in the play *Alope* by Karkinos." Alope pleads that it is a god who loved her—a god who, she pathetically adds, has left her, and no more gladdens her eyes "even in a dream," and she calls her nurse to witness; but it is all in vain—"a woman ever takes a woman's side," says the hard old king.

Monumental art has left us only one certain record of this story of Alope * and Hippothöon. This is in itself evidence

* For the story of Alope, see Welcker, *Gr. Trag.* 711; Welcker, *A. D.* p. 203; and Stephani, *Compte Rendu* (1864), p. 152.

that the hero was somewhat a stranger at Athens, better at home in the border-land of Eleusis and Megara. This one monument, however, a Roman sarcophagos (fig. 21), gives the story in such full detail and follows so closely the fable of Hyginus that it cannot be passed over. The sarcophagos stands in the front hall of the Cascino of the Villa Pamfili. It has unfortunately been much restored, but quite sufficient of the original remains to make the interpretation secure. Nearly in the centre is seated King Kerkyon, behind him a guard. It is the moment when the herdsman is brought to tell his story. The artist represents one herdsman only; he does not seem to know the story of the quarrel. The whole upper part of the herdsman's figure is restored; in the original, one hand lies loose on the knee, so manifestly he was not bound. At the

FIG. 21.—BAS-RELIEF: SCENES FROM LIFE OF HIPPOTHÖON (VILLA PAMFILI, ROME).

same moment the nurse brings up the child, who stretches out his arms to his grandfather. Behind, on an ample sculptured throne, are seated a woman, cowering in fear, and a youth, who lays his hand about her shoulder. The cowering woman can scarcely be any one but Alope. It is extremely probable that to heighten the pathos, some version of the story chose the time when Alope was betrothed to Theseus for the disclosure of her secret. The seated youth would then be her new lover, to whom she turns for protection. To the left of the sarcophagos we have the story a stage further advanced. Alope is immured in the tower, the mare who suckled Hippothöon comes neighing up to see her, and a youth and woman talk to her through the window. What the precise purport of the interview is, cannot be certainly said; but the introduction of the mare without the repetition of the child is certainly

ingenious. To the right hand we have the final transformation scene. Alope has become a fountain, represented by a nymph and a jar from which water pours—the fountain which at Eleusis, we learn, went by the name of Love (φιλότης). The nurse, seated below, seems to tell the tale, and point the moral to a youth and bearded man who approach; the youth is possibly Theseus.

This Roman sarcophagos is of interest because of the detailed manner in which it tells the story; but naturally, in considering Hippothöon as an eponymous hero, the evidence most wanted is a bit of genuine Attic work. Fortunately this is forthcoming. The design in fig. 22 is from a vase (of the

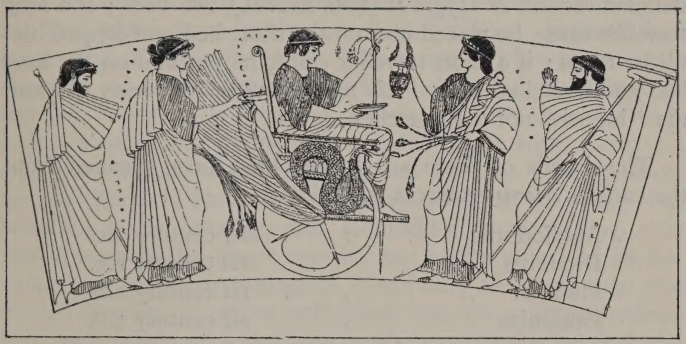


FIG. 22.—TRIPTOLEMOS STARTING IN PRESENCE OF KELEOS AND HIPPOTHÖON (GIRGENTI).

shape known as oxybaphon) found in an Agrigentine tomb, and now in the museum at Girgenti. It represents the thrice familiar scene of the starting of Triptolemos. The centre figure of Triptolemos on the winged car bearing the corn is common to all representations; the goddess Demeter pouring out the parting wine is also usually present, and her daughter Persephone standing behind the car. The composition is usually filled up with figures of subordinate interest at either side. Happily in this instance the two figures present are inscribed Keleos and Hippothöon. Hippothöon, son of the lawless Kerkyon, is somehow incorporated into the sacred assembly of Eleusinian kings, just as was Eumolpos, king

of Thrace, who made war on Athens. The cases are almost exactly parallel. In the Homeric hymn to Demeter they are named together "Eumolpos and Dolichos and great-souled Hippothöon." Only in this case Hippothöon is always a chief, the son of a chief; he never has been a priest.]

Returning from this digression on Alope we come to the last exploit of this set, the slaying of (*f*) *Prokrustes or Damastes or Polypemon*, in the country known as Korydallos—probably near the modern Daphne monastery in the pass between Eleusis and Athens—or, according to Pausanias, by the banks of the Cephissus itself (i. 38, 5). Prokrustes had, according to the detailed version of Hyginus (Fab. xxxviii.), two beds; if a long traveller came, he placed him on the short bed and lopped him till he fitted; if a short traveller came, he put him on the long bed and stretched him. His name Prokrustes seems to mean the "lopper," not the stretcher.

The details of these adventures have been gleaned from the earliest *literary* sources, as follows :—

Apollodorus . . .	2d century B.C.
Diodorus	1st century B.C.
Plutarch	1st century A.D.
Pausanias	2d century A.D.

But were these our only authorities, it would be impossible to state that these exploits were matter of popular faith in the fifth century B.C. Fortunately, art comes to our aid. The metopes of the temple of Hephaistos (built soon after the Parthenon) are decorated with these exploits, and the sculptures are still extant; and of still earlier date we have a series of vase-paintings, which it will be necessary to examine.*

This series is uniformly red-figured, and ranges from the earliest to the perfected style. Fortunately, some of them are signed by well-known masters, and can be approximately dated.

* A list of the vases decorated with Theseus' exploits will be found in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità classica*, vol. iii., part i., in an interesting paper by Professor Milani, who publishes the Chachrylion vase with several others, and fully discusses their relation.

All cannot be here discussed, but only sufficient to show that the type of the several exploits was clearly fixed. The earliest vase known that is decorated with a series of the Troezenian exploits is a cylix by Chachrylion now in the Museo Greco Etrusco at Florence (fig. 23, *a*, *b*, and *c*). Chachrylion painted none but red-figured vases, but he is one of the earliest masters of the style, and must be placed early in the fifth century. In the interior (*c*) of his cup he paints a beautiful Eros floating over the sea (ὑπερπόντιος); the outside is entirely devoted to the exploits, three on each side. On the obverse (*a*), beginning from the left, is Theseus seizing Sinis by the shoulder and about to bind him to his own pine-tree; next, the contest with the Minotaur; next, Prokrustes lying on his bed, which is palpably too short for him; beneath it a large cylix of the early form; Theseus with his double axe is about to lop off the giant's feet. On the reverse (*b*), again from the left, Theseus is toppling Skiron carefully over his own rock; next comes the skilled wrestling bout with Kerkyon; and last, the bull of Marathon, whom Theseus adroitly seizes by the horn. This cup by Chachrylion is so strong and beautiful in its drawing, and technically so interesting, that one is tempted to linger over it; but as the object of its discussion is purely mythological, it can only be noted that the double drawing in places well shows that the artist sometimes tried an attitude or a grouping, and then, dissatisfied with the effect, abandoned it. Chachrylion was proud, and rightly, of his cup. He signs twice, thus—

+A+PVVION EПOIESEN . EПOIESEN
+A+PVVION EПOIESEN . [αθη]NAIOΣ
KAVOΣ

—("Chachrylion made it, made it. Chachrylion made it, the Athenian, beautiful.") Whether the last word, καλός, is part of the usual interjection "Beautiful is the boy," or whether it is an adverb and means "Chachrylion made it well," is hard to say. Anyhow, Chachrylion seems to have been pleased. The Ἀθηναῖος, as will be seen, cannot be restored certainly; but it

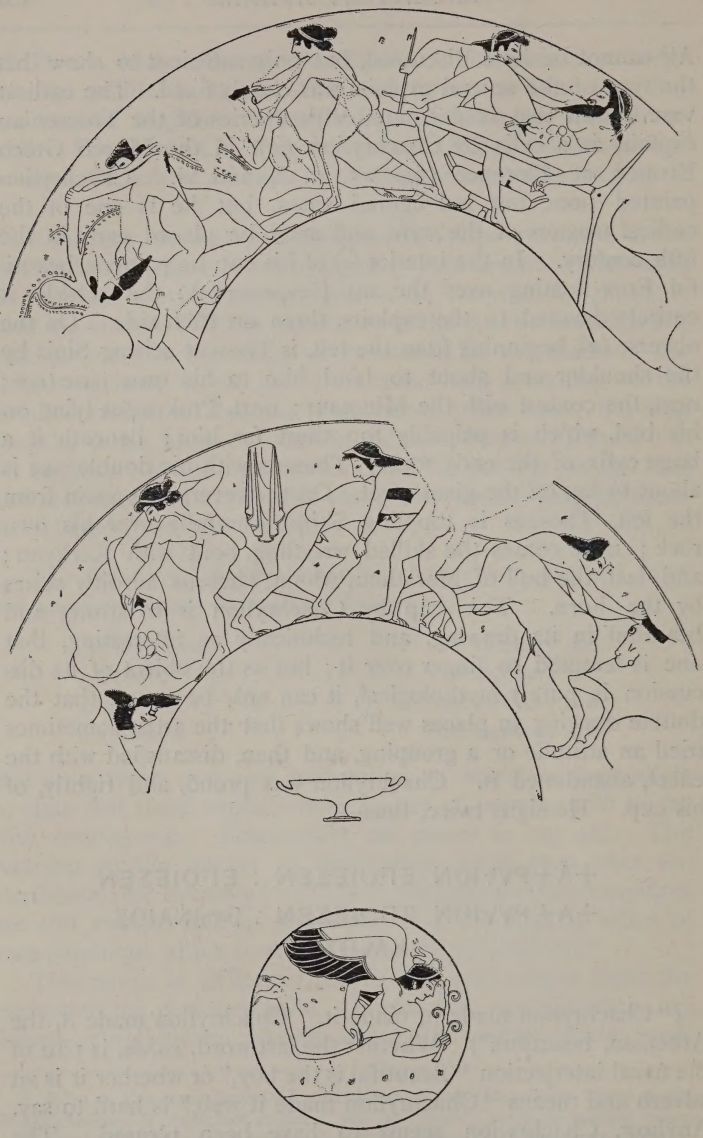


FIG. 23.—CHACHRYLION VASE: EXPLOITS OF THESEUS (FLORENCE).

may point to a sort of outburst of patriotism in the artist when he treated for the first time myths redounding to the glory of the great Athenian hero.

Considerably more advanced in style is the second cylix

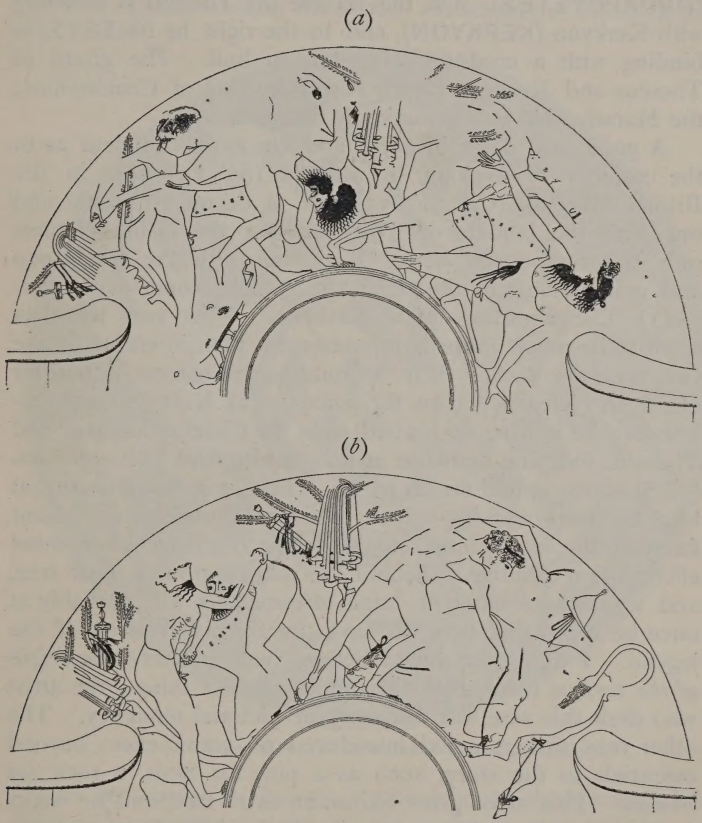


FIG. 24.—HIERON CYLIX—(*a*) OBVERSE, (*b*) REVERSE: EXPLOITS OF THESEUS (LOUVRE).

chosen by Euphronios (fig. 24, *a* and *b*); it is now in the Louvre. Euphronios and Chachrylion worked in conjunction, but Euphronios is the later of the two. The interior of the cup depicts another adventure in the life of Theseus, discussed

later (p. 147). The obverse and reverse of this cylix have each two exploits. On the obverse (*a*), Theseus (ΘεϜευς) is hurling Skiron (almost as carefully as in the Chachrylion cup) into the sea; to the right he is slaying Prokrustes (ΠROKPOYΣTEΣ). On the reverse (*b*), Theseus is wrestling with Kerkyon (KEPKYON), and to the right he (ΘεΣEYΣ) is binding with a cord the Marathonian bull. The group of Theseus and Kerkyon closely resembles that of Chachrylion; the Marathonian bull is markedly different.

A good deal later in style, and far more complete as to the number of exploits, is a cylix (fig. 25) now in the British Museum (Cat., E. 53). It is decorated inside and out with the labours of Theseus; but the inside pictures only are reproduced here. Beginning with the top group and going round to the right, the exploits come as follows: —(1) The wrestling with Kerkyon. The two wrestlers seem to be much more lightly engaged than in either of the two previous vases; their attitude seems chosen rather for effect and elegance than for force. (2) Next follows Prokrustes; he is lying on his bed, as in the Chachrylion vase, and Theseus, in a fine dramatic attitude, swings his axe over him. (3) Skiron is seated on his rock. Theseus is about to hurl at him his own washing-cylix. This is probably a pleasant fancy of the vase-painter's to make the death of Skiron more effectually retributive. Behind the robber grows a neat tree, and up the rock climbs a large tortoise. It will probably at once be urged that here we have the tortoise version of the legend. I think not, but I believe here we have the *origin of the tortoise version*, which is quite another thing; the artist who drew this vase was distinctly of pictorial tendency. The other vase-painters noted introduced no scenic effect beyond essentials to the story, such as a pine for Sinis, a rock for Skiron. This artist gives Skiron an extra tree, and he wants to show that the robber was going to be hurled into the sea. How should he symbolise the sea of the Skironian gulf; how better than by a tortoise?* It is noticeable, and confirms this

* Mr. Cecil Smith suggests this in his discussion of the vase, *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, vol. ii. p. 64.

view, that on the metope of the temple of Hephaistos which depicts Skiron's fall, a crab is introduced in place of a tortoise. Later logographers were accustomed to see this tortoise in art depictions, and modified the myth to suit its presence. The tortoise appears also on the slightly earlier vase of Duris in the

FIG. 25.—CYLIX: EXPLOITS OF THESEUS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

British Museum (Cat., E. 49). (4) Next comes the Marathonian bull. The representations of this scene on vases call for no comment except in one instance, in the fragmentary Theseus De Lynes vase of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.* The hero, instead of being triumphant, is prostrate beneath the feet of

* The fragments of this vase I am about to publish in the forthcoming number of the *Hellenic Journal* (1889).

the bull; Athene advances to drive the bull off with her ægis. It is not necessary to suppose any special literary version of the story. (5) Next comes Sinis, about to be bound to his own tree. It may be noted that the vase-painter never introduces two, always one pine. It is amusing to see that, owing to the similarity of the types, the artist has begun to sketch on Skiron's tortoise, and then remembered, scarcely in time, that he was doing Sinis. (6) Close upon Sinis comes Phaia. The attitude of sow and woman are noticeably parallel. Moreover, every effort is made to give to the woman a rude and beast-like appearance; her hair is rough and disordered; her arms spotted. Clearly here the vase-painter halted between two opinions, whether Phaia was sow or woman; for safety he made her both. Theseus approaches to slay them in a sensational "Harmodios" pose.

Thus the cycle is complete, and more than complete. It will be observed that into this cycle the vase-painter admits at will the capture of the Marathonian bull, in literature placed after the arrival of Theseus at Athens. He also admits the adventure with the Minotaur, and he observes no sort of chronological order. One exploit he uniformly omits, though in literature it seems to have been canonical—*i.e.*, the slaying of Periphetes, the club-man. It would have been easy to depict this, and I am inclined to think from its absence that it was not known in the fifth century B.C. It may have been added advisedly to make the series more completely parallel to that of Herakles—*i.e.*, to make it open with an adventure which supplied the hero with a characteristic weapon. Between Kerkyon and Prokrustes, in the last vase, a club hangs up, but I cannot take this as shorthand for the adventure.

The main point of interest, from the mythological side, in these vase-paintings is that they establish beyond a doubt the fact that early in the fifth century B.C. the set of exploits depicted was known of and popular at Athens. Further, that they appear in art, with the exception of the Minotaur type—which, as will be seen, is black-figured—somewhat abruptly just at the time of the rise of red-figured painting. This fact is so distinct and pronounced that critics have

always cast about for some explanation of it. It is variously maintained that these red-figured Theseus types are due to the influence of contemporary art, either plastic or pictorial. The metopes of the temple of Hephaistos (the so-called Theseion) were long supposed to have furnished the needed inspiration. As the temple is now known to have been later than the Parthenon, unless the metopes belong—which is possible—to some earlier structure, this is out of the question. The resemblance, however, between the metopes and the known vase-paintings does not seem to me to be near enough to base any argument upon it. To discuss the influence of the paintings of Mikon and Polygnotus—if any existed of these particular exploits—seems to me, as such paintings no longer exist, quite fruitless. Still, as the types are so clearly marked and present only unimportant variations, some distinct formulating source must, I think, be presumed. This source I believe to be, not works of art, but *mimetic representations of mythological scenes.* It is well known that, quite apart from regular dramatic performances, one frequent amusement of the Greeks was to watch myths danced in pantomime. Lucian, in his treatise on dancing, enumerates pretty well all the important myths current in his day as the proper subject for the careful study of the dancer; among them he mentions, of course, "all that is reported concerning Theseus and Ægeus." Lucian may be a late authority, and the humorous character of his dialogue may make one hesitate to use it as serious evidence; clearly a great deal of it is not to be taken literally. Still, had it not been the custom to represent myths in mimetic dances his dialogue would have had no point. No one will object to the testimony of Xenophon. In his *Symposium* he carefully describes in full detail an entertainment in which the myth of Bacchus was danced after a dinner-party. It greatly interested and excited the guests, and was considered by Socrates educationally of much more value than gymnastic dances (Xen., *Symp.* vii. 5). It is always usual to point to the palaestra as a great source of artistic inspiration, but the influence of these danced myths seems never to have been taken into account. And yet the whole history of theatrical representations shows that nothing is so *traditional* as

pantomime, nothing so tends to the formation of fixed type. Athenaeus expressly says (*Deipnosoph.* xiv. 629), in speaking of the great educational importance of dancing, "there are in the images of the ancient artificers remains of this dancing of old days." He means, no doubt, in pose and gesture; and if remains were to be seen in statuary, why not in painting? To take the instance in hand. Supposing the exploits of Theseus about to be acted. As in each case the *dramatis personae* were the same, a young hero and a mature robber, and as no speech was apparently permitted, naturally some definite posture or wrestling scheme would be adopted for differentiation. Kerkyon would be known at once by the adoption of some typical wrestling throw; Prokrustes, if his bed was not introduced, by his prostrate attitude; and Theseus swinging the double axe. The scenery adopted would be just the sort of simple attributive adjuncts that vase-paintings deal with—a podanipter, a simple bed, and the like; just the machinery of a primitive dumb crambo. Supposing the influence of these mimetic representations to have been felt, we have, I think, at least a partial and satisfactory explanation of the *fixity* yet *variety* of vase-types. The actors would not trouble to get into precisely the same attitudes, and probably would not maintain them long, as though they were *tableaux vivants*; they would be content with a general analogy, just what the vase-painter likes. Had he drawn his inspiration exclusively from works of art, he would have tended to become a copyist. I do not intend to deny that sculpture and painting had their share of influence, but I am inclined to think it was quite subordinate to that of mimetic representation. The suggestion applies, of course, to all myths as well as the particular exploits in question, but these present such well-marked types that they afford a good instance.

With reference, then, to Theseus, the case seems to stand thus. After the Persian war there was a great revival, or rather enhancement, of his fame. He had appeared to aid the Athenians at the battle of Marathon. His bones were brought by Cimon from Skyros in 469 B.C., and with every circumstance of solemnity buried in the newly erected Theseion. This was no doubt the culminating act of a long revival. The

myth of the slaying of the Minotaur had probably been danced for centuries. It now occurred to some ingenious teacher of dances to represent new scenes gathered from Troezenian legends. At a time when patriotic fervour was at its height, when there was every desire for the aggrandisement of the hero who had been chosen to represent the demos, he was sure of popular applause. Once danced, the exploits would speedily crystallise into fixed types readily recognisable and available as first-rate material for the vase-painter.

In Plutarch's systematic account of the life of Theseus there are no blank spaces. The Troezenian exploits and the adventure with the Minotaur are carefully welded together by a sequence of events which are too elaborately intentional to concern the mythologists in detail. After slaying the various monsters of the Isthmos, he is suitably purified by the Phytalidae, so that he may enter Athens without the guilt of blood upon his head. This was of course necessary to any one about to become leader and king. At Athens he finds Ægeus married to Medea. Medea tries to poison him, but Ægeus recognises his son by the token of the sword, and dashes down the cup of poison. The poison was spilt near to the place Delphinion, where the palace of Ægeus was. Another tradition as to the coming of Theseus is preserved by Pausanias (i. 19, 1; p. 184). Even after he was recognised as heir, the dangers of Theseus were not over, he had to contend with the Pallantidae, who hoped to succeed to the kingdom. To court the favour of the people he went out against the Marathonian bull, and when he had slain it he sacrificed it to Apollo Delphinios. The figure of Medea seems to have been introduced by some dramatic writer, probably by Euripides; he wrote a play with the title *Ægeus*, and in his *Medea* the alliance of Ægeus is made a prominent feature. With a plot the real interest of which centred at Corinth, an Attic playwright would feel bound to invent, if he did not find to hand, some link with Athens. The famous childlessness of Ægeus is again used up, and Ægeus figures in the stock Attic attitude as the beneficent protector of the oppressed stranger. Of course, wherever Medea was present,

some story with a cup of poison in it was essential. Save for one somewhat enigmatic instance, Medea as the wife of Ægeus is wholly absent from Athenian vase-paintings. This one exception is the famous Codros vase in the Bologna Municipal Museum, a vase by no means easy of interpretation.*

On the obverse of this vase is the following scene. Theseus (ΘΗΣΕΥΣ) says farewell to Ægeus (ΑΙΓΕΥΣ); Medea (ΜΕΔΕΙΑ) stands behind Theseus, holding a helmet, which seems to belong to the bareheaded warrior who strides up behind her, Phorbas (ΦΟΡΒΑΣ); behind Phorbas, with her arms folded, Aithra (ΑΙΘΡΑ) stands quietly looking towards Medea. Had the figures not been inscribed, they might have been simply anybody. Theseus is starting somewhere, but where I do not think can be determined. It has been conjectured that he is going after the Marathonian bull, but the presence of Phorbas looks much more like the adventure with the Amazons. The vase belongs to the latter end of the fifth century B.C., a time at which the vase-painter was beginning to concern himself more with the skill of his grouping, the graceful pose of his figures, and the dexterity of his drawing than with his mythological intent; he has taken the scheme of a parting scene, filled it out to extend round the half of a cylix, and put names together which were of Attic celebrity. The only point of importance to the mythologist in this vase is that it shows clearly that by that time some connection of Medea and Ægeus was known and currently accepted. Medea looks by no means hostile to Theseus. The remainder of the vase will be discussed later.

The Marathonian bull, as already noted, is but the double of the Cretan bull of Herakles; indeed, according to the telling of Pausanias (i. 27), it was the very same bull. In connection with this it should be observed that, once Theseus fairly landed at Athens, there are persistent traces of a desire to connect him with Apollo. One form of the story said that Theseus drove

* I had hoped to give an illustration of this vase, but the British Museum library unfortunately does not contain the number of the *Uebungsblätter* (Serie i. Taf. 49) in which it is published.

the bull to the Acropolis (P., i. 28) and there sacrificed it to Athene, but the version of Plutarch says that it was sacrificed to the Delphinian Apollo. A great effort seems to have been made to "contaminate" Theseus myths and Apolline cults, and nowhere is this better seen than in the next exploit.

The Myth of the Slaying of the Minotaur.—This legend is undoubtedly the oldest that is connected with Theseus. Like that of the rape of Helen, it is part of the epic stock; and like that, it also, in the matter of Ariadne, presents Theseus in no favourable light. It will be seen later that ancient art seemed to offer a conscious apology for this. The story of Ariadne and Theseus was known to Homer, though whether he connected it with the Minotaur it is not possible to say. "I saw fair Ariadne," says Odysseus, "the daughter of wizard Minos, whom Theseus on a time was bearing from Crete to the hill of sacred Athens, yet had he no joy of her, for Artemis slew her ere that in sea-girt Dia by reason of the witness of Dionysos" (*Od.* xi. 320). The *Iliad* (xviii. 591) also knew of Ariadne in Crete — "The glorious lame god did devise a dancing-place, like unto that which once in wide Knosos Daidalos wrought for Ariadne of the lovely tresses." The *Odyssey* mention looks as if the epic version were quite other than that current later at Athens. Artemis slew Ariadne before she became the bride of Theseus, and apparently at the instigation of Dionysos. This looks as if she belonged to Dionysos before, not after, Theseus took her, and indeed this would redound more to the glory of the god whose cult was pre-eminent at Naxos. There seem indeed to be three factors in the legend — the Cretan story of the Minotaur, the Naxian story of Dionysos and Ariadne, and the Athenian legend which introduced Theseus; when and how they blended cannot be determined. In later days the whole was modified ætiologically to account for certain ceremonies in the Apolline festivals of the Thargelia, Pyanepsia, Oschophoria, Delphinia. The form of the legend current in the fifth century B.C. may best be seen by following its course as depicted on vase-paintings.

The death of Androgeos, which in the complete canonical legend is always stated as the cause of the human tribute, nowhere

appears. Androgeos was the object of a local cult at Phalerum. Pausanias (i. 1) saw there an altar of Androgeos, son of Minos, which only bore the name of a hero-altar; but he adds—"Those who take pains to know about their native antiquities accurately, know that it is the altar of Androgeos, son of Minos." Possibly Androgeos was a hero of high note till the Theseus

FIG. 26.—CHACHRYLION CYLIX (CENTRE): THESEUS AND ARIADNE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

legend got the upper hand, then the Androgeos cult would naturally sink, and it would be considered wiser not to give his altar a name become obnoxious.

As early as Simonides, if we may trust Plutarch, the agreement about the diverse coloured sails was known. Simonides says that Ægeus gave a scarlet, not a white sail to be set up

in token of success. The ship and the token of the sail do not appear on vase-paintings, and I am inclined to think the whole story was ætiological, and invented in order to give special sanctity to the theoric ship sent to Delphi and to account for the use of white and scarlet in the Eiresione. That together with the heröon of Ægeus at the foot of the Acropolis, would be quite material enough.

Arrived at Crete, Theseus met and loved Ariadne. This scene of the meeting of Theseus and Ariadne was depicted on

FIG. 27.—RAYET VASE: THESEUS AND MINOTAUR (LOUVRE).

the chest of Cypselus. "Theseus holding a lyre, and near him Ariadne holding a crown in her hand" (P., v. 19, 1). The scene has been astutely recognised by Professor Milani in the device in the centre of a cylix (fig. 26) signed by Chachrylion, and now in the British Museum (Cat., E. 14). A youth holding a lyre stands to the left; to the right, immediately facing him, a maiden. Unfortunately, what she holds in her right hand is uncertain, as the painting just at this point is much defaced; it *may* be merely a branch. Above is written χαῖρε σύ

(+AIPE ΣΥ)—"Hail thou." The scene has usually been interpreted as merely *genre*, but confronted with the description of Pausanias it is at least highly probable that we have Theseus and Ariadne. Of course the meeting may be either after or before the combat with the Minotaur.

Passing to this the central action of the story, it is easy to fix the type selected by artists. Scarcely any other subject is so popular with vase-painters, both black and red-figured.

Out of countless instances I have selected the drawing (fig. 27) from a deep cup now in the Louvre, once belonging to M. Rayet's collection, because of all those known it represents the scene with most pictorial amplitude. The upper part of the picture alone need be considered. Theseus, standing upright, seizes the Minotaur by one horn, and plunges a sword into his heart. The Minotaur is in the act of falling with one knee bent. This attitude came ultimately to be characteristic, but the earliest known representation of the scene, on a gold ornament in the Berlin Museum, has the Minotaur standing perfectly erect. To the left, behind Theseus, is Ariadne, his constant companion in the scene. She is draped in a long stiff mantle, from which proceeds a spiral coil, which cannot be other than the famous clue. This appearance of the clue *on vase-paintings* is, so far as I know, unique; it is depicted also on an ornament, worked in relief, belonging to a large terra-cotta vase in the museum at Corneto (fig. 28).* The coil in the terra-cotta relief is very large and prominent, and uncurls itself below the feet of Theseus.

FIG. 28.—TERRA-COTTA RELIEF: ARIADNE WITH CLUE (CORNETO MUSEUM).

* This and the gold ornament mentioned above are discussed by Dr. Furtwängler, *Archäologische Zeitung* (1884), Taf. 9, p. 106.

Possibly it fell out of use in Athenian vase-paintings, as being irrelevant to the main point, which was, not the love of Ariadne, but the prowess of Theseus. Possibly also the coil was at first merely a decorative spiral, and itself gave rise to the element of the clue in the myth. In the Rayet vase, behind the Minotaur, neatly arrayed in two rows one above the other, are the

> "bis septem quotannis
> Corpora natorum"

very feelingly introduced as spectators of the scene. The maidens are slightly, though sufficiently, distinguished from the

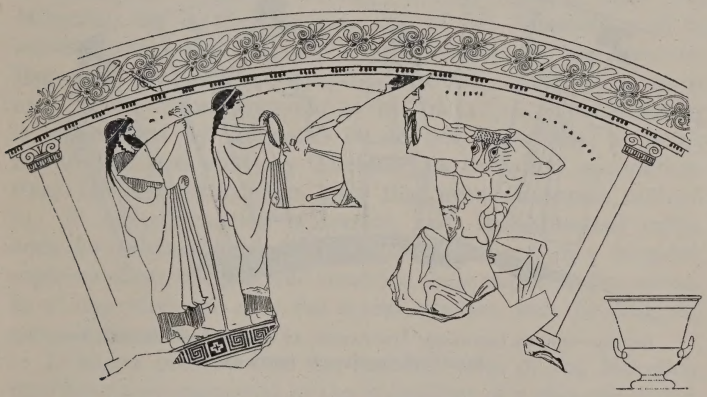


FIG. 29.—KRATER (OBVERSE): THESEUS AND THE MINOTAUR (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

youths by their white faces and feet. They are obviously intended to stand in two rows side by side. The reverse of the vase does not here concern us, but it may briefly be said that the mounted warrior is a purely decorative motive; the flying or rather falling figure decorative, but with a possible suggestion of Icarus. The vase can scarcely be later than the early sixth century B.C.

For contrast I have chosen a vase of the perfect Attic, red-figured style, a krater recently found on the Acropolis at Athens (fig. 29). To the right, the Minotaur (ΜΙΝΟΤΑΥΡΟΣ)

has fallen quite on one knee. He is trying to get away the hand of Theseus, who is evidently hurting his horn. Theseus (ΘΕΣΕΥΣ), with his sword, is in the act of striking. Behind is Ariadne (ΑΡΙΑΝΝΕ) with the wreath; behind her again her father, Minos (ΜΙΝ[ος]). The whole scene is included between two delicate Ionic columns, which no doubt indicate the building of the labyrinth. On the reverse (fig. 30) the artist naïvely exhibits his genealogical leanings. Four ancestral kings, collateral ancestors of Theseus, are present to witness the prowess of their descendant. Orneus (ΟΡΝΕΥΣ) extends his hand in admiration; Pallas (ΠΑϒϒΑΣ) is seated with

FIG. 30.—KRATER (REVERSE): SPECTATORS AT CONTEST OF THESEUS AND MINOTAUR (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

an air of some indifference; Nisos (ΝΙΣΟΣ) and Lykos (ϒΥΚΟΣ) both gaze attentively. It is noticeable that when Pallas does appear, he, "the harsh rearer of a giant race," is always somehow characterised as peculiar; either, as in the vase in fig. 31, he is standing aloof while others run, or, as here, he is seated when others stand. Orneus, it will be seen later, was founder of a stock hostile to Theseus. The vase of course precedes in date the play of Sophocles, and the genealogical knowledge displayed cannot be due to his influence.

As a rule, but little trouble is taken to indicate the labyrinth; in fact, it is somewhat markedly ignored. But for the one vase

in fig. 25, the exterior designs of which have been previously discussed, one would be tempted to think the vase-painter was but vaguely informed as to its character. Here, however, in the centre design, there is an unmistakable though very crude attempt to signalise the labyrinth by a decorative pattern of squares and lines; the line pattern is just like the device which on the coins of Crete is supposed to symbolise the labyrinth. It seems to me just possible that some such device, misunderstood, gave rise to the whole story. It would not be a solitary instance in which misunderstood mytho*graphy* gave rise to elaborate mytho*logy*.

The centre of this British Museum cylix has another claim to attention. Theseus is not actually fighting with the Minotaur, he is dragging him out of his labyrinth. It is worth noting that on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae, Pausanias saw, and was surprised to see, a type that must have been somewhat similar to this (iii. 18)—"The Minotaur is represented by Bathycles (I do not know why) as being bound and led alive by Theseus," a deviation so marked from the current combat type that even Pausanias noticed it. If my supposition is correct, and the Minotaur myth, with the other exploits of Theseus, was danced in a mimetic representation, one can well conceive there might be two scenes in so important an act—the actual combat, and the dragging away of the monster.

It seems possible that the man-bull form of the Minotaur may have been suggested by the necessities of a mimetic dance, the part of Minotaur being taken by a man with a bull-head mask. It should always be distinctly borne in mind that the name "Minotaur" was never so rigidly compounded that its elements were forgotten. If the form most in use is Minotaur (Μινοταύρος), the other forms also occur, ταῦρος Μινώιος and ὁ τοῦ Μίνω ταῦρος, also the simple form Ταῦρος ("the bull"). On coins of Knosos the symbol is sometimes the labyrinth pattern, which has a bull's head in the centre; he may have been simply a bull to whom human sacrifices were made. Those who care for the rationalisation of the myth must read Plutarch's account, taken from Philochoros, and to his remarks one may add what has been noted before (p. lxxxiv.), that

youths who were cup-bearers at a certain festival of Poseidon were called Ταῦροι.

The death of the monster was celebrated by a festal dance. Plutarch relates that this took place at Delos after the desertion of Ariadne, and that the dance was that practised by Delians to this day. It consisted of involutions and evolutions, in imitation of the mazes of the labyrinth; possibly some sacred dance connected with the theoria to Delphi helped

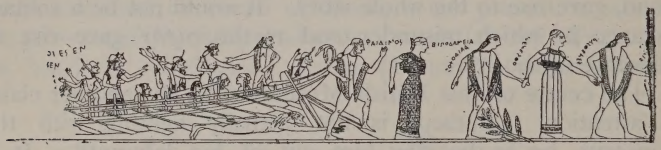


FIG. 31.—FRANÇOIS VASE: LANDING SCENE (FLORENCE).

out the tradition of the labyrinth. The dance was called the Crane, and was danced round the famous Delian altar of the horns.

Vase-painters, however, depict the dance in closer and more cheerful context with Ariadne. Perhaps the most delightfully fresh and naïve of all the scenes depicted on the François vase is that which shows the beginning of this festal dance; it is given in figs. 31 and 32. They should be con-

FIG. 32.—FRANÇOIS VASE: CHORUS AFTER SLAYING OF MINOTAUR (FLORENCE).

secutive, but the long frieze is divided for convenience. To the left (fig. 31) is a ship with its excited crew. The ship is close to land; one eager sailor can wait no longer, and plunges swimming to the shore; the rest gesticulate with joy. The main interest of the scene centres in the right portion of the frieze (in fig. 32). A little group of the principal actors stand on a raised ground. Theseus (ΘΕΣΕΥΣ) in long garments plays his lyre, and facing him is Ariadne (ΑΡΙΑ . . .); near her, her diminutive nurse (ΘΡΟΦΟΣ); behind Theseus

seven pairs of dancers, each a man and a maiden, join hands for the dance that in a moment will begin. They have each their names, but these, being purely the vase-painter's pleasant fancy for the moment, need not be detailed. Here clearly Ariadne is by no means left behind. The vase-painter knew better. In the well-known Archikles and Glaukytes vase (Munich, 333) the scene is depicted after a similar fashion, but the actual slaying of the Minotaur occupies the centre.

In speaking of Butes it has already been hinted that very possibly the Theseus saga was influenced by the ancient tradition of the rape of Koronis at Naxos. Dr. Boehlau sees in this representation of the François vase a "contaminatio" of the two.* The Butes saga, he thinks, gave rise not only to the element of the landing at Naxos and the interposition of Dionysos—which is, I think, almost certain—but also to the tragic end of Ægeus, which seems more remote. As regards the François vase, it is certainly noticeable that *not one of the figures about the landing ship is inscribed*, whereas all those of the χόρος are. It looks as though the vase-painter had borrowed a type from another—*i.e.*, the Butes myth, but had not quite the face to clinch his plagiarism by putting definite names; he leaves it to the spectator to do that if he likes.

The ancient artist did not wholly shirk the scene of desertion, it was too beautiful a motive; but he could not at once arrive at its perfect expression. Unlike the scene of the slaying of the Minotaur, the desertion type is wholly absent from black-figured art. It did not redound, as already noted, to the credit of Theseus, and it required to take a particular form before it could be appropriate subject-matter for Attic art. This was possible in the days of the pronounced and intentional glorification of Theseus. The matter was then arranged; he deserted, but *expressly by the command of the gods*. Peisistratos, according to Plutarch, began the work; he changed a line from Hesiod in which the desertion of Theseus was attributed to mere fickleness.

* I have only had access to a brief report of Dr. Boehlau's original view, which he laid before the April meeting of the Archæological Society at Berlin (1889). It is reported in the *Philologische Wochenschrift*, May 4.

I have said above that, relying on the passage of the *Odyssey*, I believe the epic form of the myth made Ariadne the actual bride of Dionysos only, and by divine interposition prevented the impious intention of the lawless Theseus. The interpretation of the scholiast on the passage is biassed by Athenian prejudice. But by the beginning of the fifth century B.C. Theseus had it all his own way; if the local Naxian legend did not fall in with Attic intention, so much the worse for it. Theseus had Ariadne to

FIG. 33.—KALPIS: ATHENE AND THESEUS, DIONYSOS AND ARIADNE (BERLIN MUSEUM).

wife, and then, being ordered to leave her in Naxos, she fell to the share of Dionysos. The Athenian vase-painter puts it quite plainly. There was no getting out of the fact that Ariadne was the bride of Dionysos; she had to be ultimately and permanently ceded. Her grave and her grove where she was worshipped as Aphrodite Ariadne were in Naxos for evidence, and she had a local festival; but for the Attic vase-painter, Theseus came first. On a red-figured kalpis (fig. 33), of severe style, now in the Berlin Museum (No. 2179), the scene is thus conceived. The young Theseus (. . . ΕΥΣ), a mere boy, is escaping to the left by the clear mandate of

Athene (AIA . . ΘA); Ariadne (APIANE)—the painter of this vase spells insecurely—with some slight show of reluctance, is seized by Dionysos (ΞOΞYNO . Δ). The intention is clear, almost dogmatic. If any one knows that Ariadne is the bride of Dionysos, let him also know that she is so only because the pious Theseus, at the bidding of the gods, ceded her. It is the very embodiment of the statement of the scholiast on the *Odyssey* passage, because Athene *stood over him and bade him* (ἐπιστᾶσα δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ κελεύει, αὐτὴν ἔασαντα πλεῖν εἰς Ἀθήνας). But here, as so often, the vase-

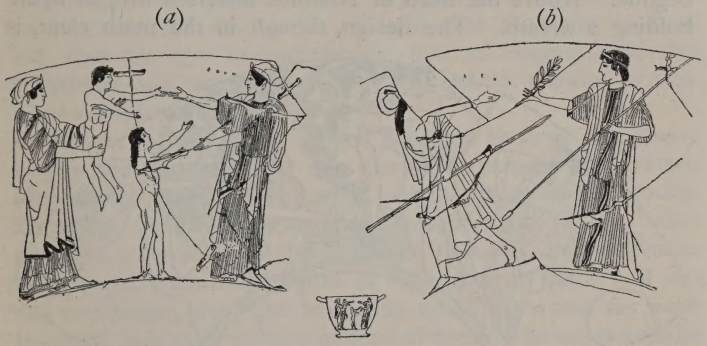


FIG. 34.—CUP: (*a*) CHILDREN OF THESEUS; (*b*) THESEUS AND ATHENE (VIENNA MUSEUM).

painter is the earliest source for a euphemistic form of the legend.

The same type, though circumscribed, appears on the obverse of a deep cup (fig. 34) in the museum at Vienna. On the obverse (*b*) Theseus (. . ΣEYΣ) rushes hurriedly off, again at the bidding of Athene, who, as a charming maiden figure, extends her city's olive-branch. On the reverse (*a*) is the sequel of the story. A woman figure, holding a well-grown boy, presents him to another woman. A standing boy also extends his imploring hands. Over the figure of the recipient woman is written Nyphe (ΞΦYN), clearly meaning Nymph. The children of Ariadne, deserted by their father Theseus, are given to be reared by the Nymph of the place. These children were for the most part said to be called Oinopion and Staphylos, local

heroes of Naxos. Their names of course betray them as sons of Dionysos, but Attic tradition claimed them, as here, for Theseus.

On a cylix (fig. 35) in the Corneto museum the mandate of the gods is made equally clear, but a new and lovely motive is introduced—a motive destined to wide popularity. Ariadne lies upon a rock, in deep sleep; above her an ample vine spreads its branches. Theseus has just risen, and having picked up his sandal is about to depart. Hermes with his kerykeion takes the place of Athene, and bids him hurry and begone. Above the head of Ariadne hovers a winged figure holding a wreath. The design, though in the main clear, is

FIG. 35.—CYLIX: SLEEPING ARIADNE DESERTED (CORNETO MUSEUM).

not without minor difficulties. What is meant by the motive of Theseus and the sandal? Some critics have seen in the action a deliberately comic intent. Theseus is going to carry his shoes in his hands, that he may make no noise as he goes. My own feeling is that the sandal action simply emphasizes the fact that *Theseus is going*. He has taken his sandals off while he slept; he is not going to leave them behind; he will want them, *as he is going far*, so he picks them up. A more serious controversy has been waged about the winged figure over Ariadne's head. At first sight probably every one would call him a love-god, but the question is not so easily answered. There is on black-figured vase-paintings no single representation of the sleeping Ariadne, *but the type adopted for this scene*

already existed—*i.e.*, the type of the sleeping giant Alkyoneus, whom Herakles is about to slay. Any one who will compare the Ariadne vase with the Herakles and Alkyoneus vase in the same museum at Corneto will scarcely dispute this. We have the sleeping figure in just the same pose, turned over on the side; we have the winged figure hovering, and the spreading vine tree behind; we have even the two figures to the left, one stooping and one upright. In the Alkyoneus type the winged figure is undoubtedly Sleep (Hypnos), and Sleep would be appropriate to Ariadne. Still more appropriate, however, is the winged Eros. My own opinion stands half-way between the two views. I hold that the figure is Eros, but that the *type* is undoubtedly that of Hypnos, and this additional adaptation only makes the whole transfer of type more complete.

Taken, then, that the winged figure is Eros, it opens up a matter for consideration not discussed before. If Artemis played her part in the myth, much more so Aphrodite. Pausanias, in his account of Boeotia (ix. 40, 2), takes occasion to enumerate the works of Daidalos, and mentions that one of them was a figure of Aphrodite at Delos. It was not very large; the right hand was much the worse for wear. It ended in a square shape instead of feet. Pausanias says he believes that it was this image that Daidalos gave to Ariadne, and when she went with Theseus she took it with her; and the Delians said that when Dionysos carried Ariadne off, Theseus dedicated the statue to Apollo, that he might not, by taking it to Athens with him, be ever reminded of the lost Ariadne, and so ever find his wound renewed. This image of ancient Cypris, Callimachus says in his *Hymn to Delos* (v. 307), was weighed down with garlands at the yearly festival. At Argos Pausanias (ii. 23, 8) saw a temple of the Cretan Dionysos, where it was fabled Ariadne was buried, and it is noticeable that close by was the temple of Aphrodite Ourania. Plutarch records a very curious and interesting tradition from Paeon of Amathus, in which Ariadne seems to play a part akin to that of Eileithyia. Theseus, according to this legend, was driven to Cyprus by a storm. Ariadne, who was with child, suffered from the tossing of the sea; he set her on shore and left her

while he attended to the ship. The women of the island were kind to her and tried to comfort her with letters, feigning they had come from Theseus. She died in childbed. Theseus came back and heard the news with great sorrow. He left money with the inhabitants, and ordered them to pay Ariadne divine honours; he had two small statues made of her—one in silver, one in brass. Her festival was celebrated yearly, and with a curious custom. A young man was made to lie down and imitate the cries and gestures of a woman in labour. A parallel custom is not unknown, I believe, among modern savages. The people of Amathus, Plutarch goes on to say, call the grave on which her tomb is, the Grave of Ariadne Aphrodite. The story, of course, is ætiological. The facts are clearly these. At Amathus was a worship of Aphrodite Ariadne. She had two images and a ritual clearly pointing to her function as Eileithyia. Eileithyia was, according to the ancient poet Olen, mother of Eros, a transposition of actual fact only intelligible by supposing that Aphrodite and Eileithyia were interchangeable. In fact, what it all comes to is simply this. The essential of a divinity in quite early days was that he or she could do anything and everything. A small local cult could not afford to keep up a god or goddess with one or two functions only. Asklepios had on occasion to mend broken jugs, Poseidon to attend a harvest festival, Demeter to superintend a divining mirror. It was only the great orthodox Olympians who in their ultimate supremacy could indulge in a perfect specialisation of attributes. Aphrodite was, then, also Eileithyia; further, she was the eldest of the Fates; and again, she was, as the bride of Dionysos, Ariadne, whose precise function and certainly the meaning of whose name I cannot define. This local goddess became a princess, daughter of a great sea-king, Minos. She also became—to minister to the pride of Athens—the bride, if only for a season, of the national Attic hero. A myth so complex, so diverse in its divine and human elements, might well puzzle the early mythographer. As soon as he began to make conscious analysis, it was too much for him, he was driven to the expedient of two Ariadnes—one who was human, for sorrow; one divine, for joy.

The sequence of the narrative from this point on seems to me to be for some distance clearly and systematically ætiological. The Athenians in the month of Pyanepsion (October-November) practised certain ceremonies forming part of a kind of final harvest festival which they connected with the cults of Athene, Dionysos, and Apollo; and when Theseus worship came in, it seemed to them possible to explain these ceremonies in a manner sure to be popular, by linking them to the exploits. These ceremonies were chiefly—

(1) The *Pyanepsia*.—On the 7th day of the month Pyanepsion it was the custom to boil together in a pot various kinds of grain. Harpocration, commenting on the word, expressly says that nearly all writers concurred in stating that the feast was in honour of Apollo. What connection it had with him does not appear. The popular explanation was that on landing from Delos, Theseus and his companions boiled together promiscuously in a pot all the remainder of their provisions. To such bald nonsense is orthodox ætiology often reduced.

Another part apparently of this same feast, or at least a ceremony enacted on the same day, was the (2) *Eiresione*. During this feast it was customary for young men to carry round branches bound about with purple and white wool and with all manner of fruit, loaves, and oil jars tied to them, and to beg from door to door singing—

> "Eiresione brings figs and cakes,
> And a bowl of honey, and oil for aches,
> And sleepy and strong is the wine she takes."

The Eiresione, or branch itself, was either dedicated in a temple of Apollo or fastened up in front of the door of a private house, if the procession was a private one. It hung there, withered and dead, till the next year's feast came round. The ceremony was regarded as a defence against famine (ἀποτροπὴ λιμοῦ). No doubt the begging ceremony was a sort of propitiatory under-statement, in the case of a good harvest. The youth carrying the Eiresione stands as symbol of Pyanepsion in the Attic festival calendar (p. 168, fig. 38). This Eiresione, according to ætiology, commemorated the fact that when the messenger of Theseus met those who came

with tidings of the death of Ægeus, and they would have crowned him with flowers, he twined them about his staff. The Eiresione* seems to have been a popular festival, and ætiologists contended for it; some said it was enacted in honour of the Herakleidae. It seems obviously to have been some sort of harvest festival, and reminds one of the spring chelidonismata, or begging swallow songs.

In this feast was also celebrated the (3) *Oschophoria*, which may have been merely part of the Pyanepsia. Originally, however, there is no doubt it was in honour of Dionysos and Athene. Certain chosen youths started from a temple of Dionysos at Athens, and ran to the temple of Athene Skiras at Phalerum, bearing boughs. Two of them at least seem to have been dressed as maidens, and a story was required to account for this—*i.e.*, that Theseus had disguised two of his friends as maidens and taken them with him to Crete. The young men on their arrival were met by women carrying food, Deipnophorai. These were supposed to represent the mothers of the young men and maidens on whom the lot fell, who brought them food to keep up their spirits. At the solemn libation which was part of the feast the herald made a double cry, "Eleleu, Iou Iou," of which Eleleu expressed "joy," Iou "distress." This was to express the confusion of joy and sorrow at the coming of Theseus and the death of Ægeus.

Most important of all, we have the (4) *Theoria* to Delos, when the sacred ship crowned by the priest of Apollo started from Phalerum on the 6th of Munychion, or as near as the omens would allow. It will be seen that tradition ascribed a similar theoria to Erysichthon (p. 186). It seems possible that in early days a human sacrifice may have been sent, at least in the milder sense that Plutarch suggests—*i.e.*, that certain young men and maidens were consecrated as compulsory temple slaves for ever. If so, this would be sufficient in imaginative myth-making days to account for the whole

* A very full and interesting account of the Eiresione and the Pyanepsia, and a comparison with the German Erntemai, will be found in Mannhardt's *Wald-und Feldkulte*, c. iv. The full consideration of the Eiresione belongs to the Apollo cult and early agrarian ceremonies generally, and the custom is only noted here from its ætiological connection with the Theseus myth.

Minotaur legend. Part of the Apolline festival of the Thargelia was the driving forth and the beating with fig-tree branches of two human sacrifices (φάρμακοι), who, no doubt, were originally killed. It may have seemed to the cultured Athenian of the fifth century B.C. more likely that such a custom arose in Crete than in Athens. It was this originally Apolline theoria, wrested to the glory of Theseus, that ultimately so influenced the character of the Panathenaic procession (p. 565).

With this ship festival may have been associated the (5) *Kybernesia*, or pilot ceremonies. What these ceremonies were, or originally in whose honour, we are not informed. Nor do we know the exact date; but Plutarch tells an ætiological story to account for it, and its heroes Nausitheus and Phaeax had monuments at Phalerum.

Last, mention must be made of the (6) *Epitaphia*. That these were connected with the supposed Theseus feasts is clear from the Ephebi inscriptions, in which they are repeatedly mentioned together (*C. I. A.*, ii. 467 *seq.*)—τοῖς τε Θησείοις καὶ τοῖς Ἐπιταφίοις ("In the Theseia and in the Epitaphia"). It seems at least probable that the festival was first connected with Theseus at the time when his bones were solemnly brought to Athens; he then became their typical buried hero. It was easy to fill a mythological gap by supposing that the hero himself performed burial rites of special solemnity for his father Ægeus.

It will be seen from even these slight indications that the myth of Theseus and the Minotaur, in all its later completeness, is too complex a thing for summary analysis. It is not like the story of Erichthonios, the outcome of a simple local cult; it is an elaborate web woven of many cults, crossed with strands of foreign worship, and further complicated with much conscious ætiology. What of this was lively popular faith, what was only the meditation of the learned, is best seen, I think, by the discernment of those elements which became material for the vase-painter.

After the death of Ægeus, Plutarch says, Theseus began "a great and wonderful work." This was naturally a con-

venient place for introducing all those political reforms which tradition associated with the name of Theseus. The prominence of his mythology denotes the preponderance of the democratic party. The old King Erechtheus was well enough, his myths were certainly too sacred to be tampered with; but the sting must be taken out of their royal and aristocratic associations by a second hero, who was to be supposed to have effected all the valuable radical reforms. Thucydides (ii. 15) takes Theseus as simple matter of history. "In the time of Cecrops," he says, "and of the early kings down to Theseus, the inhabitants of Attica were divided among various townships, with each its hall of meeting and its magistrates; and except when there was cause for fear, they did not come together to take counsel with the king. . . . But when Theseus became king . . . he dissolved up these local assemblies and offices of magistrates, and made the city as it now is, with one assembly and one meeting hall, the mother city of the whole people . . . and from then to now the Athenians celebrate to the goddess the public festival of the Union of the townships." Such was the supposed origin of the famous Synoikia. The boldest republican dare not say that Theseus was the founder of the city, Cecrops and Erechtheus were too rooted in tradition and coinage; but he could do what suited him better —make him the new-comer, but loosely related to the old autocratic stock, the man who united the city, whose temenos was a refuge for slaves, at whose festival the indigent and aged were freely fed. If he was somewhat a parvenu, so much the better precedent for the demagogue. No doubt, could they have effected it, the democratic party would fain have made Theseus the first worshipper of Athene. But tradition here again was too strong, Athene and the Erechtheidae, the ancient kingly stock, might not be severed; so they did what they could, contaminated the Synoikia with the Panathenaia, and set Athene as patron to watch over the exploits of the new Troezenian hero.

They did more. To make Theseus thoroughly acceptable, it was necessary that he should not only have his own proper and peculiar exploits, but he must do as other heroes had done, he must engage in some accredited form of warfare,

made specially glorious by Herakles, but allotted also to other heroes, such as Bellerophon; he must contend with the Amazons and the Centaurs.

These exploits being common to so many, it would be out of place to examine them in detail here. Only so much as is peculiar to Theseus can be briefly noted.

(1) *The Fight with the Amazons.*—Plutarch gives a detailed account of the battle, with particulars of left wings and right wings, all of which are no doubt caused by Athenian local tradition. There was a Horkomosion near the sanctuary of Theseus, so it was connected with the truce made with the Amazons. But Plutarch himself is conscious that Amazon

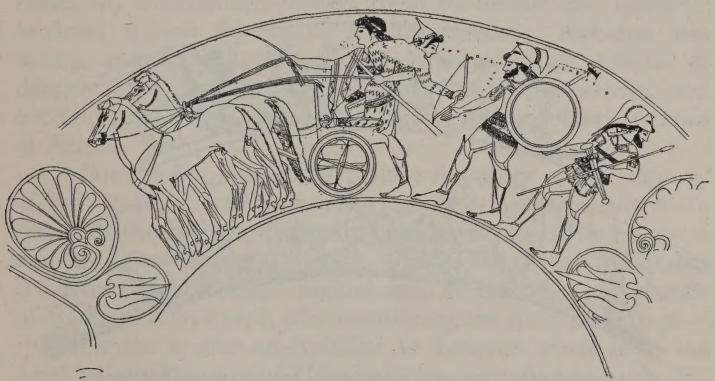


FIG. 36.—CHACHRYLION CYLIX: THESEUS AND ANTIOPE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

tombs and monuments were scattered all about Greece—at Megara, at Chalcis, at Chaeronea, and in Thessaly. One characteristic episode for Theseus was his attempted rape of, and ultimate marriage with, an Amazon variously called Antiope or Hippolyte. His companion in the adventure is uniformly Phorbas. The representation may serve to fix the myth. It is taken from the obverse of a vase (fig. 36), whose interior design has been already described (p. cxxii.) Theseus (Θέσευς)—one letter only of his name remains—has seized Antiope (ΑΝΤΙΟΠΕΙΑ) in his arm, and is mounting his chariot; behind him is Peirithoös (ΠΕΡΙΘΟΟΣ), to whom Antiope seems to turn for help, and behind Peirithoös is Phorbas (ΦΟΡΒΑΣ).

Here the Attic *personale* is quite complete. Peirithoös leads to

(2) *The Fight with the Centaurs.*—Peirithoös and the Centaurs are at home in Thessaly: but in order to bring him into easy connection with Theseus, we have the story of his attempt to drive off the oxen from Marathon and the subsequent meeting and plighted friendship. This friendship, further, lent graceful occasion for Theseus to appear as combatant against the Centaurs. A single instance of this popular myth must again suffice, taken from a vase at Vienna (fig. 37). It is chosen because it is the fullest and most completely pictorial, though by no means the finest of the almost countless Centaur vases.

FIG. 37.—VASE: THESEUS, PEIRITHOÖS, AND CENTAURS (VIENNA).

The only figure inscribed is that of Peirithoös to the left in the second row. The design is divided for convenience, but extends in reality all round the vase. I incline to think that the next figure to the right is Theseus, but there is nothing to make the identification certain. The scene is one of wild confusion—carpets spread, wine-jar overturned, pillows lying hap-hazard, terrified women escaping through the palace-door, an altar burning. One seems to see the "Banquet of Philosophers," or to hear the warning words of Horace—

> "At ne quis modici transiliat munera Liberi,
> Centaurea monet cum Lapithis rixa super mero
> Debellata."

Next after the adventure with the Centaurs is usually placed

(3) *The Rape of Helen.*—The two friends, Plutarch says, had seen the little Helen, then only nine years old, in the temple of Artemis Orthia at Sparta. They cast lots who should take her to wife; the lot fell on Theseus. They jointly carried her off to Aphidna, and placed her in charge of Aithra, the mother of Theseus. Theseus and Peirithoös meanwhile accomplished another exploit — their *descent into Hades*, to be noted later. While they were absent, Menestheus stirred up rebellion against Theseus. Just at that time, the two Dioscuri missed their sister and came to demand her back. Some say Menestheus invited them to invade the country; anyhow, it was favourable to his designs. Aphidna was taken, Helen with Aithra was captured, and Athens in danger; the Dioscuri were conciliated, made citizens, and even initiated, as will be seen (p. 156), into the lesser mysteries at Agrae.

Following Dr. Robert,* I believe the story of the rape of Helen to be an old Laconian legend. Aphidna, the main centre of the contest, is usually held to be an Attic place—a deme in the tribe of Leontis; so it is, but there was another Aphidna, no doubt the original one, in Laconia. Stephanus of Byzantium (*sub voc.*), after mentioning the Attic deme, says—"And there is also an Aphidna in Laconia where were the Leukippidae Phoebe and Hilaeira" (ἔστι καὶ τῆς Λακωνικῆς ὅθεν ἦσαν αἱ Λευκίππιδες Φοίβη καὶ Ἱλάειρα). I think the legend cannot have been either Attic or Troezenian, because Theseus in it appears as no better than a highway robber, and, moreover—a more important matter—his deed is attended with public shame, not glory. The rape of Helen by Theseus seems to have been known in poetry as early as Alcman. I make no account of the two Homeric allusions, as they are usually taken as interpolations. Pausanias, in giving the history of a certain Timalcus (i. 41), says—"How, if he (Timalcus) had gone there (to Aphidna), could he have been considered to have been slain by Theseus? for

* C. Robert, *Aus Kydathen*, p. 101, note 8.

Alcman, in his ode to Castor and Polydeuces, records that they took Athens and carried the mother of Theseus into captivity, and yet states that Theseus was absent." Pindar also gives an account not differing much, and says that until Theseus went forth on his ambitious attempt with Peirithoös against Persephone, he wished to be allied by marriage to Castor and Polydeuces. "But," adds Pausanias, "whoever made up this genealogy knew how easily deceived the Megareans were, at least if (as is stated) Theseus was a descendant of Pelops." The Megareans have not been alone in finding a difficulty as to arranging for the appearance of this myth of the rape of Helen in the mythology of Theseus.

In the account of Plutarch the story of the rape* is intimately bound up with the revolution of Menestheus, and both seem clearly to point to the fact that the popular hero was not wholly popular. There were oligarchs before the days of Theophrastus (*Char.* xxix.) who would be ready to say, "How detestable that set of demagogues is! Theseus was the beginning of the mischief to the State. It was he who reduced it from twelve cities to one, and undid the monarchy. And he was rightly served, for he was the people's first victim himself." Such oligarchs it was who came in when Theseus was absent on his various disreputable adventures. There was another hero of royal lineage, great-grandson of Erechtheus himself, ready and willing to lay hands on the government, Menestheus. He is mentioned in the Catalogue of the Ships (*Iliad*, 2, 452) as the hero "Menestheus, son of Peteos," who led the Athenians. It is possibly in this capacity that he appears on the somewhat learned Kodros vase, one side of the exterior of which has been already discussed. On the other side is an analogous parting scene. Aias (ΑΙΑΣ) takes leave of Lykos (ΛΥΚΟΣ); Athene (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ), behind Aias, seems to beckon on Menestheus (ΜΕΝΕΣΘΕΥΣ), who advances with a spear.

* The story appears but rarely on ordinary Attic vase-paintings, but it is told in full on two curious cups from Tanagra, now in the Museum of the Archæological Society at Athens, published in the 'Εφημερὶς 'Αρχ. (1884) Πιν. 5.

On his head is a travelling hat. His action is exactly parallel to that of Phorbas on the opposite side. Behind him stands Melite (ΜΕΛΙΤΕ). From the joint presence of Aias and Menestheus, this looks as if a start were being made for Troy. Why Lykos should receive the farewell of Aias, and why Melite should be standing as a spectator, I confess I do not understand. The indefinite quasi-historical character of the vase is well seen on the centre device. Kodros, last king of Athens, a personality who hovers uncomfortably between fact and fiction, is apparently taking farewell of an old white-haired man. Both figures are inscribed—Kodros (ΚΟΔΡΟΣ) and Ainetos (ΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ)—but the situation is no further characterised. Who Ainetos is, I am unable to say. He is probably the eponymous hero of some Athenian family of which particulars have not reached us. It is possible, of course, that Kodros is supposed to be starting out for the battle in which he devoted himself to save his city; but certainly, if the vase-painter intended this scene, he might have expressed it more clearly. It is tempting, with a vase of this class, to think that the vase-painter had a leaning to scenes of farewell, and cared little about the actuality of the situations. His weakness would have been more pardonable had he not also had a leaning to the precision of inscriptions.

Something will be said of Kodros when we come to his grave at the south-east foot of the Acropolis, just outside the ancient city precincts. Of his sons and their work of colonisation, Pausanias tells in detail in his account of Achaia (vii. 2).

It remains to note what Theseus had been doing while Menestheus was seizing his kingdom. This brings us down to the last of his exploits, the famous

(4) *Descent into Hades.*—Peirithoös had helped Theseus to get Helen; Theseus must in his turn help Peirithoös in a more perilous enterprise—the rape of Persephone, whom the sacrilegious Peirithoös desired to have to wife. The solemn pact of Peirithoös and Theseus seems to have been connected especially with this adventure. The scholiast on Aristophanes (*Eq.* 7, 85) says there is a stone called the Laughterless among

the Athenians (παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις), where they say Theseus sat when he was about to descend into Hades; but he gives the alternative that it might have been so called because Demeter sat on it when her daughter was lost. This makes it uncertain whether the stone can be identified with that mentioned in the *Œdipus Coloneus*, where apparently there was a cleft or hollow basin in the rock (Soph., *Œd. Col.* 1593). The pact was, however, sometimes supposed to have been made before the heroes started for Lacedaemon. The Hades adventure was so entirely undertaken at the instigation of Peirithoös that a word must be said of him. We associate him perhaps exclusively with Lapiths, but it should be borne in mind that he was the eponymous hero of an Attic deme. Harpocration (*sub voc.*) distinctly states—"Perithoidae, it is a deme of Oineis;" and Æschines (*Or.* 1, 156) speaks of Perikleides as "the Perithoid"—*i.e.*, of the deme of Perithoös.

The whole story of the rape is freely rationalised by Plutarch. Hades is Aidoneus, a king of the Molossians; Cerberus is a savage dog, with whom he ordered all the suitors of his daughter to fight; and so on. But the myth can be traced back too early for this to be any satisfactory explanation. How it arose, is not easy to say; it may be merely a replica of the descent of Herakles. If so, Theseus in this matter plays a very poor second to Herakles; indeed, the rescue of Theseus and Peirithoös became a glorious adjunct to the exploit of Herakles. Theseus and Peirithoös are no part of the Hades Odysseus saw. They are mentioned in the *Odyssey* (xi. 630, 631), but the line is an interpolation; so, again, is the passage in the *Iliad* (i. 265). According to Pausanias (x. 29, 4), their story was told by Panyasis, an epic poet of the first half of the fifth century B. C., and it may very well be that his poem inspired the fresco of Polygnotus, which Pausanias there describes. The fresco was in the Lesche at Delphi, and among the other dwellers in Hades Polygnotus had painted Theseus and Peirithoös after the following fashion. They were both sitting on seats, and Theseus was holding both the two swords, that

of Peirithoös as well as his own; and Peirithoös was gazing at the swords. "It might be conjectured," Pausanias says, "that Peirithoös was grieving at the swords being now useless, and no longer of any service to them for deeds of valour." Then he goes on to state—"Panyasis wrote that Theseus and Peirithoös were held to their seats in a peculiar way, not by fetters, but as if the very flesh of their bodies had grown to the rock." This notion seems to have been turned to comic account, if we may trust the scholiast on Aristophanes (*Nubes*, 1368). The situation does not seem a very dignified one, though Virgil makes a fine thing of it in his

> "sedet, aeternumque sedebit
> Infelix Theseus."

As to whether Theseus did sit in Hades for ever, authorities differed. Some said he was brought back by Herakles alone, leaving Peirithoös; some said they both came, others neither. The most popular version seems to be that Theseus was rescued alone. Perhaps even the oligarch did not care to go so far in his vengeance as to leave the hero there for ever. This version occurs on vase-paintings. Clearly, from the painting of Polygnotus, the myth was known in the fifth century B.C. It may, however, have originated with Panyasis, and the influence of his poem and the fresco of Polygnotus would take some time to work. Be that as it may, the myth is wholly absent from Attic vases, either black or red-figured, belonging to the fifth century B.C. On the much later class, usually known as "Lower Italy vases," it appears as a fixed type. Among this class there are to be found upwards of seven the design on which presents a sufficiently close analogy to suggest a common inspiration. They all represent scenes from the lower world. Fortunately, one of them is inscribed, and from it we are able to name with certainty most of the personages represented on the others. A good example of this class is given in fig. 38. In the centre is the palace of Hades, like a small Ionic temple; within it Plouton and Persephone. This takes the place of the little heröon, or shrine, so frequent on Lower Italy vases. This typical little

house or temple is taken to represent the skene on vases with dramatic representations. The design, as usual at this date, occupies several tiers. To the left is seated Megara, and with her, her two boys—"Megara, daughter of Creon, haughty of heart, whom the strong and tireless son of Amphitryon had to wife;" below them Orpheus, advancing with a dancing step to the sound of his own lyre; behind him a group of a man, a woman, and a child that I cannot name. In the centre of the

FIG. 38.—AMPHORA: UNDER-WORLD (MUNICH).

lowest tier is Herakles "lifting the hound of hell," while Hermes points the way and a Fury lights him with her torches. To the left of this group, Sisyphus, "in strong torment, grasping a monstrous stone with both his hands," the while a Fury lashes him on. To the right is Tantalus, "in grievous torment," reaching out to grasp the bright fruits, "whereat, when that old man reached out his hands to clutch them, the wind would toss them to the shadowy clouds." Above Tantalus, in the second row to the right hand, is Minos, "glorious son of

Zeus, giving sentence from his throne to the dead;" and with him two other judges whom Odysseus does not name—Triptolemos and probably Rhadamanthus. This collection of figures shows sufficiently that the picture is not untouched by Homeric influence; but the scene to the right hand on the top tier—the only one which intimately concerns us, is non-Homeric. A youth stands erect, with his traveller's hat behind his head, his staff in his hand, as if in the act to depart. He extends his hand to a seated figure, who seems to drop something into it. The seated figure also wears a hat; he sits upon a rock, and leans on his club. By his side a figure intently watches him; she carries a drawn sword. It had already been conjectured that the group of parting heroes represented Theseus and Peirithoös—Theseus departing to the upper air, Peirithoös doomed to remain; they offer their parting pledge. The woman, however, remained something of a mystery. Unfortunately, on the inscribed vase from which the other figures have been named, this group did not appear. The question was, however, happily set at rest by the discovery of some fragments of another Lower Italy vase, also inscribed; these are given in fig. 39. The seated figure is inscribed Peirithoös (ΠΕΙΡΙΘΟΟΣ), and near him is the woman with the sword, Dike (ΔΙΚΗ). Justice has been done, and she sits there in actual personality to denote her function. The attitude of Peirithoös is noticeable. He is not only fast seated to the rock, but his hands appear bound behind him. This reminds one of the variant tradition that he was both bound and rooted. Of course, it is impossible to say whether the vase-painter intended to indicate the rooted pose, but the binding is certain. In this design Peirithoös wears a sword, in contrast to the painting of Polygnotus, where Theseus held both swords. Theseus is absent all together, unless indeed he appeared to the right of Dike, which, I think, is not probable. The rest of the design does not concern the present argument, but it may be noted that in the second fragment Eurydice (ΕΥΡΥΔΙΚΗ), a figure also non-Homeric, appears. These fragments are considerably earlier than the complete vase in fig. 40. The inscriptions make it probable that they belong to the fourth century B.C. The work is much

less mechanical and stereotyped than that of most "Lower Italy" vases.

The question has been much discussed as to whether these vase-paintings have any distinct connection with the fresco of Polygnotus; and if so, presuming, as we are compelled to, some common inspiration, what was it? This question can only be

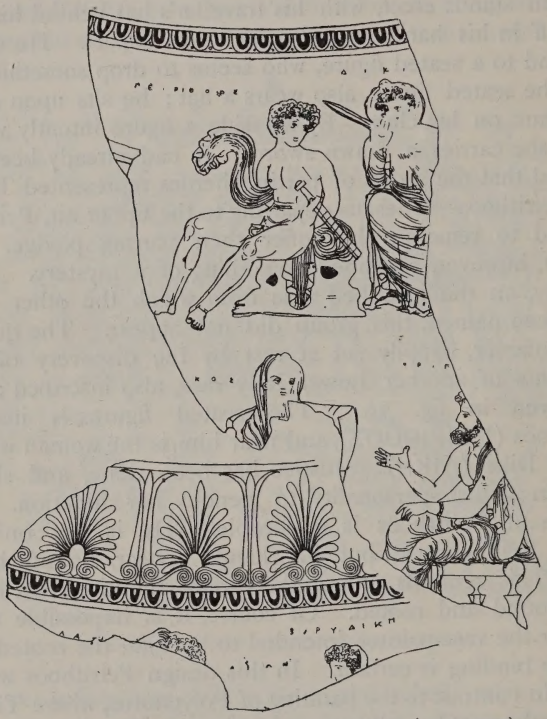


FIG. 39.—FRAGMENT OF VASE: UNDER-WORLD (CARLSRUHE).

partially answered. It should be noted—though this fact only comes clearly out after a careful examination of several of the series in succession—that it is more probable that the common sources of inspiration were not one but several*—*e.g.*,

* The latest discussion of this question will be found in P. Hartwig, "Neue Unterweltsdarstellungen auf Vasen," *A. Z.* (1884), p. 253.

on the vase selected (fig. 40), the right-hand top corner is occupied by the Theseus and Peirithoös scene, on another by a scene from the mythology of Myrtilos. Next, the description of the fresco of Polygnotus happens to survive (P., x. 29 *seq.*), and we find, when it is possible to make a comparison, as in the Theseus case, that though there is some identity of persons, there is little of motive. It is certain, however, that there were many other notable "under-world" compositions. There was the "Nekyia" of Nikias (*circ.* 320 B.C.), and no doubt countless others, some of them nearer at hand for a vase-painter working, say, at Tarentum. Plautus makes one of his characters say (*Capt.* 5, 4, 1)—"Vidi ego multa saepe picta, quae Acherunti fierent cruciamenta." The point of importance for the present argument is that literary tradition, as regards the under-world adventure of Theseus, begins, so far as known, with Panyasis, artistic with Polygnotus, and that the myth did not take hold of popular art in vase-paintings till the fourth century, and that in Lower Italy. By this time the best days of the democracy were over, and perhaps at no time was it held really derogatory to take your place as a notable criminal in Hades.

The rest of the story of Theseus, told circumstantially by Plutarch, is so much careful ætiology. Theseus had to be released; Herakles does it. He returns to Athens, finds his affairs desperate, and takes refuge at Skyros. Lykomedes, the king, for one cause or another, was hostile; he threw Theseus headlong down from a steep cliff, or, some said, Theseus threw himself. When Cimon took the island, by the omen of an eagle he found the grave of Theseus and a giant heroic body; it was brought, with every circumstance, to Athens, was buried "in the midst of the city near the Gymnasium," his sanctuary became a democratic refuge, and his festivals were celebrated on the 8th day of every month, a fact diversely explained.

What shines out clearly from this is that Theseus dead, as Theseus living, *was brought from abroad* (ἔπηλυς). There was no tomb of his originally at Athens; the most daring mythologist did not venture to assert it. He was wanted, and

had to be fetched; he was wanted because, after the fall of the Peisistratidae, the national feeling demanded a democratic, *non*-native prince. The hero of the Minotaur sufficed them. As to the connection with Skyros, I cannot clearly determine it. There may have been some local myth easily adapted to Theseus. Cimon in all probability *did* find a famous tomb with a huge body in it; the rest was easy of arrangement.

For convenience' sake, to keep the thread of the canonical life of Theseus clear of lengthy digression, the myth of Hippolytus has been omitted. To that I now return. It has to be placed after the death of Hippolyte, the Amazon queen, and before the descent into Hades. After the triumph over the Minotaur an alliance with Crete is concluded, and Theseus is married to Phaedra. By her he has the two sons, Demophöon and Akamas, who seem invented to link him with the Trojan war. It is their mission to bring back from Troy their captive grandmother, Aithra.

No story of ancient mythology is better known than the myth that tells of the love of Phaedra for Hippolytus. If not from the *Hippolytus Crowned* of Euripides, at least from the *Phèdre* of Racine, it is familiar to all. This fame began in ancient days. Pausanias says that even a barbarian, if he knew Greek, had heard of the story. Its wide popularity is doubtless due to its strongly emphasized pathos and the fine dramatic situation it offered. So dominant is the interest of this pathos, that the myth has usually been taken *en bloc*, with no consideration of its local origin, or discrimination of its several elements. If, desiring to be exact as to the classical form of the story, any one looks up "Hippolytus" in an English Dictionary of Mythology, he will find something after this fashion:—"Hippolytus, son of Theseus by Hippolyte, queen of the Amazons, or her sister Antiope. Theseus afterwards married Phaedra, who fell in love with Hippolytus; but as her offers were rejected by her step-son, she accused him to his father of having attempted her dishonour. Theseus thereupon cursed his son, and requested his father (Ægeus or Poseidon) to destroy him. Accordingly, as Hippolytus was riding along the sea-coast, Poseidon sent forth a bull from the water. The horses were frightened, upset the chariot, and

dragged Hippolytus along the ground till he was dead. Theseus afterwards learned the innocence of his son, and Phaedra, in despair, made away with herself. Artemis induced Æsculapius to restore Hippolytus to life again." Such a version as this has not even the advantage of being strictly Euripidean. It omits the tragic element that Phaedra hanged herself on hearing that Hippolytus refused her, and left a letter on the evidence of which Theseus cursed and banished his son. The main defect, however, of any such *résumé* of the tale is that it wholly neglects the consideration of the local form of the myth, and accepts without question the version based on Attic tragedy. Such a version, it may perhaps by this time be evident, is almost always based on conscious adaptation of a myth for tragic purposes, and is always biassed by Attic prejudice or Attic self-glorification. It is also, most fatally of all, biassed by the determination to make of the drama, in the fullest sense, a *morality*.

It will be best in this instance to take first the somewhat negative evidence of vase-paintings, and then proceed to the examination of the local form of the myth. In the case of a story "known even to barbarians," it may seem surprising that one vase, and only one, is known on which the story of Hippolytus is depicted. It is in the British Museum, and is given in fig. 40. In the centre of the lower row of figures is Hippolytus with his four-horse chariot. To the right, a Fury with a torch seems to goad the horses to madness. Behind, an old pædagogue stretches out a despairing hand. Below the horses there issues from the foreground the upper part of a quiet-looking bull; this figure of the bull leaves no possible doubt as to the interpretation of the scene. Above is the usual group of divinities. In this case they are some of them chosen with a certain degree of appropriateness—Poseidon, with his trident, to the right, for by him came the curse; Aphrodite, the remoter agent, next him; Athene, with helmet and spear, for the story is connected with Athens; last, to the left, an unmeaning group of Apollo and Pan. Apollo is not wanted, Artemis is very much. The vase-painting is not chosen from any intrinsic merit; the drawing, composition, intention are as mean as anything could well be. Its import-

ance lies in the fact that it, an indifferent specimen of Lower Italy art, is *the one and only instance* in vase-painting of this so famous myth. To the vase-painter of the fifth century, *uninfluenced by tragedy*, it was, I think we may safely conclude, practically unknown.

With this clue we may turn to local legend, and, as before with Theseus and Troezen, Pausanias lets out quite uncon-

FIG. 40.—LOWER ITALY VASE: DEATH OF HIPPOLYTUS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

sciously a good part of the secret. In his account of Troezen he says (ii. 32, 1 *seq.*)—"To Hippolytus, the son of Theseus, there is a conspicuous temenos and a temple in it, and the image is ancient. And they say that Diomede instituted these, and, moreover, that he first sacrificed to Hippolytus. And among the Troezenians there is a priest who is consecrated for his whole life, and yearly sacrifices have been instituted, and they also observe the following custom. Every maiden,

before she is married, cuts off a lock of her hair, and having shorn it she carries it to the temple and dedicates it there. And they will not allow that he was torn by horses, nor do they know his tomb or show it; but they hold that the constellation called the 'Charioteer' is this Hippolytus of theirs, and that he has this honour of the gods." A little farther on, he saw in another part of the temenos "a stadion called after Hippolytus, and a temple (ὑπὲρ αὐτόν) called the temple of Aphrodite who looks down; and from thence, they say, when Hippolytus was exercising, Phaedra gazed at him. And there also is the myrtle tree whose leaves, as I described before, are pierced through; and when Phaedra was distraught, and could find no ease from her love, she pierced the leaves of this myrtle tree. And there is the tomb of Phaedra, and it is not far from the monument of Hippolytus, which was made at no great distance from the myrtle tree. And the image of Asklepios was made by Timotheos. And the Troezenians say that it is not Asklepios, but that it is a statue of Hippolytus. And I saw also the house of Hippolytus. . . ."

It is clear that Pausanias heard from the local priesthood an account very different from that which, through the drama of Euripides, had become canonical. At Troezen Hippolytus was a god with a priest and yearly sacrifices; he was a constellation in the sky; he had not perished miserably by the seashore. A charioteer he was—a horse-lover as his name proclaimed, but after a glorious celestial fashion. Moreover, he was closely connected with Asklepios the great Epidaurian healer, and their types in art were liable to confusion. This connection comes out in another passage of Pausanias. In the precinct of Asklepios Pausanias (ii. 27, 4) saw an "ancient stele on which it was inscribed that Hippolytus dedicated twenty horses to the god." *Apropos* of this, Pausanias quotes the tradition that when Hippolytus died Asklepios raised him to life again; but Hippolytus would not pardon his father; he left Hellas in anger and went to Aricia, and there built a temple to Artemis; and the prize there for a victory in single combat was to become a priest of the goddess. Of course, this is merely the attempt of Aricia to glorify its analogous local cult by linking it with the famous legend of

Hippolytus. But we have the raising to life again, and the ascetic touch that the prize for athletic victory was to become the priest of the goddess. The earliest recorded mention of Hippolytus, the only extant epic tradition, is given by Apollodorus (iii. 10, 3). In his list of those raised from the dead by Asklepios he includes Hippolytus, and quotes as his authority the author of the *Naupactica*. Hippolytus was, then, known to epic tradition, but we have no grounds for stating that the story of Phaedra was linked with his; all that Apollodorus states is that he was raised to life again by Asklepios.

It may be taken, then, that Hippolytus was at Troezen a hero worshipped as a god—a hero possibly at first of no more local importance than the analogous Saron, but about whom miraculous legends somehow clustered, and who was liable to confusion with the god of healing; a hero also of miraculous purity, to whom the maiden before marriage offered her hair; the devotee of Artemis, and presumably her priest. Now about such a hero it would be natural that some scandalous story should grow up to emphasize this purity. Hence the Phaedra element, as old as Joseph and Potiphar's wife—a story not told of Hippolytus alone, even among the Greeks (witness Bellerophon); a story peculiarly dear to the drama. I am distinctly inclined, on this account, to believe that the Phaedra story was part of the original Troezen legend; they had all the local σημεῖα of Phaedra—the tomb, the temple, the perforated myrtle. The worshippers of Hippolytus resented the story of the bull and the horses; but I feel by no means sure that this also was not latent at Troezen. Euripides lets out more than Pausanias knew of. Theseus, when he condemns his son, breaks out into bitter taunt against him for his excess of piety; he twits Hippolytus with the fact *that he was of the Orphic sect*—

> "Come, look thy father in the face, forsooth;
> Pollution now has come even to thee—
> Thou the companion of the gods, a man
> Above, beyond, chaste, unassailed by evil.
> Thy boasts shall not persuade me, thinking ill
> To charge the gods with folly who know thee not.

Come, plume thyself, and haggle about food
That's lifeless; now's thy time. Come, revel away
With Orpheus for thy king, honouring the smoke
Of words. Now thou art caught."

All the rage of ordinary flesh and blood against the prig, the vegetarian comes out here; no doubt Theseus is made to utter the spirit of the men of his day.

If to some Hippolytus was a god, to others he was something of an impostor, a would-be saint, a man over-much a profligate in the garb of an ascetic, who met his violent death as the just punishment of his deeds. One can imagine the two parties at Troezen—the one adoring the local saint, telling how holy his life, how he had visions of the goddess and mystic communion with her, how he was sorely tempted yet prevailed, how, after death, miracles of healing were done at his tomb, and how pious maidens flocked to the shrine; the other hating him and his Orphic doctrines, and his fasting and priggish purity. I cannot forbear the conjecture that the legend of Hippolytus had to contend with orthodox theology, that he was in some sense an upstart. Poseidon was the great god of Troezen, and it is noticeable that, according to the Euripidean and in part the local version, it was by Poseidon's curse he fell. May not the story embody the struggle of the orthodox Poseidon worshippers to put down a new and popular form of asceticism, a form of Artemis cult?

It is as the friend, the dear servant of Artemis, not as the rebel against Aphrodite, that we think of him at last. There is a tumult of huntsmen and horses and hounds about the palace gate, but silence falls for a space before the little shrine while the young, pure hero uplifts the flower-wreath to his unseen mistress—

"For thee this woven garland from the sacred, the sequestered
Meadow-close, O Mistress, I made ready and I bring;
Never there came mower's scythe, nor shepherd's flocks were pastured,
Nor wanderer tracks it but the bee that ranges it in spring.

And Reverence is gardener there, with dewy river water,
And they may come into the place whose soul in every way
Is pure in her own being with a virtue never taught her,
Even such may come and gather flowers;—the wicked never may.
But thou, O dear my Mistress, take for thy tresses golden,
A coronal to bind on them, gift of a pious hand;
For this to me thou gavest, from all other men withholden,
To be with thee, to talk with thee, to hear, to understand;
Hearing indeed the speech of thee mine eyes have not beholden,
And so, for me, be age fulfilled, even as boyhood planned."

To face page 1

Walker & Boutall sc.

MYTHOLOGY AND MONUMENTS

OF

ANCIENT ATHENS

The description of Athens by Pausanias falls, according to the route he adopted, into five natural divisions, as follows :—

A

The Agora and adjacent Buildings lying to the West and North of the Acropolis, from the City Gate to the Prytaneion (C. I. 4 to C. XVIII. 3).

B

The City of Hadrian and the District of the Ilissus, from the Serapeion to the Stadion (C. XVIII. 4 to C. XIX. 6).

C

The Road immediately East and South of the Acropolis, from the Street of Tripods to the Shrine of Demeter Chloe (C. XIX. 7 to C. XX. 3).

D

The Acropolis, from the Propylaea to the Statue of Athene Lemnia (C. XX. 4 to C. XXVIII. 2).

E

The West Slope of the Acropolis, the Areopagus, and Academy Suburb (C. XXVIII. 3 to C. XXX. 4).

These larger divisions have been divided, for the convenience of the reader, into twenty-five smaller sections as follows :—

A

SECT.
I. The City Gate—The Kerameikos.
II. Stoa Basileios—Temple of Apollo Patrŏos.
III. Metrŏon—Tholos.
IV. Eponymi—Statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton.
V. Odeion—Temple of Artemis Eukleia.
VI. Temple of Hephaistos—Sanctuary of Aphrodite.
VII. Stoa Poikile—Various Altars.
VIII. Gymnasium—Theseion.
IX. Anakeion—Prytaneion.

B

X. Serapeion—Olympieion and Pythion.
XI. District of the Gardens—The Stadion.

C

XII. Street of the Tripods — Temples and Theatre of Dionysos.
XIII. The Asklepieion—The Shrine of Demeter Chloe.

D

XIV. The Propylaea.
XV. Hermes Propylaios—Perseus by Myron.
XVI. Sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia—Votive Bull of the Areopagus Council.
XVII. Lacuna Passage—Zeus Polieus.
XVIII. The Parthenon.
XIX. Bronze Apollo Parnopios—Athene by Endoios.
XX. The Erechtheion—Pandroseion.
XXI. Statue of Lysimache—Lemnian Athene.

E

XXII. Pelasgikon—Pan's Cave.
XXIII. Areopagus.
XXIV. Street of Tombs.
XXV. Academy—Kolonos.

DIVISION A

THE AGORA AND ADJACENT BUILDINGS LYING TO THE WEST AND NORTH OF THE ACROPOLIS, FROM THE CITY GATE TO THE PRYTANEION (C. I. 4 TO C. XVIII. 3).

SECT. PAGE

I. The City Gate—The Kerameikos . . . 5

II. Stoa Basileios—Temple of Apollo Patröos . 22

III. Metröon—Tholos 38

IV. Eponymi—Statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton 55

V. Odeion—Temple of Artemis Eukleia . . 85

VI. Temple of Hephaistos—Sanctuary of Aphrodite 112

VII. Stoa Poikile—Various Altars . . . 124

VIII. Gymnasium—Theseion 143

IX. Anakeion—Prytaneion 150

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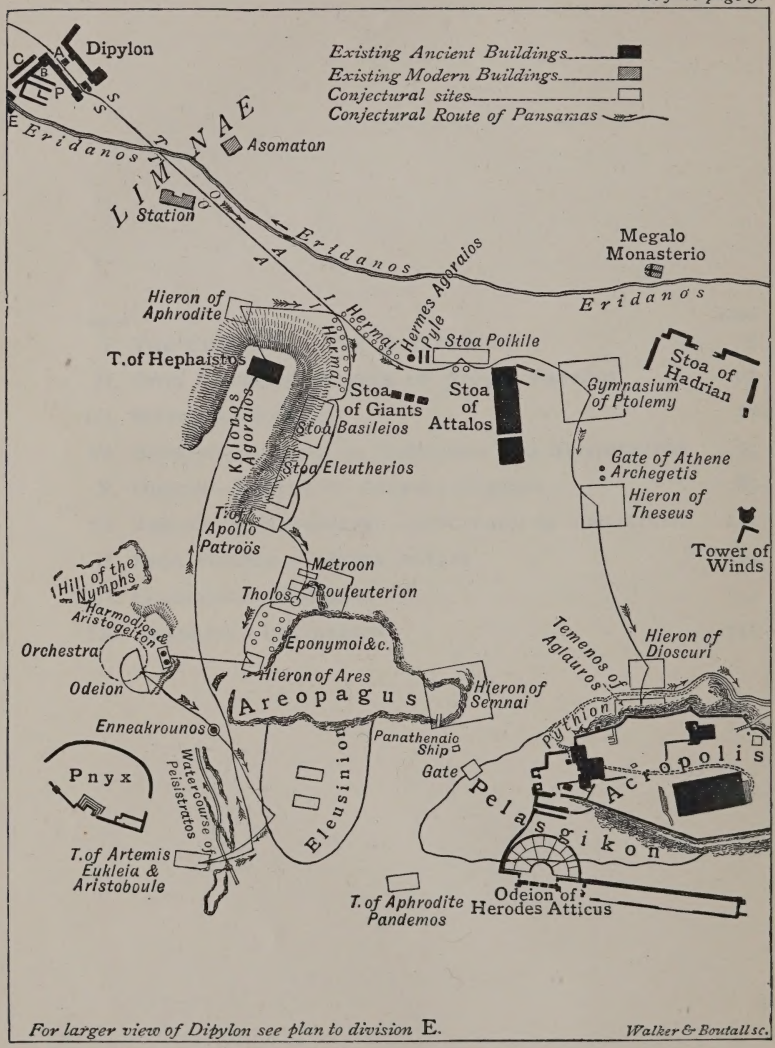

PLAN OF AGORA AT ATHENS, WITH ADJACENT BUILDINGS

SECTION I

THE CITY GATE—THE KERAMEIKOS

TEXT, i. 2, §§ 4, 5, 6.

i. 2, 4. AT the entrance of the city is a building used for the apparatus of the processions, some of which take place every year, others at longer intervals. Near is a temple of Demeter, containing images of the goddess herself, her daughter, and Iacchus holding a torch; an inscription on the wall in Attic letters declares these to be works of Praxiteles. Not far from the temple is a Poseidon on horseback, throwing his spear at the giant Polybotes, the hero of the Koan story about the promontory of Chelone; the inscription in my time assigns the statue to some one else, and not to Poseidon.

i. 2, 5. Colonnades lead from the gate to the Kerameikos, and in front of them are statues in bronze of such men and women as have a substantial reputation. One of the colonnades contains sanctuaries of the gods, and a gymnasium called the Gymnasium of Hermes. Within it is also the house of Poulytion, where, at the time of the festival at Eleusis, the mysteries were enacted by some Athenians, men of a certain note. At the present time it is dedicated to Dionysos. This Dionysos has received the surname of Melpomenos, from a legend similar to that which gives Apollo the title Musegetes. Within the precinct there are statues of Athena Paionia, Zeus, Mnemosyne and the Muses, an Apollo, the work and offering of Eubulides, and Akratos, one of the divinities who accompany Dionysos; this last is only a face built into the wall.

Next to the precinct sacred to Dionysos is a building containing images of clay; also a representation of Amphictyon, the king of the Athenians, feasting Dionysos and some other gods. Pegasos of Eleutherae is there also, who introduced the worship of Dionysos into Athens; he was aided in so doing by the Delphic oracle, which reminded the Athenians

of the sojourn of Dionysos in Attica in the time of Ikarios.

i. 2, 6. The way in which Amphictyon came to reign is as follows. It is said that the first king to reign in what is now called Attica was Actaeus; on the death of Actaeus, Cecrops succeeded to the kingdom, having married a daughter of Actaeus. Cecrops had three daughters, called Herse, Agraulos, and Pandrosos, and a son named Erysichthon. This son was never king of the Athenians, but as he died in his father's lifetime the rule of Cecrops passed to Cranaos, the most powerful of the Athenians. One of the daughters of Cranaos was called Atthis, and from her the land of Attica took its name. It had formerly been called Actaea. Amphictyon rose against Cranaos, although he had married his daughter, and drove him from power. But later he was himself expelled by Erichthonios and those who joined in his rebellion. Erichthonios had, so the tale goes, no mortal father, but was the son of Hephaistos and Ge.

Commentary on i. 2, §§ 4, 5, 6.

This account of his entrance into the city is one of the most unsatisfactory portions of the narrative of Pausanias. It is, to say the least, disappointing, that he does not tell us at the outset by which gate he enters. The choice lies between the Peiraeus Gate and the Dipylon; the balance of probability seems to be in favour of the Dipylon. It is true Pausanias is coming up from the Peiraeus, but it does not at all follow that he entered by the Peiraeic Gate. He was not hurrying home by the shortest possible route, but starting on a series of leisurely walks, and he was, as will constantly be seen, an orderly sightseer. Even for the casual Athenian it seems to have been quite usual to return from the Peiraeus through the Dipylon: the friends in Lucian's dialogue, *The Ship or the Wishes*, took this way.[1] Pausanias, whose object was to see systematically the principal sights of the city, was scarcely likely to enter otherwise than by the principal entrance, specially when to do so took him but little out of the direct route.

As the Dipylon is the one Athenian gate of which there are still substantial remains, it may be well, whether Pausanias entered by it or not, to note briefly its structure. A view of the remains still extant is given in fig. 1. The gate, as its name suggests, is double; there are in fact two gates, which, with the walls that connect them, enclose an oblong space.[2] Each gate had double doors hinging on a centre pier. The view in fig. 1 is taken

from the rising ground just outside the Dipylon, about two minutes due east of the Hagia Trias. From this point the student can best see the lie and extent of the gate. Immediately in front is the centre pier of the outermost gate (A); this pier, with the monument-basis in front of it, is the part most easily identified. To the right of the spectator, not in sight in the view, is the other pier of the southernmost door of this same gate, and also considerable remains of the south tower which defended the gate.

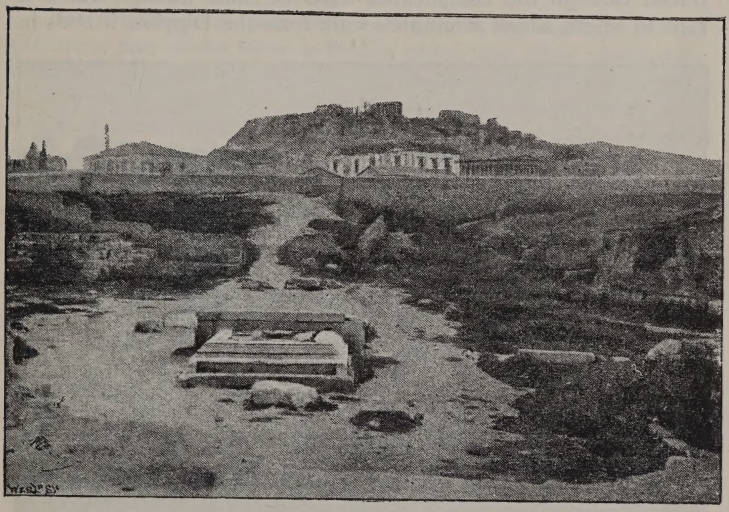

FIG. 1.—VIEW OF REMAINS OF DIPYLON.

The north side and tower of this outermost gate can no longer be made out; but as the span of the one door is known, the other can be measured to correspond. The wall (B) that extends to the right from the tower dates from the time of Themistocles. About fifteen paces along this wall away from the gate, the student will, if he takes the trouble to pull aside a thick growth of nettles, find a boundary stone forming part of the wall—"the boundary of the Kerameikos" (ὅρος Κεραμεικοῦ) cut in beautifully clear letters, "pillar fashion" (*i.e.*, one vertically above the other). Only a little more than half the inscription is now (1888) above ground—

O P O Σ K E P A . . . . . .

Another similar boundary stone was found on the other side of this same gateway, but not *in situ* at the time; the inscription is reported to have been destroyed, and probably the stone was long since removed. The wall in which the boundary stone stands is of special interest, as being the best preserved portion now remaining of the original Themistoclean fortification; it must not be confused with the much later wall that runs parallel to it but outside the gate (C). The Themistoclean wall can easily be traced through the complicated mass of ruins through which it runs to where, about a minute's walk from the Dipylon, it ends in

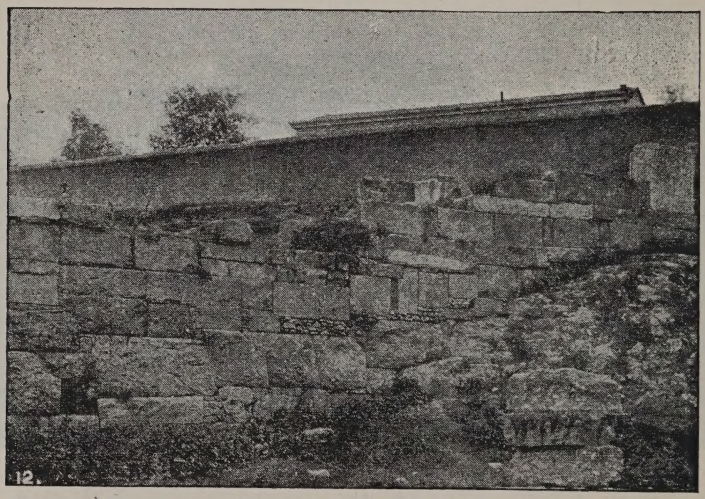

FIG. 2.—PORTION OF WALL OF THEMISTOCLES.

the hill-side, as seen in fig. 2. The fine polygonal masonry of the lower portion is here plainly to be seen. It may be noted that although the main outline of the Athenian walls seems to have been traceable in Leake's time and is given in the map of Curtius, this is the only satisfactory piece of the wall that can *now* be seen. The remainder of the circuit and the position of the other gate are completed from various literary inferences, and from slight indications in the neighbourhood of the Museion and Nymph hills.

Returning to the Dipylon, we have to find the second gate. Standing on the first centre pier, the second centre pier is easily seen straight ahead. It can be identified by a round stone altar [3]

that stands immediately in front of it (towards the city), bearing the inscription—in letters of the fourth or third century—"Of Zeus Herkeios, of Hermes, of Akamas." Zeus Herkeios, guardian of the city enclosure; Hermes, god of the gateway; Akamas, the tribe hero of the Kerameikos.

Διὸς Ἑ[ρκείο]υ
Ἑρμοῦ Ἀκάμαντος.

The restoration is quite certain, but at the present time (1888) the upper part of the stone is broken away, and slight traces only remain of the letters bracketed. It would be beyond my purpose to attempt any discussion of the complex of walls of every date which lie round about the Dipylon; they offer to the topographer some of the most perplexing of Athenian problems. It can only be said here that it is conjectured that the foundations marked P may be the Pompeion mentioned by Pausanias, and, further, that the walls marked E, long held to be the Sacred Gate, are shown by Dr. Dörpfeld to be no gate at all, but merely a water-course—in fact, the outlet of the Eridanus. Close by ran a small road, too insignificant to have been the Sacred Way. The term "Sacred Gate" is used only once, and by Plutarch, when speaking of the ravages of Sulla; and if we suppose him to mean the Dipylon, the passage presents no difficulties. From Plutarch also we learn that the Dipylon once was called the Thriasian Gate,[4] because it led to the Eleusinian deme Thria. Anthemokritos, he says, was buried near the Thriasian Gate, which they now call the Dipylon. It seems likely that until Athens was fortified by Themistocles the gate was quite unimportant, only one among many. It would then become apparent that this low-lying bit of the city needed walls of special strength and a double gate—a gate, as Livy says, "major aliquanto patentiorque quam ceterae."[5] It is not to be supposed that before the time of Themistocles the city had no boundary wall. It may have been inadequately fortified, but a wall certainly existed. Thucydides says (i. 93)—"Thus did the Athenians fortify their city in a short space of time. And to this day it is evident from the character of the masonry that it was run up in haste, for the foundations are of all sorts of stones, and not regularly laid but thrown down, just as each person brought them up; and there were many stelae from tombs and wrought stones built in, *for the boundary of the city was extended in all directions*, and they all set to at the work, sparing nothing in their haste."

Between the city gate and the Kerameikos Pausanias notes the following monuments :—

1. The Pompeion.
2. The temple of Demeter, with various statues.
3. Group of Poseidon and Polybotes.
4. Colonnades containing sanctuaries and statues, chiefly relating to Dionysos.

There can be no doubt that the building spoken of as "used for the apparatus of the processions" is the Pompeion mentioned by other writers. Vessels in use for processions were called "pompeia," and it was here they were stored. They formed an important item in the State revenues. Demosthenes, in the speech against Phormio,[6] speaks of thousands of bushels of wheat as being measured out in the Pompeion. By the time of Pausanias it may have been despoiled, but it once contained a portrait statue of Socrates[7] and a painting of Isocrates.[8] Of the temple of Demeter we know nothing certain. The image of Iacchus, a mystical form of Bacchus, was carried in procession to Eleusis at the Eleusinian festival. It is possible that the worshippers started from this temple. Plutarch mentions an Iaccheion, which may very probably be this temple. Near it the grandson of Aristides[9] used to sit, and, being very poor, he made a living by interpreting dreams out of a little book. No doubt he chose some much frequented spot. The three statues by Praxiteles serve to point a moral for Clement of Alexandria—"I tell you you are plainly forbidden to exercise an art that is deceiving . . . unless indeed we are to receive all gods, the Demeter and Kore, and the mystical Iacchus of Praxiteles."[10]

The statue of Poseidon on horseback (Poseidon Hippios) was well in place near the temple of Demeter. At Colonos, sacred to Poseidon Hippios, there was a hill of Demeter Euchlous;[11] and Poseidon, together with Athene, had conjoint honours with Demeter and Kore in the Sacred Way.[12] Poseidon on horseback appears on a coin type and in contest with the giants in vase-paintings. The particular story of the contest with Polybotes is told by both Strabo[13] and Apollodorus.[14] Apollodorus says—"Polybotes fled from the pursuit of Poseidon through the sea and came to Cos. Poseidon broke off a piece of the island and threw it at him, and the piece thus broken off became the island Nisuros." The story was of course one likely to arise wherever there was an island that looked like a handy missile for a sea-god.[15] The notice-

able thing about the statue seen by Pausanias is that its inscription had been altered. Some wealthy Roman no doubt had wanted an equestrian statue of himself, and so what had once been the image of a god (ἄγαλμα) became a mere portrait statue (εἰκων).

It is not clear whether the colonnades mentioned next by Pausanias were on both sides of the road, or merely in succession on one only. He proceeds to describe the contents of "one of the colonnades," but it is quite possible he may have passed on to the contents of the other and forgotten to note the transition. There is a passage in Himerius[16] which describes the road or course (dromos) along which the Panathenaic ship was taken in procession; he says, "through the middle of the Dromos, which makes a straight and gentle descent from the higher ground and divides asunder the colonnades on either side, in which the Athenians and others buy and sell." If we were sure that this Dromos was the road taken by Pausanias, the arrangement of the colonnades would be secure, but this is not proved. Pausanias says nothing about the places for buying and selling. It is possible, however, that they stood mainly on one side, and that he noticed only the other colonnade, in which were sanctuaries of the gods.

Within one of the colonnades was a building which had once been the house of Poulytion, and was in the days of Pausanias a precinct sacred to Dionysos. Near it was another building closely connected with the worship of the god, for it contained representations of the reception of Dionysos by the King of Attica. This leads Pausanias to a digression on the genealogies of the Athenian kings, which has been already noticed.

The Athenians "of a certain note" to whom Pausanias alludes are undoubtedly Alcibiades and his companions. Authorities differ as to the actual house in which the mock ceremony was enacted. Thucydides[17] says simply "in private houses" (ἐν οἰκίαις); Plutarch,[18] quoting the actual accusation against Alcibiades, says "in his own house" (ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ), but a servant Andromachos, cited by Andokides[19] in his speech on the mysteries, says "the mysteries were enacted in the house of Poulytion." Anyhow, Poulytion was deeply involved. Alcibiades kept the best part, that of hierophant, for himself; but Poulytion played the second best, that of torch-holder. Probably Alcibiades lived close by, and the drunken rout may have passed from house to house. Anyhow, it seemed fitting that the dwelling of Poulytion —noted, as Plato says,[20] for its splendour—should be devoted as an

anathema, an expiatory votive offering, to the god in whose name and strength the horrid sacrilege was done. Dionysos Melpomenos, god of the ordered dance and song, was the special patron of the theatrical artists (τεχνῖται). The priest of Dionysos Melpomenos, chosen from the artists, had an inscribed seat in the Dionysiac theatre at Athens (ἱερέως Διονύσου Μελπομένου ἐκ τεχνιτῶν); and a priest of Dionysos Melpomenos, of the race of the Euneidae, had also a seat (ἱερέως Μελπομένου ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν). These Euneidae were the presidents at certain festivals. Athenaeus speaks of a precinct of the artists of Dionysos in which sacrifices were performed, and it seems quite possible that this precinct of Dionysos is intended. The house of Poulytion would thus become a natural place for offerings to Dionysos in his aspect of artist. Eubulides the sculptor made and set up Apollo, and others offered statues of Mnemosyne and the Muses. How Athene, the healer, and Zeus came in is not so apparent.

FIG. 3.—VASE WITH HEAD OF AKRATOS (GLASGOW MUSEUM).

Upon these sober and musical gods and goddesses there looked down from the wall, whether of the precinct or the house we cannot say, the face of the daemon of wine unmixed, Akratos, a satellite of Dionysos, whom Poulytion himself may well have worshipped. In the excavations at Dionuso, near Athens, a head of Dionysos has been found, worked flat at the back, and evidently intended to be fixed against a wall, and it may suggest an analogy for this face of Akratos. It seems to have been customary in painting also to represent the head of Akratos only. A vase from Lipara,[21] now in Glasgow, is decorated with a head of Akratos, fortunately inscribed. It is sketched in outline only (fig. 3), and about it are ivy tendrils. The custom of setting up the head only seems to have been quite ancient, as Pliny describes a head of Diana by Boupalos and Athenis thus: "The face of Diana placed high up, whose expression seemed sad to those who came in and cheerful to those who went out."

To the daemon of wine unmixed in the *Acharnians*[22] Dikaiopolis gulped down the "amystin," the deep, long, breathless draught.[23]

It is impossible to pass by the votive offering of Eubulides without noting a famous controversy.[24] In 1837, during the laying of the foundations of a house just opposite the Peiraeus station, the workmen came upon pieces of a monument made of great blocks of poros stone, three heads, and a colossal torso. Among the blocks was a fragment of blue Hymettian marble bearing an inscription, which, from the analogy of an inscription already in the Louvre, could be restored :—

[Εὐβουλίδης Εὔ]χειρος Κρωνίδης ἐποίησεν.

It was long thought that this was the monument seen by Pausanias. The remains of the monument, with the exception of the inscribed block and the sculptures, were speedily covered up, so the controversy has always been in an unsatisfactory condition. Of course, if the identity could be proved, we should have here a most valuable fixed point in the topography ; but I follow Dr. Lölling in thinking that all the available evidence points the other way, and that the monument dug up is simply one of many other signed works of Eubulides that were scattered over Athens, Eubulides lived about the end of the Roman Republic.

The monuments mentioned by Pausanias relate so far undeniably to the worship of the three closely allied deities, Demeter, Persephone, and Dionysos. This certainly strengthens the supposition that he entered by the Dipylon, which, as has been seen, was also the Sacred Gate. The predominance of the worship of Dionysos led the learned to invent an eponymous hero for the Kerameikos—Keramos, son of Dionysos and Ariadne. It does not of course in the least follow that the whole way traversed by Pausanias was formally sacred ground. On the contrary, it was mainly secular ; mixed with occasional precincts there would be private houses, colonnades, booths for shops, and the like. By the time of Pausanias the fame of the precinct of Dionysos in the Marshes (ἐν Λίμναις) was probably quite extinct—effaced by the glory of the new precinct to the south of the Acropolis. This is clear from the vagueness with which scholiasts and lexicographers note its topography. It seems probable that the monuments now noted are to be associated with that precinct, already in the days of Thucydides a venerable foundation.

Pausanias nowhere says that he is passing through the Kerameikos—in fact, he distinctly implies the contrary ; he says that

"colonnades lead from the gate to the Kerameikos," and at the beginning of the next section (i. 3, 1) he describes the Stoa Basileios as the first monument to the right as you enter the Kerameikos. Yet, as we have seen, the boundary of the Kerameikos was in the wall of Themistocles, near the Dipylon, so that he has obviously passed within it. This seeming confusion requires a word of explanation. The case seems to stand thus: — Originally the Kerameikos was, as its name implies, the potters' quarter. It stretched right away from the Acropolis gate into the country beyond the Dipylon. The agora, or assembly-place and market-place in one—for in early days there would be no separation—was naturally in front of the Citadel Gate, and this happened in part to coincide with the Kerameikos, though the two would not be commensurate. When the wall of Themistocles was built, it cut the Kerameikos in two, and henceforth there was an inner and an outer Kerameikos, and the city wall became the boundary (ὅρος) between the two. The outer Kerameikos became the public burying-place of Athens, and the term was understood even without the qualifying adjective. "The Kerameikos shall receive us" means, for Aristophanes,[25] "We shall get a public funeral."

The agora was a place of complex association. It was probably at first a place for buying and selling—a market-place in our sense. As such it would exist even in kingly days; then, bit by bit, as the citadel lost its significance, it would become a place for the decision of disputes, for the law courts, and a *temenos* hallowed by the presence of the gods. But such complexity could not go on very long in a highly organised society, and gradually the agora for buying and selling separated more and more from the agora of law and politics and religion, though the severance was never complete. Aristotle, in his *Politics*,[26] speaks of the agora of the freeman in Thessaly, "which ought to be pure of things saleable." Practically it was no doubt found inconvenient to have the fishmonger jostling the statesman and the priest. So the agora of things necessary (τὰ ἀναγκαῖα) would get pushed farther and farther away into the Kerameikos, whereas the political agora would keep its ground, as will be seen, between the Pnyx, Acropolis, and Areopagus. As regards the exact use of the terms "Kerameikos" and "agora" there seems some fluctuation. Pausanias most distinctly uses the term "Kerameikos" of the political agora in the narrow sense; he never calls it "agora" at all until chap. xvii. It is noticeable that the author of the *Lives of the Ten Orators*, writing probably about the end of the first century A.D., a little before

Pausanias, says that the statue to Lycurgus was set up *in the Kerameikos*; while in the original decree cited by him, and dating, of course, from the fourth century B.C., it is directed that the statue be set up in the agora. It seems quite probable that the Romans made a new agora for commercial purposes farther east, and that, as this bore the regular name of Agora, the old term "Kerameikos" came to be used, for the most part, of the political portion of the agora.

A more important question remains to be settled—Where did the commercial agora lie? The ancient political agora, called by Pausanias the Kerameikos, it will later be seen, occupies the ground between the Areopagus, Pnyx, and Acropolis, and probably a portion of the ground immediately north and north-west of the Areopagus. This Kerameikos, in the narrow sense, was entered by Pausanias later (i. 3, 1). Outside of this stretched to the north, as far as the Dipylon, a district of which the limits can only be determined to the west. Here it is bounded by the hill Kolonos Agoraios, overlooking the market, on which stands the so-called Theseion. Here the market of commerce must have lain. Through this market Pausanias is now walking, following probably the broad dromos along which went the Panathenaic procession. For any but sacred associations he has no eye, and possibly by his time the bulk of the trade of the agora had moved farther east, to where the bazaar of Athens still drives its scattered trades.

This market-place, even in the days of Pausanias, was not without its witnesses to political glory (ἀγοραῖα τεκμήρια), but its main associations were commercial and social. Here would be the circles (κυκλοί) of the different trades and workshops of the craftsmen —the different trades with sheds and quarters of their own, as to this day—the booths for fresh cheese (εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τύρον), for fish (εἰς τοὔψον), for wine (εἰς τὸν οἶνον), and the like. Here the potters had their sale place (εἰς τὰς χύτρας), and the bankers their tables. To this agora Theophrastus [27] went for half his portrait sketches. Here unnoticed you might watch the mean man economising by secretly carrying home his own meat and vegetables under his cloak, and saving the expense of a regular maid for his wife by getting a girl by the day in the women's market to attend her when she had to go out; and the meaner man still, who could not bring himself to buy anything at all, but just had a cheap look round and went home. There were the tedious newsmongers. What workshop, what porch,

what part of the market-place do they not haunt all day long, wearing people to death with their stories? There is the suspicious man, who cannot trust his slave and carries his purse himself. There is the boastful man, who goes to the upholstery shop and asks to see expensive draperies and then turns round and abuses his slave for bringing no gold out with him. There is the offensive man, who will wear a thick undercoat, and does not care if his cloak is all over stains. There is the shameless man, who has done the butcher a service and takes it out of him in kind, and, just as a joke, runs off with a piece of tripe and throws in a bone to the scales to make him some soup; and the untimely man, who always brings up a bidder just as the thing has been knocked down. There always is the sycophant, who moves through the market-place like a viper or a scorpion with sting erect, darting this way or that. Only the exclusive oligarch keeps aloof, and says, "We must meet and discuss this matter by ourselves, and get clear of the rabble and the market-place." He goes out, not when the market-place is full in the early morning (πληθούσης ἀγορᾶς), but at mid-day, fresh and trim, to walk in a street far from the haunts of business men. It is from contact with the agora, with its too easy-going, rough-and-tumble, human nature that Just Reason bids his young man keep his sacred leisure aloof; it was not there that he could fashion for himself the image of Aidos. The agora was no place for women and young boys, but for a man it was quite usual to go and do his shopping in and about the agora himself, though not, it seems, to carry home his parcels. The master of the house would choose his own bit of fish for dinner. "Who of you," asks Æschines,[28] "has not been to the fish-market and seen what sums these people spend?" "Each man," says Lysias,[29] "has his favourite lounge: one frequents a perfumer's shop, another a barber's, another a shoemaker's, and so forth, the most popular establishments being those nearest the market-place." Demosthenes says of the typical unsocial man, "he never frequents any of the barbers' or perfumers' shops in the town, or indeed any of the workshops."

It is not possible, as has been seen, to identify for certain any of the buildings mentioned by Pausanias before the Kerameikos, but there are two extant monuments which must be noted, for a double reason—first, because at least one of them belongs to the general class of colonnades (στοαί) of which Pausanias saw and described so many; and second, they have been wrongly used to determine the exact boundaries of the agora, and thereby to

localise the buildings described later by Pausanias in the political agora. These two monuments are—

1. The Stoa of Attalos.
2. The so-called Stoa of the Giants.

In the map of Curtius the agora is given as a neat oblong space, bordered on the east side by the Stoa of Attalos, limited on the west side by the end of the Stoa of the Giants, and fringed to the west and south by the public buildings to be described later. The desire to work in these two stoas has led many topographers not only to put the agora too far east, but also to take an incorrect view of its whole lie and extent. Instead of considering it as a neat oblong space drawn out with a measuring line, we have to regard it as a long irregular tract, more like a straggling road widening out here and there—the first part, winding round the north-east corner of the "Theseion" hill (*i.e.*, the Kolonos Agoraios), being mostly commercial, of indeterminate width; the second part, secluded by a gate and more devoted to politics and religion, winding round the north-west corner of the Areopagus up to the Acropolis. The reasons for this view of the agora will be given later in full. For the present it is enough to state clearly that the two buildings in question interest us as lying undoubtedly *within* some portion of the agora, though not certainly within the Kerameikos of Pausanias, and because one of them at least, the Stoa of Attalos, is the best extant specimen of the stoa or colonnade so frequently mentioned by Pausanias.

The "Stoa of King Attalos" long went erroneously by the name of the Gymnasium of Ptolemy, given it by Stuart. The right identification was not made out till the site was excavated (1859-1866) by the Archæological Society of Athens. The excavators fortunately found the remains of an inscription carved on the epistyle—Βασιλεύς Ἄττ[αλος] βασιλ[έως Ἀττάλου] καὶ βα[σιλίσ]σης Ἀπολλών[ιδος]—("King Attalos, son of Attalos and of the Queen Apollonis"). This leaves no doubt that the building was the work of Attalos II., King of Pergamos, who reigned 159-138 B.C. Prof. Adler, in his very full monograph[30] on the subject, points out that the building has three special claims to archæological interest:—

1. Its date is certainly known.
2. It belongs to a transition combining certain features of new and old styles.

3. It is a good representative of an important class of ancient civil buildings, the stoai or porticoes of which we have but few, and these very fragmentary examples. It is on this account that it is described here in somewhat fuller detail than would otherwise be attempted.

Attalos seems to have pulled down pre-existing buildings and utilised the foundations. His portico was 370 feet long by 63 feet 8 inches wide; it was raised four steps from the ground. The main structure was of poros stone, but the front was Pentelic marble, and the pavement and wainscotting of the rooms were of Hymettian marble. Architects pronounce the masonry to be excellent; it is of the sort that Vitruvius calls pseudisodomum—*i.e.*, with courses alternately equal and unequal. This can be well seen at the north-east corner, where a small portion of the cornice remains.

The building had two stories. The lower story was planned as follows:—About a third of the breadth of the building was taken up by a row of rectangular chambers which opened out, through a door to each, into a colonnade in front. These chambers were also lighted by windows in the east wall. They probably served as shops, and Prof. Adler thinks he has discovered traces of the supports for shelves round the walls. The colonnade in front of these rooms was double. There were originally 105 pillars, 35 in a row; they supported the upper story. The foremost row was Doric, but with late Ionic fluting; the second was Corinthian, with capitals of palmetto and lotus pattern and Attic bases. Between the third row of columns and the west wall of the rooms was a passage 19 feet wide, at either end of which was an unclosed doorway. The colonnade of the upper story seems to have been similar, but one row of columns was Ionic, the other Corinthian; more strictly, they are not columns at all, but consist of a rectangular pilaster with two half-columns. The intercolumniations were filled up to the height of 3 feet with a grating or lattice of Pentelic marble, in which four distinct patterns can still be made out. The best specimen of this lattice-work is preserved in the Archæological Society's Museum. The site has not yet been completely cleared, but, besides the general plan of the building, which is sufficiently clear, it has yielded a number of inscriptions, some of them with reference to the Ephebi. It seems to have been customary to set up Ephebic inscriptions[31] of a *public* character in this Attalos Stoa. All those found are of late pre-

Roman date. Some expressly state that the decree is to be set up in the Agora, so that they furnish additional evidence for supposing the stoa to lie within its boundaries.

In modern times the building has suffered many reverses. Under the Dukes of Athens it was filled with broken stones and gravel, and made to serve as a fortification. Later on, much of its building material and that of monuments near at hand was used to build up four towers, the foundations of which can still be traced. They gave their name to the Church of our Lady of the Tower (Panagia Pyrgrotissa), the ruins of which still stood in

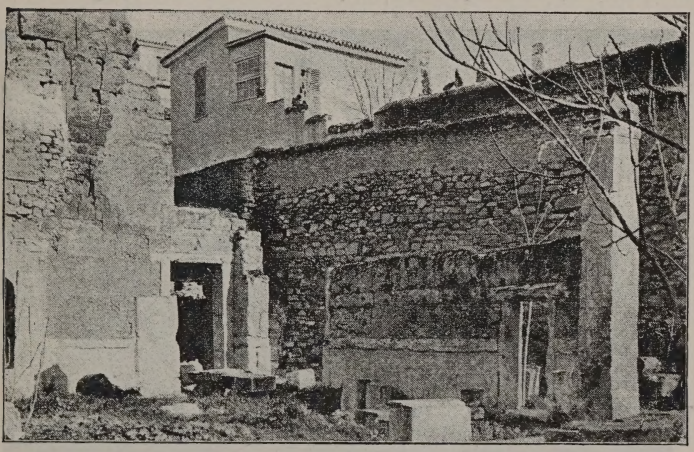

FIG. 4.—REMAINS OF STOA OF ATTALOS.

1861. At present a narrow street divides the stoa into two unequal portions. Twelve chambers stand on one side, two and a half only on the other. The larger portion lies to the north of the dividing street and is easily accessible; the smaller portion to the south is not accessible from the dividing street; it has been fenced in, and the door opening on the ὁδὸς τῶν στοῶν is kept locked. The view in fig. 4 shows the south end of this smaller portion. The anta to the right with the door close at hand shows the limb of the colonnade. The door in the back wall communicates with the back chambers.

The solitary mention of this Stoa of Attalos is in Athenaeus.[32] Athenion, when he is about to harangue the people, mounts upon

"the bema which is in front of the Stoa of Attalos, and which was built for the Roman generals." Such a harangue would naturally be in the Roman agora. Of the circumstances of the building we know nothing. It was, of course, at all times a popular act to adorn the market with the like useful buildings.

The intention of the Stoa of the Giants is quite obscure; excavation has so far only shown that in all probability what remains at present is built up out of fragments of an earlier building. The principal remains of this stoa, if stoa it be, are four bases, two of which are still surmounted by colossal figures, half human, half serpent. They are, in fact, something after the

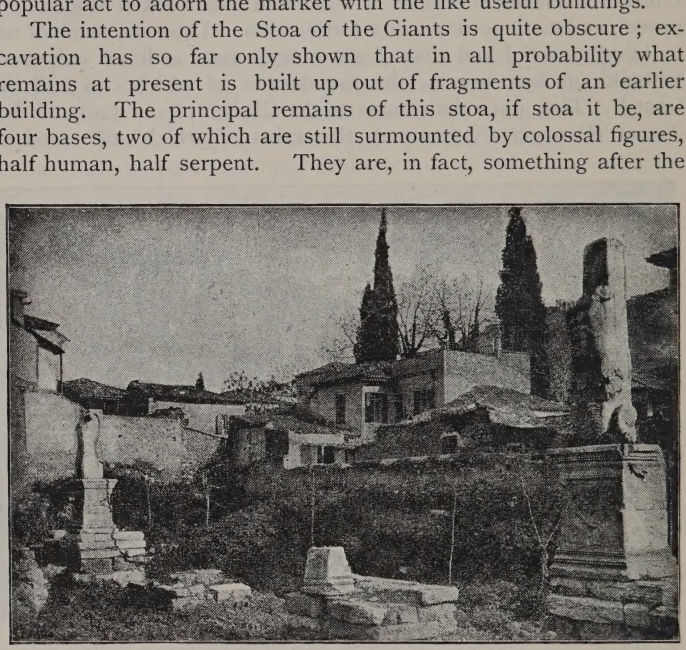

FIG. 5.—"STOA OF THE GIANTS."

fashion of some of the Pergamene giants. Similar figures at one time surmounted the other bases. A third figure was found detached from its basis. On the front of each of the two bases is carved a tree with a serpent winding round it (fig. 5), indicating no doubt the olive tree and the sacred serpent of the Acropolis. The giant statues are late Roman work, and the bases even later, which is evidence in itself that the building was put together out of already existing material. Probably the giant figures supported a roof, and fronted a stoa. This is all that can be said. They have given to the adjoining street the name of ὁδὸς τῶν Ἐπωνύμων (street of the Eponymi), as Dr. Ross thought they might be

a late substitute for the statues of the Eponymi. It is scarcely necessary to say this is topographically out of the question. The "Giant Stoa" stands almost flush with the Theseion, about ninety yards west of the Stoa of Attalos. It can be entered from the ὁδὸς τῶν Ἐπωνύμων.

ADDENDA TO SECTION I

SINCE the above was printed, Dr. Dörpfeld kindly sends me the following notes :—

Page 9—"I do *not* believe that before Themistocles any other city wall existed except the old *Pelasgian* wall which surrounded the Acropolis and Pelasgikon. This old wall was also called περίβολος (the verb περιβάλλω is used of it). According to Thucydides, the older Peribolos must have been narrower in extent on all sides."

Page 11—"I believe that the τέμενος Διονύσου was distinct from the house of Poulytion. The τέμενος was, in my opinion, the sanctuary of Dionysos ἐν Λίμναις. This sanctuary was opened only once a year, and hence was closed when Pausanias described Athens. The building with the terra-cotta figures stood near the precinct and belonged to it, for the Dionysos who was the guest of Amphictyon was Dionysos Lenaios—*i.e.*, ἐν Λίμναις."

SECTION II

STOA BASILEIOS—TEMPLE OF APOLLO PATRÖOS

TEXT, i. 3, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4.

i. 3, 1. THE place called the Kerameikos derives its name from the hero Keramos, also * connected with Dionysos, as he is said to be the son of Dionysos and Ariadne. The first colonnade on the right-hand side is called the Royal Portico. Here the king archon sits during his year of office, called his kingship. On the tiled roof of this colonnade are terra-cotta images representing Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea, and Hemera carrying off Kephalos. Kephalos, being the fairest of men, was loved, they say, by Hemera, and carried away by her to heaven, and their child was Phaethon, [whom Aphrodite] made guardian of her temple. Among other authorities for this story is Hesiod in his poem about women.

i. 3, 2. Near the portico are statues of Konon and his son Timotheos, and Evagoras, king of the Cyprians, who induced Artaxerxes, the king, to give the Phoenician triremes to Konon. Evagoras acted thus as being an Athenian; Salamis was the home of his race, for he traced his ancestry back to Teucer and the daughter of Cinyras. There are also statues of Zeus Eleutherios and the Emperior Hadrian, the last of whom showed even more than his usual beneficence towards his subjects in his conduct to the city of the Athenians.

i. 3, 3. Behind is a building, a portico containing pictures of the gods spoken of as the Twelve Gods; on the wall opposite are depicted Theseus, Demokratia, and Demos. This picture expresses the fact that it was Theseus who gave to the Athenians equality of political rights. There are other instances of the prevailing popular belief that Theseus surrendered the control of public affairs to the people, and that the democracy

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* See P., i. 2, 5, end.

was established in his time and lasted till the rebellion and tyranny of Peisistratos. A great many untrue legends are current among the populace, who do not study research and believe all the stories they have heard in choric poems and tragedies from their childhood, and Theseus is no exception. For Theseus himself was king, and after the death of Menestheus the descendants of Theseus reigned to the fourth generation. But if I were interested in family histories, I could give the complete list of the kings from Melanthos to Kleidiskos, the son of Aisimides.

i. 3, 4. In this portico there is also depicted the action at Mantinea of the Athenians who had been sent to the aid of the Lacedaemonians. The history of the whole war has been related by Xenophon as well as by other writers—the capture of the Cadmeia, the defeat of the Lacedaemonians at Leuktra, the invasion of the Peloponnese by the Boeotians, and the despatch of the Athenian contingent to join the Lacedaemonians. The picture represents the cavalry engagement, where the greatest distinction was won by Gryllus, the son of Xenophon, on the Athenian side, and among the Boeotian cavalry by Epaminondas the Theban. Euphranor painted these pictures for the Athenians, and he also executed the Apollo called Patröos in the temple close at hand. Of the statues in front of the temple, one was the work of Leochares, the other, called Alexikakos, that of Kalamis. Story says that the god received this name because by an oracle from Delphi he stayed the pestilence which distressed Attica during the Peloponnesian war.

COMMENTARY ON i. 3, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4.

Pausanias, as he enters the Kerameikos, is concerned to explain the name—an eponymous hero Keramos was of course necessary to any systematic mythologist. It has already been said that the place took its name from the potters, who from the earliest days had plied their craft before the citadel gate. Clay lay here ready to their hands; and here outside, not within the ancient city, they drove their trade with foreign merchants. Theirs was no doubt the chief industry of the ancient Athenian people, and where they dwelt and worked there would grow up a natural market-place.

Fortunately Pausanias distinctly tells us the building he first saw was *on the right*; he links together as all close at hand the following:—

1. The Stoa Basileios.

2. A portico (Eleutherios) with paintings by Euphranor, and near it statues of Konon, Timotheos, Evagoras, Zeus, and Hadrian.

3. Temple of Apollo Patröos, with statues by Euphranor, and in front of it statues by Leochares and Kalamis.

As to the position of the Stoa Basileios, he himself a little later on gives us a fuller clue. He says (i. 14, 5)—"Beyond the Kerameikos and the stoa called Basileios is the temple of Hephaistos." The temple of Hephaistos is, as will be seen, the so-called "Theseion;" we shall certainly not be far wrong if we put the Stoa Basileios lying just beneath the Kolonos hill on which the "Theseion" still stands.

The date of its first building is not so clear. There is evidence that it existed in the year 506 B.C. In that year the Athenians conquered the Chalcidians, and certain agreements as to the letting of their land were set up near the Stoa Basileios. Ælian[33] says—"The Athenians conquered the Chalcidians and let out their land in two thousand allotments—*i.e.*, the territory called Hippobotos—and they consecrated certain lands in the place called Lelantos to Athene, and the rest they let out in accordance with the stelai which contained the record of these leases, and which stand in front of the Stoa Basileios." It was the chains of these same Hippobotae that Herodotus saw hanging on the blackened walls of the Athene temple in the Acropolis.

The Stoa Basileios had in later days associations exclusively sacred; it was the regular place of business of the archon basileus. In him were vested all the priestly functions of the king. Such legal power as he held was in the main connected with matters of religion. He presided over the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, and had the general direction of the public sacrifice. Even his wife, who bore the title of Queen (*βασίλιννα*), had authority to perform certain "most holy and mysterious rites,"[34] and as priestess her character must stand above suspicion. The general superintendence of religion brought with it certain legal duties. All suits for impiety (*ἐνδείξεις ἀσεβείας*) were, in their preliminary stages, heard before him; and because homicide was to the Greeks a special offence against the gods, all cases of murder, manslaughter, wounding, incendiarism, were within his jurisdiction. It cannot be forgotten that in the Stoa Basileios the charge of impiety was brought against Socrates. It was within that portico that he met Euthyphro,[35] and the two talked together on piety and impiety. Euthyphro was there to bring the

charge of murder against his own father, Socrates accused of contempt against the gods.[36] Within the Stoa Basileios also the Council of the Areopagus met.[37] Certain cases involving secrecy could not be tried in the open air; for these the Stoa Basileios was the regular place. The functions of the archon basileus shrank with those of the Areopagus before the reforms of Ephialtes (460 B.C.). Before this, and even after it, he must have had a wide direct political as well as religious influence. He was the descendant of the king, his house the outcome of the kingly palace, as well no doubt in form as in functions — a form it handed down to the basilicas of Christian days. Unlike the other porticoes, it was, there is little doubt, a house with a roof, a megaron divided by rows of columns, and probably fronted a colonnade. It must have been large enough to contain the hundred members of the Areopagus.

Pausanias does not seem to have gone inside. He says nothing of the laws re-written upon the walls[38] in consequence of the measure brought forward by Tisamenos, nor does he even mention the altar outside, on which, in accordance with ancient custom, the archons took their oath to receive no bribe;[39] he only notes the terra-cotta groups upon the roof. If the Stoa Basileios was, as has been conjectured, a roofed building something after the fashion of the naos of a temple, it would be natural to suppose that the terra-cotta groups were the akroteria ornaments that stood on the apex of the pediments. Such ornaments were common enough, but in the days of archaic art it was more usual to make them of terra-cotta than of marble. Probably it was because they were of terra-cotta and archaic in style that they caught the eye of Pausanias. The art of making these terra-cotta akroteria was, Pliny[40] says, carried to special perfection in Etruria, and it is from Etruria that an illustration can be drawn for one of the Stoa Basileios groups. There is in the Berlin Museum,[41] in the small room of Etruscan antiquities, set up high on the right-hand end wall, an akroterion (fig. 6) found at Cervetri behind the old theatre. Its style dates it about the sixth century B.C. It represents a winged woman carrying a youth in her arms across the sea, and is the earliest representation we have of the Eos and Kephalos type. We shall not be far wrong if we think that the group seen by Pausanias was something of this sort. The same subject, though very differently treated, was represented in an akroterion belonging to the temple of Apollo at Delos, the remaining statues of which are now in the Central Museum at Athens

(Nos. 56-61). It has been ingeniously suggested that the group of Eos and Kephalos occupied the east pediment apex, as being the more appropriate subject, and the downfall of Skiron was towards the west; but this seems over-subtle. We have no instance remaining of Skiron as an akroterion, but it was a subject not unfit for such a position, as the scene, like the rape of Kephalos, took place more or less in mid-air.

A passage, which seems to be that referred to by Pausanias, occurs in the *Theogony*[42]; it is possible, however, that it may have

FIG. 6.—TERRA-COTTA AKROTERION: EOS AND KEPHALOS (BERLIN MUSEUM).

been repeated in the poem on women, now lost. The passage in the *Theogony* is as follows (986-991):—

> "To Kephalos she bore a glorious son,
> Strong Phaethon, a man like to the gods;
> And him, while yet his boyhood's fresh young bloom
> Forecast great manhood, Aphrodite rapt
> On high, and of her secret, inmost shrine
> Made him the spirit guardian."

The five statues next mentioned—*i.e.*, those of Konon, Timotheos, Evagoras, Zeus Eleutherios, and Hadrian—probably

all stood together. The god and the four mortals had this in common, that they were "saviours" of Greece. Pausanias says the statues stood near the stoa (πλησίον δέ) he had just left—*i.e.*, the Basileios; their connection, however, is obviously with the stoa immediately following, which we know from other sources was called the Eleutherios. The statue of Zeus probably commemorated the victories over the Persians. Possibly Hadrian's statue, too, bore the title of Eleutherios, as in the theatre there is a chair inscribed for the priest of Hadrian Eleutherios (ἱερέως Ἁδριανοῦ ἐλευθεραίως, *sic*).

Turning to the three statues of Konon, Timotheos, and Evagoras, we have a group whose close connection needs no apology. The statues were all set up during the lifetime of the heroes. One, that of Konon, we know from Demosthenes to have been of bronze; probably the other two were of the same material. Konon and Timotheos had also statues on the Acropolis. To tell in detail the history of these three men would be to recall the whole melancholy story of the latter part of the fifth and the first half of the fourth century B.C., the disastrous struggle of Athens with Sparta. It is in part, no doubt, because the background is so gloomy that the figures of these three heroes stand out in such bright relief.

Beginning with the elder pair, Konon and Evagoras, we have names indissolubly linked in an alliance at first most glorious for Athens, later fraught with danger. From the disastrous defeat at Ægospotami (405 B.C.) Konon alone escaped, if without glory, at least without disgrace. He took refuge with King Evagoras at Salamis in Cyprus, and from that date the two work conjointly for the restoration of Athens. The story of their friendship is so glowingly told by Isocrates in his encomium on Evagoras[43] that, though we must bear in mind that the discourse is avowedly an encomium, and as such liable to discount, no better record of the joint work of Evagoras and Konon can be quoted. As Isocrates himself says, "the portrait of a man's character is a better memorial than an image of his body." The orator, in Pindaric fashion, goes back to the story of the mythological past. Evagoras has this triple claim on Athenian enthusiasm—he is the descendant of the heroes of Salamis; his kingdom is the outpost of Western civilisation against Eastern barbarism; he adopts a policy fundamentally Attic.

The military glory of Konon culminated in the victory over Sparta in the great sea fight at Cnidus (394 B.C.). It is impossible to forbear noting that, according to the conjecture of its discoverer,

Sir C. T. Newton,[44] the colossal stone lion which he brought with such difficulty from the promontory of Cnidus, and which now stands in the Elgin Room of the British Museum, was a monument over the graves of the fallen in this momentous fight; if so, it has to be associated for ever in our minds with the name of Konon. To his military glory he had yet to add a crowning civil distinction. Athens, though victorious at sea, still lay in ruins. Konon, again with the help of Evagoras, was to be its second founder. The great king, skilfully manipulated by Konon and Evagoras, was persuaded to undertake the cost of restoration; Cyprian, Cilician, and Phoenician workmen [45] were furnished by Evagoras; they worked in friendly rivalry with Athenians and Boeotians; the fortifications of the Peiraeus, the long walls connecting the seaport with the city, were speedily rebuilt. On the shoulders of Konon and Evagoras fell the mantle of Themistocles, Cimon, and Pericles. In an outburst of gratitude the city set up the statues of its joint benefactors; in the Peiraeus was built the sanctuary to Aphrodite to commemorate the victory at Cnidus (Paus., i. 1, 3). Athens had, "as by the touch of magic, been transmuted from a poor and impotent district town into a wealthy and powerful city, the ally of the great king as well as of the rich and fortunate prince in Cyprus" (Curtius, Ward, iv. 283). The prosperity of Konon was brief; he fled in voluntary exile to the court of Evagoras, and died—how it is not known—about 389 B.C. It is in part to the ingratitude of Athens that we owe incidentally an eloquent tribute to the memory of Konon. Demosthenes,[46] in his speech against Leptines (about 355-352 B.C.), opposes the author of a law to abolish hereditary immunities conferred on public benefactors. To stir the popular sympathy he can think of no better *cause célèbre* than the enactment in honour of Konon. "Of him, and of him only," the orator says, "is this written on the stele, that 'Konon set free the Athenian allies.' Such is the inscription—a glory to him in your eyes, to you before the eyes of all Hellas. For this cause our ancestors gave to Konon not only exemption from burdens, but also a bronze statue, as before they gave to Harmodios and Aristogeiton. For they deemed that it was no small tyranny he had put an end to, even this lordship of the Lacedaemonians."

Timotheos no doubt started life with the prestige natural to his father's son, but if we are to believe the portrait left us by his intimate friend Isocrates, he had ample personal claims for distinction. He won his chief laurels in connection with the Naval

Confederation of Athens (378 B.C.). It fell to him to win over Euboea to the new association, a task he achieved with singular prestige. He seems to have been as modest as he was successful. Ælian[47] tells a story of a picture in which his modesty was turned to humorous account. The successful general always said his victories were due to Tyche (Fortune), so the painter represented him asleep in his tent while the goddess Tyche hovered in air above him dragging in a long fishing net the confederate cities brought into alliance by Timotheos. Like his father Konon, Timotheos soon fell out of favour with the ever-fickle Athenian public. At last (358 B.C.) he was formally accused of cowardice in "shirking" a fight in the Hellespont, and a fine of one hundred talents imposed. He left Athens, and died three years later (354 B.C.) at Chalcis. The rights of this famous case will never be known. Its chief interest to us is that incidentally it led to a panegyric on Timotheos by his constant friend and supporter, Isocrates. A year after the death of Timotheos, in his oration *On the Antidosis*, Isocrates thus writes (secs. 101-139):[48]— "Special stress has been laid upon my friendship with Timotheos; and since the interests which he so long controlled were so great, especial pains have been taken to slander him. I therefore, who am supposed to have been his adviser and teacher, cannot be silent. If he is shown to have been a bad man, let me share the blame. If he is proved to have been incomparable as a general and as a citizen, let the honour be his alone. Now, in the first place, no general ever took so many or such important cities. Corcyra, important in regard to the Peloponnesus; Samos, for Ionia; Sestos and Krithote, for the Hellespont; Potidaea, for Thrace, were taken by him with slender resources. He forced Lacedaemon into the present peace (*i.e.*, the peace of Callias, 371 B.C.), the most advantageous ever concluded by Athens. In a word, he took twenty-four towns at a smaller outlay than the single siege of Melos cost our fathers. These exploits were achieved at a time when we were weak and our enemies strong. By what qualities did Timotheos achieve them? He was not of the ordinary type of your generals; neither of robust frame, nor trained in the camps of mercenaries. But he knew against whom and with whose aid to make war; how to form and to use a force suitable for each attempt; how to bear privations and to remedy them; how to win for Athens the trust, the love of Greece. A general who, like Lysander, has one brilliant success, is less great than one who for years deals wisely with ever-varying

difficulties. Yet Timotheos was brought to trial for treason; and although Iphikrates took the responsibility for what had been done, Menestheus for what had been spent, they were acquitted, while Timotheos was fined in an unheard-of sum. Ignorance, envy, excitement, go far to explain this result; but it must be owned that the character of Timotheos contributed to it. He was no anti-democrat, no misanthrope, not arrogant, but his unbending loftiness of mind made him liable to seem all this. Against my advice he refused to conciliate the speakers who sway the ekklesia and those who direct the opinion of private circles. These men made it their business to frame falsehoods about him —falsehoods which, had I space, I could bring you to see and hate." It is pleasant to know that the esteem of statesman and orator was mutual. In front of the temple at Eleusis there was a statue of Isocrates made by the great sculptor Leochares and set up by Timotheos. It bore the following inscription:—"Timotheos, for the sake of his friendship and in honour of hospitality, dedicated this statue of Isocrates to the two goddesses. The work of Leochares."

"Behind" (these statues), says Pausanias, "is a building, a portico." He does not here say that the portico went by the name of the Stoa Eleutherios—*i.e.*, the porch of Zeus the Deliverer. His eye seems to have been immediately caught by the pictures of Euphranor, and he goes on at once to describe them. As has been already noted, there is little doubt that the great statue of Zeus was set up after the victory over the Persians, and the stoa was probably built at the same time. Plutarch tells us that on each anniversary of the battle of Plataea "there is a general assembly of the Greeks at Plataea, and the Plataeans sacrifice to Zeus the Deliverer for the victory."[49] Every future triumph, whether military or political, would be associated with fresh thanksgivings and votive offerings to the god of freedom. Zeus Eleutherios was worshipped far and wide throughout Hellas. Coins inscribed with his name and stamped with his image are found at Metapontum, Aetna, Agyrium, Alaesa, Syracuse, Magnesia. It was a natural and beautiful custom that the Athenian soldier who specially distinguished himself should hang up his shield in the portico of the deliverer god. Pausanias tells us elsewhere[50] of two such shields. To one a special pathos attaches. In the great battle (279 B.C.) against Brennus and his Galati "the Athenians exhibited more valour than all the other Greeks, and specially Cydias, who was very young, and now fought for the

first time. And as he was killed by the Galati, his relations hung up his shield, with the inscription that follows, to Zeus Eleutherios :—

> 'Set here I yearn for Cydias, dead so young,
> His shield, a hero's, sacred now to Zeus,
> Through me, his first, then was his shield-arm slung
> When on the Gaul the War-god's wrath broke loose.'"

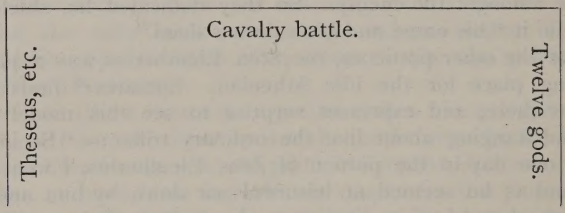
The inscription remained till the soldiers of Sulla took away the shields from the portico as well as all the other spoil from Athens. As Sulla sacked Athens in 86 B.C., the shields had of course disappeared long before the days of Pausanias. We hear also of the shield of another warrior, Leokritos,[51] whose shield was dedicated by his grateful countrymen. The Macedonians had taken refuge in the Mouseion, and Leokritos was the first to scale the wall and leap in amongst the enemy. So they dedicated his shield, and wrote on it "his name and his valorous deed."

Like the other porticoes, the Stoa Eleutherios was a pleasant lounging place for the idle Athenian. Socrates[52] finds Ischomachos there, and expresses surprise to see this model young husband hanging about like the ordinary trifler :—"Seeing him sitting one day in the portico of Zeus Eleutherios, I went up to him, and as he seemed at leisure I sat down by him and said, 'Ischomachos, why are you sitting about idle? It is not like you. I usually see you occupied about something, and certainly not wasting your time in the market-place.'" And the virtuous Ischomachos makes answer: "And indeed you would not see me unoccupied, Socrates, but I have got an appointment with some strangers, and I am waiting for them." And then, as they sit together in the portico, follows the notable discourse on married life.

The exact site of the Stoa Eleutherios cannot be fixed any more certainly than that of the Stoa Basileios. Pausanias only says the Stoa Eleutherios was behind the statues. Harpocration[53] says the two porticoes stood side by side (*παρ' ἀλλήλας*); but this condition would be quite well fulfilled if they stood as on the map. Sulla's soldiers had carried off or destroyed the votive shields, but they do not seem to have taken the trouble to efface the frescoes which decorated all three walls of the stoa. The frescoes were by Euphranor, and were of great note in antiquity. The subject was threefold—

1. The twelve gods.
2. Theseus, with the figures of Democracy and Demos personified.
3. The cavalry battle at Mantineia.

If we suppose that the cavalry battle took up the long side wall, the picture with Theseus faced that of the twelve gods at the other end. This arrangement is almost necessitated by the words of Pausanias. The only clue he gives to the position of the pictures is that he says that of Theseus is "on the wall opposite" (ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ τοίχῳ τῷ πέραν). It seems most natural to take this as meaning opposite the picture already described as that of the twelve gods; as soon as the spectator faced round after looking at this, the Theseus picture would by this arrangement be on the wall opposite, thus—



As regards the picture of the twelve gods, we have scattered notices of three of the figures. It does not advance us much to be told of the Zeus that Euphranor drew his inspiration from Homer's description of the god "shaking his ambrosial locks," which he heard by chance in a school.[54] The same is said of the Zeus of Pheidias. It was no doubt the stock traditional sentiment about any famous statue or painting of the god. Of the figure of Poseidon we learn that it was equal to that of Zeus. Tradition[55] said Euphranor painted the figure of Poseidon first, and having exhausted his skill upon it, tried to excel it by the Zeus, but failed. The hair of the Hera seems to have been famous for its colouring. When Lucian[56] is about to put the finishing touch to his ideal image, he calls in the aid of the most noted painters —Polygnotus, Euphranor, Ætion, and Apelles; and of these he says, "Euphranor shall furnish us with the hair, like the hair of his Hera."

When he turns to the opposite wall to look at the picture of Theseus with Democracy and Demos, Pausanias is, as usual,

more interested in the subject-matter than the style. It is specially provoking to be furnished with a worthless dissertation on the authenticity of the Theseus legends, when we would have given much to have some idea how the personifications of Demos and Democracy were conceived. These abstract conceptions were not, as a rule, popular with the Greeks, at least until late times. The figure of Demos must, however, have been thoroughly popularised by the comedies of Aristophanes. The *Knights* appeared in 424 B.C., more than a generation before the days of Euphranor. The name of Demos recalls to us the burlesque figure of the old Athenian bully, the incarnation of a testy, capricious mob—selfish, suspicious, and yet, in the same breath, easy-going, easy to be cajoled—the "John Bull of Athens," as Frere calls him. No doubt the picture of Euphranor was conceived on widely different lines. He would represent the ideal glory of the sovereign people, the lordship of Athens, a lordship already, in the days of Euphranor, dying, if not dead. It was, as some one aptly said who saw the picture, "the Demos of great-hearted Erechtheus, whom on a time Athene nurtured, daughter of Zeus." And yet what the critics tell us about Demos has a touch of the John Bull about it. Plutarch says that Euphranor himself contrasted his own Demos with the Demos of Parrhasios; the Demos of Parrhasios had, he said, the look of a man fed on roses, his own that of a man fed on beef. "When Athens allied herself with Rome (228 B.C.), she seems to have resumed her right of coining silver money, lost during the Macedonian supremacy, and she then issued a series of coins bearing the inscription Demos side by side with the old monogram of Athens, ΑΘΕΟ ΔΕΜΟΣ, and stamped with the image of Harmodios, who fought for the people of old" (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 318).

If the picture of Theseus, Demos, and Democracy faced the twelve gods, considerations of symmetry would probably demand that the three figures should be supplemented by others, no doubt of inferior interest.

Turning from the theological picture (of the twelve gods) and the mythological picture (of Theseus), we come to the third and probably largest composition which represents a matter of plain history, the cavalry fight at Mantineia. The story of the great fight is told in full, as Pausanias notes, by Xenophon,[57] the father of the young knight Gryllus. "The real honours of the day," Grote says (x. 108), "lay with Epaminondas and the Thebans; but the Thebans, when they found their great general was dead, were

panic-stricken and let their enemies escape, and so the Athenians too claimed the victory, and trophies were erected on both sides. There is much confusion as to who really killed Epaminondas, but the Athenians claimed the honour for Gryllus." Pausanias says in his description of Mantineia[58]—"And the Mantineans say that Epaminondas was slain by a Mantinean, by name Machaerion; but the Lacedaemonians say that the Machaerion who slew Epaminondas was a Spartan." But the version given by the Athenians and confirmed by the Thebans is that Epaminondas was mortally wounded by Gryllus, and this corresponds with the painting of the battle at Mantineia. The Mantineans also, it would appear, gave Gryllus a state funeral and erected a statue—we learn elsewhere that the statue was equestrian—in memory of him, on a pillar at the place where he fell, he being the bravest man in the army. On the other hand, Machaerion, though the Lacedaemonians mention him, had no special honours paid to him as a courageous man either at Sparta or at Mantineia. The painting here mentioned as at Mantineia was a copy of the one in the Stoa Eleutherios at Athens. Pausanias later saw and noted it.[59] The only clue to the style of the picture is in Plutarch's[60] account. From it we gather that the representation was characterised by a vivid realism.

This is not the place to gather together all the scattered notices respecting the manner of Euphranor. It is enough to note that he came about midway in that great series of painters whose activity extends from the end of the Peloponnesian war to the time of Alexander, the characteristic of whose art is an ever-increasing technical dexterity and consequently an always minuter realism. Euphranor was an all-round artist, as famous for sculpture as for painting. Mr. Murray (*Hist. Sculp.*, ii. 329) says of him in his capacity of sculptor that "forcible characterisation" may be accepted as a feature in all his work. With this he combined various technical accomplishments and great fertility of conception. If Pliny's criticism,[61] that he first expressed the dignified traits of heroes (*dignitates heroum*), means anything, he had in the Kerameikos fresco a subject for which his genius was peculiarly apt.

With Euphranor still in his mind, Pausanias passes to a building close at hand, the temple of Apollo Patröos (Apollo the father or ancestor). By some such title as this he was worshipped in such Greek cities as claimed Ionian descent. Apollo Patröos was, Demosthenes[62] expressly says, the same as the Pythian Apollo—"I

invoke Apollo the Pythian, who is the Patröos of our city." Within the temple stood—

1. Apollo Patröos, by Euphranor.

In front—

2. Apollo, by Leochares.
3. Apollo Alexikakos, by Kalamis.

The statues of Euphranor, like his pictures, ranked high in antiquity. When Zeus is settling the question of Olympian etiquette among the various statues of the gods, Lucian[63] makes him give precedence to "the works of Pheidias, Alcamenes, Myron, and Euphranor, and the like excellent artists;" but of this particular statue we know nothing, nor can we even fix the artistic type of Apollo as Patröos. The only certain Apollo Patröos we possess is a bas-relief (fig. 7) from an altar at Athens.[64] The inscription says the altar was dedicated "to Apollo Agyieus (of the streets and ways) and Patröos, to the god of Pytho and of Claros and of the whole Ionian race." He is represented as a naked long-haired youth playing on the lyre. We are equally ignorant of how the god was conceived by Leochares, the contemporary of Scopas. Kalamis was chiefly famed for the grace and austere beauty of his women figures. By the side of the work of Euphranor and Leochares, his Apollo, dating at least a century earlier, must have had a severely archaic air. The worship of Apollo as Alexikakos (averter of evil) was widespread. He was the god who sent the plague, and he alone could avert it. As

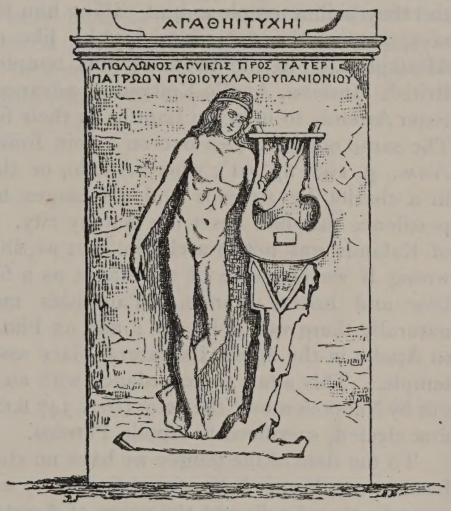


FIG. 7.—BAS-RELIEF: APOLLO PATRÖOS.

early as the days of the *Iliad*[65] we find Apollo the far-darter aiming his shafts of pestilence against the host of the Achaeans; and when the hecatomb is offered and Chryseis restored, he stays the plague. It is to Apollo as King Paian the Healer that the chorus pray when death lays his hand on Alcestis[66]:—

> "O thou King Paian, find some way to save!
> Reveal it, yea, reveal it! Since of old
> Thou found'st a cure."

It was Apollo Epikourios the Helper who saved the Phigaleians from the pestilence that fell on the rest of the Peloponnese, and they built a temple to him, calling him Epikourios, Pausanias[67] says, just as the Athenians for the like deliverance called him Alexikakos. In the frieze of this temple of Phigaleia, in the British Museum, Apollo Epikourios advances in a chariot with his sister Artemis to help the Lapiths in their fight with the Centaurs. The same notion comes out on a coin from Selinus (Head, *Hist. Num.*, p. 198, fig. 91), where Apollo, or the healing god, stands in a chariot by Artemis and discharges his arrows to stay the pestilence that had beset the marshy city. Of course the Apollo of Kalamis was not in a chariot, but we shall probably not be far wrong if we conceive of the statue as a formal figure holding a bow and lustral branch. Pausanias mentions no altar, but naturally there would be one; and as Plutarch mentions an altar to Apollo in the agora, its natural place would be in front of this temple. This altar, in accordance with an oracle of the god, was gilt by Neoptolemos[68] the actor (*circ.* 347 B.C.). The archons, when first elected, sacrificed to Apollo Patröos.

To the date of the temple we have no clue. Probably, in some form or another, it had existed from very early times. Pausanias remarks that Apollo got the name of Averter of Evil (ἀλεξίκακος) when he stopped the plague (430 B.C.) at the time of the Peloponnesian war. If this were so, the Apollo of Kalamis cannot have been originally called Alexikakos. There is no doubt that the plague which broke out in 430 B.C., and of which Thucydides has left us so terribly realistic a description, was attributed to Apollo. Thucydides[69] says—"In their troubles they naturally called to mind a verse which the elder men among them declared to have been current long ago:—

> 'A Dorian war will come and a plague with it.'

. . . Further, the answer of the oracle to the Lacedaemonians

when the god was asked 'whether they should go to war or not,' and he replied 'that if they fought with all their might they would conquer, and that he himself would take their part,' was not forgotten by those who had heard of it, and they quite imagined that they were witnessing the fulfilment of his words. The disease certainly did set in immediately after the invasion of the Peloponnesians, and did not spread into Peloponnesus in any degree worth speaking of, while Athens felt its ravages most severely."

The orthodox, no doubt, honestly believed the plague was sent by Apollo, and the Spartan party at Athens used it as an engine against Pericles. The fact that the plague and its removal were attributed to Apollo only goes to show that he was already regarded as Alexikakos, if not actually so named. It may be that when the god, in very tardy fashion, did stay the plague, his worship was renewed with additional honours.

SECTION III

METRÖON—THOLOS

TEXT, i. 3, § 5; 5, § 1.

i. 3, 5. THERE is also a building, the sanctuary of the mother of the gods, containing the statue made by Pheidias, and near is the Council Chamber of the Five Hundred, the name given to the Athenian counsellors who hold office for a year. In this building is set up a wooden image of Zeus Boulaios, an Apollo by Peisias, and a Demos, the work of Lyson. The picture of the Thesmothetae is by Protogenes of Kaunos, and it was Olbiades who painted Kallippos, the general who led the Athenians to Thermopylae to guard the pass against the invasion of Greece by the Galati.

. . . . . .

A digression follows on the Galati.

i. 5, 1. Near the Council Chamber of the Five Hundred is what they call the Tholos. Here the prytanes offer sacrifice; and it also contains some images made of silver, of no great size.

COMMENTARY ON i. 3, § 5; 5, § 1.

Pausanias comes next, but with no connecting link, to a group of three buildings which, as he distinctly says, are near (πλήσιον) to each other:—

1. The Metröon, or sanctuary of the mother of the gods.
2. The Bouleuterion, or Council Chamber of the Five Hundred.
3. The Tholos or Skias.

It seems certain that, at least as early as the middle of the fourth century B.C., the Bouleuterion was actually within the

precinct of the Metröon. The orator Lycurgus,[70] just before his death, when he will defend himself against the accusations of his enemy Menesaichmos, has himself carried "into the Metröon and the Bouleuterion," that there he may render up his last account. Æschines[71] speaks of the Metröon as "beside the Bouleuterion"; and a scholiast in the passage adds, "The Athenians made the Metröon part of the Bouleuterion." This is, of course, the reverse of fact; the pious Athenians would not include a religious foundation in a secular precinct, but *vice versâ*. Probably what happened was this: the Bouleuterion had to be enlarged; it trenched on the temenos of the mother of the gods; the only way out of the difficulty was to consecrate the Bouleuterion to her and thereby get the necessary land, and add a new sanctity to a building whose purpose was political. The Tholos, being merely subordinate—a place for dining, and its necessary accompaniment sacrifice—would be naturally in the same enclosure.

If, therefore, we can fix the site of the Metröon, the other two follow with it. The safest clue we have is a passage in Arrian,[72] which, it will be seen, is of the utmost importance in fixing the topography of Pausanias just at this point. He says, speaking of the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton—"They now stand in the Kerameikos at Athens where we go up to the Acropolis, about opposite to the Metröon, not far from the altar of the Eudanemoi." We cannot certainly fix the situation of the altar of the Eudanemoi. Some points about the Eudanemoi will be noted in connection with the Areopagus. They were connected with Eleusinian ceremonies, for Arrian adds, as explanatory of their function, that "whoever has been initated at Eleusis knows the altar of the Eudanemoi on the floor there." Setting aside, then, the question of this somewhat obscure altar, what we gather from the passage is—

1. Wherever the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton were, there, about opposite to them, was the Metröon, and *vice versâ*.
2. Both stood on the regular road up to the Acropolis.

The great question here to be settled is—Where was this road?[73]

It has been almost universally assumed that the regular approach from the agora to the Acropolis was to the east of the Areopagus. Further, it is usually held that the road from the agora to the Pnyx ran also between the Acropolis and Areopagus. The questions are, of course, distinct. It does not follow that

because a road led from the agora to the Acropolis west of the Areopagus, there was not another road leading east of the Areopagus to the Pnyx. It may perhaps be clearer if I state distinctly the view I have adopted, and then proceed to enumerate the cumulative arguments.

Pausanias follows, as we should expect, the regular road from and through the agora up to the Acropolis. This road is the same in the earlier part as the road from the agora to the Pnyx.

Starting from the level below the "Theseion," it follows the course of that hill, *and then winds round the west shoulder of the Areopagus.*

Along this road Pausanias goes till he is almost due west of the Propylaea. He then turns, because he reserves the Acropolis for a future discussion, and coming back by the same road finds himself quite naturally near the temple of Hephaistos (the Theseion). Consequently *all the monuments between the Metröon and the Hephaistos temple* (i. 3, 5 to i. 14, 6) *must be round about the west and south-west shoulder of the Areopagus, between that hill and the Kolonos* (Theseion hill) *on the one side, and the Mouseion and Pnyx hills on the other side.*

The monuments to be disposed in this space are, as will be seen—

The statues of the Eponymi.
Amphiaraos and Eirene.
Lycurgus and Callias.
Demosthenes.
Temple of Ares.
Harmodios and Aristogeiton.
The Odeion.
The Enneakrounos.
Temple of Demeter and Kore.
Temple of Eukleia.

All nearer determination of their several sites will be given under each heading.

The new theory adopted is revolutionary. It simply changes the whole lie of the agora, making a great part of it face up towards the Pnyx instead of towards the Acropolis. At present, from the lack of actual remains, it cannot be said to be demonstrated ; but as it is justified by the whole lie of the ground, as it simplifies the explanation of the narrative of Pausanias, and as

it throws additional light on several passages in classical authors, and, so far as I am aware, contravenes none, it cannot be denied a high measure of probability.

The chief reasons in favour of it are—

A. Considerations from the lie of the ground itself. The ascent *between* the Areopagus and Acropolis is steep and narrow. It is, of course, easy enough for foot-passengers to go up, but at the present day the carriage road to the Propylaea goes round the west of the Areopagus. The distance starting from the

FIG. 8.—AREOPAGUS FROM SOUTH-EAST.

"Theseion" is very little greater, and it is amply made up for by the gradual nature of the ascent. In connection with this it must be distinctly noted that, though the difference is slight even now, it would be still slighter in ancient days. Before the time of Pericles the Pelasgic fortress with its nine successive gates must have stretched out far to the west, so that in all probability, so long as that fortress was standing, the west road was actually in distance as well as practically in time the shorter. A road once established by custom and sanctified by the erection of countless public monuments and buildings would not lightly be changed.

B. Considerations arising from the interpretation of classical passages. These relate chiefly to the road from the agora to the Pnyx, but are connected, as will be seen, with the argument about the road to the Acropolis.

In the *Bis Accusatus*[74] of Lucian, Hermes, when he is about to summon the people from the agora to the Pnyx, goes up to the Acropolis to do so the more easily from the height; but, before he leaves Dike—in whose presence the assembly is to take place—he tells her distinctly to sit down on the hill (the Areopagus) and look towards the Pnyx, so as to watch the people as they come bustling up. Now if any one will take the trouble to sit on the Areopagus (fig. 8) so that he can see the Pnyx, he will at once own that just beneath him lies the very piece of road that has been described—the hollow between the Areopagus and Pnyx, along which to this day the carriage road to the Acropolis runs. There is, of course, no doubt that the hill on which Dike is seated (ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου) is the Areopagus, as it is to the Areopagus distinctly that the people are bidden to come. She and Pan watch them come up from the agora, and finding the assembly is to be at the Areopagus instead of the Pnyx, they leave their direct and easy road and have to scramble straight up the steep rock. Had the usual road gone to the east instead of west of the Areopagus, Dike, by looking as she was bidden towards the Pnyx, would simply have turned her back or at least her left side to the scrambling mob.

In connection with this passage must be taken a much-quoted statement by Æschines[75] in his speech against Timarchos. The runaway slave, Pittalakos, came into the agora and sat down on the altar of the mother of the gods. Timarchos and Hegesandros, knowing that a crowd of people were hurrying along up to the Pnyx for the ekklesia, were afraid he would be seen, and went and implored him to get up and go away. The Metröon was therefore on the road to the Pnyx. If this road went to the west of the Areopagus, the Metröon must have lain in that direction also.

Now, as has been before seen, wherever the Metröon was, there, just opposite, were the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton; but it is distinctly stated that they stood at the point where the road went up to the Acropolis, therefore the road up to the Acropolis lay in the same direction as the road to the Pnyx—*i.e.*, to the west.

This somewhat complex argument rests, of course, on the

premise that the road to the Pnyx lay west, and this, so far as literary evidence goes, apart from general probability, rests on the Lucian passage.

It may, however, be noted that, had the whole agora not been placed by commentators too far east, the error of supposing that the road to the Pnyx lay between the Areopagus and Acropolis could never have arisen. The agora was placed a good deal east of the "Theseion" hill entirely with the hope of bounding it by existing remains—*i.e.*, of the Stoa of Attalos and the giant figures—which, as they are too late to be of any service, should never have come into the argument.

C. It will be seen in the course of this narrative that the order in which Pausanias mentions the building and monuments of the agora is, if we adopt this new view, *a perfectly simple and natural one*, whereas, according to the former view, he makes needless digressions. This will be best seen in following his route in detail.

To return to the Metröon, which may safely be placed on the west side of the Areopagus. Pausanias gives no hint as to how near the Metröon stood to the last-mentioned temple (of Apollo Patröos), but as he passes straight on from the one to the other we may conclude they were not far asunder.

We have no evidence that the Metröon was ever a temple. Pausanias mentions it as a sanctuary, Pliny[76] as a shrine (*delubrum*); that there was a sacred precinct we are sure, and, as has been already seen, an open-air altar. Pheidias, or his contemporary Agorakritos, made a statue for the Metröon, but there is nothing to prevent our supposing that it was an open-air statue like the bronze Athene of the Acropolis.

We have abundant evidence that in the latter part of the fourth century B.C. the State archives of the city were kept under the guardianship and within the precinct of the Great Mother. Much astonishment has been felt that an Asiatic goddess like Rhea Cybele, whose name is associated with all manner of Oriental license, should have thus early had a temple within the precincts of the agora; still more surprising did it seem that she should have within her temenos the council chamber of the State, and, as will be seen, hold the custody of important public documents. The difficulty arises really out of a confusion of thought. In later days the priests did introduce the worship of Cybele, with all its attendant license; but the worship of an earth-goddess, mother of

gods and men, did not arise exclusively in Asia Minor. The figure of Gaia, mother of Erichthonios, and hence mother of the Athenian people, had from very early days been familiar at Athens. We can no more suppose that the Greeks were without their worship of mother earth until they met Cybele than we can suppose they knew no goddess of love till they met the Babylonian Astarte. That in both cases the two conceptions, starting independently in East and West, met and fused, there can be no reasonable doubt; that ultimately the Oriental goddess prevailed, is unhappily too true; but that the Athenians, even as late as the days of Pheidias, enthroned in their agora a Babylonian goddess, and gave to her charge their city's records, there is no cause to suppose. By an examination of the three buildings in turn—Metröon, Bouleuterion, and Tholos—it will readily be seen that the associations of the whole temenos are Hellenic, not Asiatic.

The Metröon.—All that Pausanias notes is the statue of the goddess, which is, he says, by Pheidias. Pliny, on the contrary, says that "in the shrine of the Great Mother was a work by Agorakritos." Agorakritos, the younger contemporary of Pheidias, is a sculptor whose personality is almost completely shrouded by that of the greater artist. He worked as pupil and colleague of Pheidias; and as regards style, it is of little importance to which sculptor a statue is attributed. Happily, we are able from a description by Arrian,[77] coupled with certain existing bas-reliefs, to form a tolerably just notion of the attitude and attributes of the statue. Arrian says, in speaking of a statue of Rhea seen in the "journey round the world"—"She holds cymbals in her hand and has lions beneath her throne, and is seated as the statue by Pheidias is seated in the Metröon at Athens."

The three reliefs[78] (figs. 9, 10, 11) give not only some idea of the statue described, but also, if carefully examined in connection with literary testimony, they afford the clearest possible picture of the attributes and worship of the goddess. Upwards of twenty-five votive reliefs of similar kind are known, many of which come from the Peiraeus, where the goddess had a temple; these reliefs, dating in style from about 500 B.C., are testimony enough, if any were needed, to the deep hold the Great Mother had on the popular mind.

The first relief (fig. 9) was found at the Peiraeus, and is now in the Central Museum at Athens. It is in the form, as the majority of them are, of a small shrine (*ναΐσκος*). Because the

goddess is represented as seated in a temple, we are not justified in saying that the relief is an actual copy of a temple statue.

FIG. 9.—METRÖON (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

But if such a temple statue is otherwise known to exist, as in the present case, there is a large presumption that the craftsman who

made the relief drew his inspiration from it, certainly in such matters as pose and attributes. The "Great Mother" is here represented seated. She wears a modius (a head-dress common to the other earth goddess, Demeter) and long veil; her feet rest on a footstool, as was customary in the representation of deities of high rank; in her right hand a bossed phiale, in her left the tympanon or cymbals. A small, attributive lion rests in her lap. The relief has, in common with the statue of Pheidias, the seated position, the tympanon, and the lion; but in the statue of Pheidias the lion was beneath the chair. The somewhat grotesque notion of the lion in the lap belongs to an earlier, more symbolic manner. On the pillar on the one side is a youth holding an oinochoe in the right hand and in the left an object shown in the plate as a caduceus but in the original uncertain. He is an attendant of the Mother's, to whom a name cannot as yet with certainty be given, but he is a constant feature in the votive reliefs. On the other pillar is a woman figure with torches. This relief is of special interest because of the inscriptions. On the left-hand pillar (*i.e.*, to the left of the goddess) is written "Manes to the Mother" (ΜΑΝΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΙ), to the right "and Mika to the mother of the gods" (ΚΑΙ ΜΙΚΑ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ), so that there is not a shadow of a doubt to whom the reliefs are dedicated. It should be noted that the title is simply Mother of the Gods; there is no mention of Rhea or Cybele. The form of the letters points to the fourth or, at latest, third century B.C.; but the formal type of the stiff-seated goddess, the attributive lion, and the rigid gestures tell of a type form conceived at least a couple of centuries earlier. The relief is coarsely executed, the work, no doubt, of a cheap relief-maker. It was dedicated probably by some poor couple of the lower classes.

The second relief (fig. 10), from the Museum at Berlin (No. 691), found in the Peiraeus, has been chosen because the lion seated beneath the chair and the superior grace and beauty of the style bring it nearer to our conception of the work of Pheidias. It is, of course, post-Pheidian (fourth century). The old attributes of tympanon and phiale are retained but held with added grace, and the youth and maiden are brought into one group with the goddess. Comparing it with Attic grave reliefs, it may be placed about 400 B.C. A craftsman working at that date could scarcely have been uninfluenced by the temple statue of Pheidias.

The third relief (fig. 11) is chosen advisedly for contrast. It is a terra-cotta from Asia Minor found not far from Mount Sipylos, a great centre of the worship of Cybele. It belonged to the Sabouroff

FIG. 10.—CYBELE RELIEF (BERLIN).

Collection, and is now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. The work is thoroughly Greek, but it shows the worship of the Great Mother tinged with more of Oriental license, and gives us her art-type conceived after the fashion of the third century B.C. in an

every-day realistic fashion. The goddess is still seated, but she has the air of a real live woman, not of a temple statue. She no

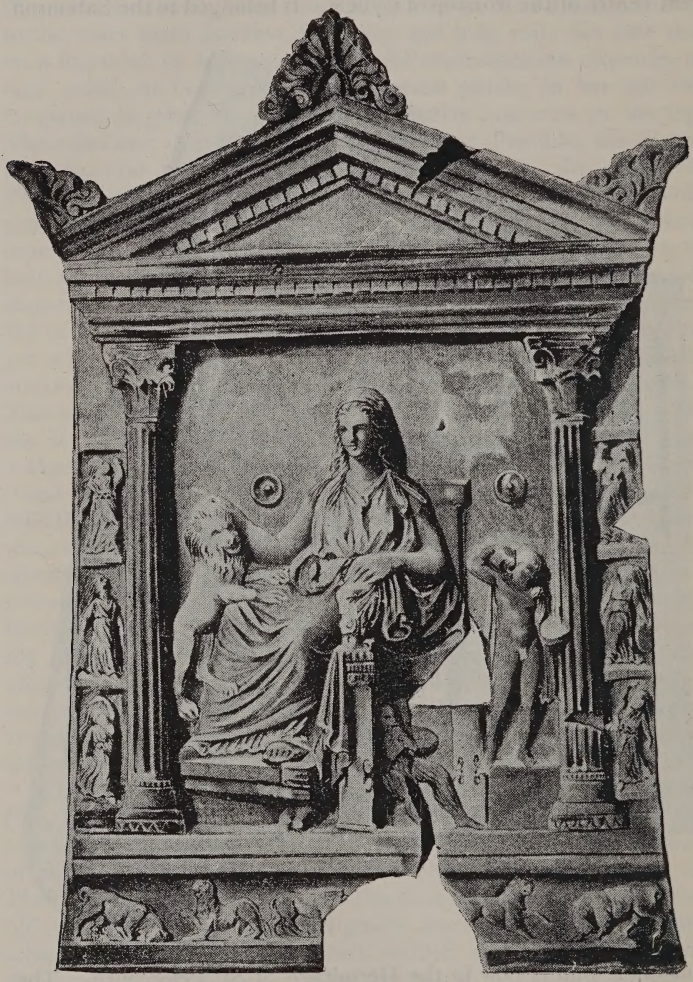


FIG. 11.—CYBELE RELIEF (HERMITAGE, ST. PETERSBURG)

longer holds her attributes, tympanon and phiale, no longer wears her solemn modius. One indication of the growing realism of the

time is a tendency to disembarrass deities of the various cumbersome attributes with which the dogmatic art of early piety had laden them. It is like the putting away of class distinctions; the gods came down from their pedestals and became as mere mortals. The lion is no longer the symbol of dominion, in the house of the goddess he has become a pet lap-dog. On the wall behind are hung two phiales, evidently votive to the goddess. An Attic inscription[79] of the second century states that certain Ephebi "sacrificed at the Galaxia (the feast of the Great Mother) to the mother of the gods, and dedicated a phiale costing a hundred drachmas." Beneath the chair of the goddess is seated the Phrygian piper, Marsyas, the Asiatic Pan. The worship of the woodland god was near akin in Greece to that of the earth mother. "O Pan, who hauntest Arcadia, guardian of the sacred shrines, follower of the Great Mother, dear delight of the holy Graces," says Pindar;[80] and again, in his ode to Theron, "I am minded to pray to the Mother, unto whom and unto Pan before my door nightly the maidens move in dance and song." Next to Pindar's house, the scholiast tells, was a sanctuary of the mother of the gods and of Pan, which Pindar himself had built. To the right is the figure of a temple-server (*πρόσπολος*). He stands on a pedestal in a thoroughly statuesque Praxitelean pose. It is quite possible that this youth, of whose sad service the Greeks knew nothing, is Attis, whose figure stood in the Asiatic temples of the goddess, and whom the Greeks seem sometimes to have confused with their own Hermes. Worked in low relief, to either side of the pillars supporting the shrine are figures of ecstatic women. The middle one to either side holds the tympanon, the others dance in exactly balanced attitudes. These are the revellers in honour of the goddess. Their hair (*βακχεύουσα ἔθειρα*) floats behind, their excited feet but just touch the ground. The chorus in the *Bacchae*[81] sing—

"O Blest, who glad at heart has known
The deep things of the gods his own,
And lifts up holy hands,
And who with sacred cleansing rites
Is one in soul upon the heights
With Bacchus' sacred bands,
And joins with them that celebrate
The orgies of the Mother Great;
With shaken thyrsus armed, with ivy crowned,
To Dionysos bound."

Dionysos himself bids his women followers—

> "Catch up the Phrygian cymbals, my device,
> Mine and the mother Rhea's."

Plutarch [82] says, what is certainly true enough, that the rites of the Mother and of Pan have much in common with the Bacchic rites.

It remains to notice the little frieze of animals which form, as it were, the predella to the composition. Lions and bulls are chosen advisedly. The lion was the bull-slayer. In the *Philoctetes* [83] the chorus prays to the Mother—

> "Oh thou, whose chair
> Bull-slaying lions share."

The lion is indeed, as has been seen throughout, her constant companion, and was borrowed no doubt from the East by the Greeks as a fitting symbol of dominion for their own earth mother. Diodorus [84] describes a goddess at Babylon whom he calls Rhea, and who was represented with two lions standing on her knee. The earliest *Asiatic* type was probably that which represented her standing *on* a lion, to denote in straightforward fashion the subjection of the beasts of the field. This crude bit of art symbolism the Greeks rejected. The nearest approach to it is an isolated relief, in which the lion serves as footstool to the seated goddess. The tame lion on her lap, no doubt a pre-Pheidian type, expressed of course, and in perhaps scarcely less primitive though more gentle fashion, the same thought. It may have been the innovation of some great sculptor, Pheidias or Agorakritos, to place the lion as guardian beneath or beside the chair. Then comes a type in which the lion jumps up against the goddess in lap-dog fashion. Finally, in Hellenistic times, she is seated on her lion. Possibly this innovation began with Nikomachos, as Pliny says [85] he painted "the mother of the gods seated on a lion." Finally she is drawn by lions in her car. As such, in true Asiatic fashion, Catullus [86] and other Roman poets figure her; on her head the turret crown of the mother of fortified cities—

> "Ibi juncta juga resolvens Cybele leonibus."

It is all-important that these later conceptions should be reserved for Rome and Roman temples. The goddess who dwelt, it may be, from very early days in the agora of Athens had indeed borrowed her guardian lion, and perhaps, like many another god and goddess,

something of her art-type generally, from the ingenious East, but she was a Greek born of Greeks. She was no savage ascetic [87] deity to drive a man from "fatherland, from friends and parents, from agora, palaestra, stadium, and gymnasia." She was the august yet friendly elder goddess of the earth, mother of Zeus and Hestia, parent of all live things and of the untilled earth before the coming of Demeter. That her worship, like that of many another earth goddess, like that indeed of Demeter herself, was tinged with primitive barbarism, is likely enough; that it involved a savage asceticism, impossible.

The three votive reliefs to the mother of the gods show, perhaps better than any literary quotations, the mixed and shifting attitude of the Greek mind towards their own goddess. They borrowed her art-type from Cybele, and yet with a touch they transmute it. Of harsh symbols they make delicate decorative adjuncts—desperate Attis for them is a figure like to their own serene Ion. Instead of the company, dismal and shameful, of her eunuchs, they surround the goddess with a chorus of happy Maenads. They think they worship Cybele, and all the while their heart is comforted by the faith of mother earth, "who feedest all men."

However intimate the connection, however inextricable the confusion between the Great Mother and Rhea, even down to late days the memory remained that they were not in origin one and the same. Diodorus [88] has a notable passage respecting the two which clearly reflects this feeling. Of Ouranos and Titaia Ge are born the Titans; "to them were also born daughters, of whom the two eldest were by far the most illustrious — the one who was called Basileia; and Rhea, to whom some gave the title Pandora. Now of these, Basileia, being the eldest and greatly distinguished above the others for her discretion and understanding, brought up all her brothers, showed them a mother's affection, and because of this she is saluted by the title, the Great Mother." After her father had been translated from among mortals to the gods, by agreement of the nation and of her brothers she inherited the kingdom (*βασιλείαν*), being "still a virgin, and through excess of discretion not desiring to be married to any one." One of the titles, then, of the Great Mother, the goddess older than Rhea, was Basileia. The worship of Basileia is attested by an inscription in Thera, written over the door of a small shrine now consecrated to St. Nicholas—*Θεᾶ[ι] Βασιλεία[ι] Ἐπ[ίλ]ογχος καὶ [Π]ε[ρ]ι-[χ]αρίστα χαριστεῖον*—("To the goddess Basileia Epilonchos and

Pericharista as an offering"). There is happily evidence of Basileia nearer home. "And who is Basileia?" asks Peithetairos of Prometheus in the *Birds*, and Prometheus makes answer—

> "A most lovely maid.
> She keeps the stores of Zeus, his thunderbolt,
> And all the lot—good counsel and good law,
> Discretion and the dockyards, and abuse,
> Paymasters, perquisites, and dikasts' fees."

No one will deny that Basileia is here an impersonation of the new bird kingdom, but the fun of the thing gains immensely if there is, as Dr. Loeschke[89] ingeniously supposes, a side-hit at the other Basileia, the queen-mother of the Metröon. She who was "discreet" from the beginning, has henceforth in her charge all the State functions of the Bouleuterion and the presidency of the Tholos, where at the public dinners the kolakretae had charge of the sacrifices (perquisites), and ultimately paid the dikasts.[90] Still more fast and furious would grow the fun if we suppose the whole marriage ceremony of Peithetairos and Basileia to be a burlesque of the solemn and mystic marriage of the wife (*βασίλιννα*) of the king archon to Dionysos, which took place afresh every spring. Who should Basilinna represent but the ancient earth goddess Basileia?

It was, then, to their own goddess, mother and queen, indigenous and of ancient lineage, not to any deity of foreign importation, that the Athenians did honour in the agora, and to whose keeping they entrusted their most cherished documents of State. Till the time of Ephialtes and the general reform of Pericles, the laws of Solon, and probably all public archives, had been kept in the Acropolis. It was the sign of the new democratic order of things that they were brought down from the kingly fortress and exposed in the agora of the people,[91] in the Metröon and Bouleuterion—the laws in the Bouleuterion, the other archives in the Metröon. This was in 460 B.C. It seems probable, though it cannot be proved, that at this time, in order to give religious sanction and prestige to this popular measure, the Metröon was rebuilt, and the great statue of the goddess made and set up. The new officers, the guardians of the law (*νομοφύλακες*), in whom were vested powers hitherto held by the Areopagus, became in a sense priests of the Great Mother; as such they wore the white head-bands, the proper attributes of the priest. The Metröon had thus a double sanctity; it was the shrine of a goddess

and the sanctuary of inviolable law.[92] The utmost precautions were taken to keep up the prestige of its sanctity. Even Cicero[93] says—"The Athenians were more careful in the keeping of State archives than the Romans"; and Æschines[94] notes the admirable custody of the public documents. It was fenced about by all manner of ritual precautions. Garlic was supposed to be a specially exciting diet, so it was expressly forbidden that any one who had eaten garlic should enter the Metröon—an enactment that might advisably be made in modern sanctuaries. It was death to tamper with a law once set up in the Metröon; it was sacrilege to enter a false document.[95] In front of the temple was an altar. Æschines,[96] as has been seen before, describes how a runaway public slave, Pittalakos, took refuge there. The Metröon itself had probably at least two divisions—one in which the statue stood, and the votive reliefs, the golden cups, inscriptions, and the like; the other in which the archives were stored. We are told that Diogenes[97] had his "tub" in the Metröon, meaning, of course, the precinct. Standing as this precinct did in the agora, and close to the road which led both to the Areopagus and the Acropolis, his dwelling-place was admirably central for the observation of men and manners.

Within the Bouleuterion Pausanias saw—

A xoanon of Zeus Boulaios.
An Apollo by (τέχνη) Peisias.
A Demos, the work of Lyson.

He mentions also, but without absolutely stating that they were in the Bouleuterion—

A painting of the Thesmothetae by Protogenes.
A painting of Kallippos by Olbiades.

It has been ingeniously conjectured[98] that the picture of the Thesmothetae stood in the Thesmotheteion; that of Kallippos, the successful general, in the Strategion. Kallippos fell in the same battle (279 B.C.) in which the young hero Cydias[99] first wore his shield. Of Olbiades nothing is known beyond this single mention. Of the picture of the Thesmothetae we can conjecture nothing. Protogenes, it is known by abundant testimony, was the master who pushed furthest the study of minute realism. He was self-taught, and struggled in early life against grinding poverty; but he attained at last a technical perfection before which even his great contemporary Apelles stood amazed.

He painted some pictures for the Propylaea not mentioned by Pausanias.

Going back to the Bouleuterion statues, nothing whatever can be made out about them. The statue of Demos was of course well in place, as also Apollo. To him, no doubt, as to Peitho, goddess of persuasion, in conjunction with the Great Mother,[100] they prayed who wished for grace to speak in the council-house.

The Zeus Boulaios, being a xoanon, was no doubt an ancient foundation. Pausanias mentions no statue of Athene Boulaia, but very possibly one existed, as she was worshipped conjointly with Zeus. Antiphon[101] says—"Within the Bouleuterion itself there is a shrine of Zeus Boulaios and Athene Boulaia, and the councillors when they enter pray to them." The priest of the two deities conjoined had an inscribed seat in the Dionysiac theatre. It may be also that with them Hestia, too, was worshipped, as it was customary to swear by Hestia Boulaia. Her altar also in the council-house was a place of refuge; from it Theramenes, Xenophon[102] tells, was forcibly dragged. Very possibly the worship of Hestia Boulaia was due to the close association of Prytanes and Council.

The name of the general Kallippos takes Pausanias off into a long digression on the Galati. From this he returns to make brief mention of the Tholos,[103] where the Prytanes, it appears, sacrificed and dined. Dinners of ceremony took place for the most part in the more sacred and ancient Prytaneion, but the Tholos seems to have been a convenient adjunct to the Bouleuterion. Tholia is the name for a conical hat, but whether the hat took its name from the building or the building from the hat does not appear—according to Harpocration, the latter. The circular shape of the Tholos is well known from the Tholos of Epidaurus,[104] the ground-plan of which is still clearly to be seen; but its structure is probably much more intricate than that of the building at Athens.

SECTION IV

EPONYMI—STATUES OF HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON.

TEXT, i. 5; 8, §§ 2, 3, 4, 5.

i. 5, 1. ABOVE the Bouleuterion are statues of the heroes from whom the Athenians later took the names of their tribes. Herodotus relates who it was who replaced the four tribes by ten,

i. 5, 2. and altered their ancient names. Among the eponymous heroes, as the Athenians call them, are Hippothöon, son of Poseidon and of Alope the daughter of Kerkyon, and Antiochus, one of the sons of Herakles, born to Herakles by Meda the daughter of Phylas; the third is Ajax, son of Telamon; and the fourth is an Athenian, Leos, who is said to have sacrificed his daughters for the common safety, in compliance with the oracle of the god. Another of the eponymous heroes is Erechtheus, who defeated the Eleusinians in battle and slew their leader Immarados, the son of Eumolpos. Ægeus is another; and Oeneus, the bastard son of Pandion; and Aca-

i. 5, 3. mas, one of Theseus's sons. Cecrops and Pandion, too, I saw among the statues of the Eponymi, but which they are who are thus honoured I do not know. (The first Cecrops was the king who married the daughter of Actaeus; †and later there was a Cecrops who migrated to Euboea, and was son of Erechtheus, grandson of Pandion, and great-grandson of Erichthonios. There were also two king Pandions—one, son of Erichthonios; and the other, son of the second Cecrops. This last Pandion was driven out of his kingdom by the Metionidae, and his children accompanied him in his flight to Megara; he had married the daughter of Pylas, king of Megara. It is said that Pandion himself fell ill there and died, and his tomb is in the Megarian territory near the sea,

i. 5, 4. on a high rock called the Rock of Athene Aithuia. But his sons drove out the Metionidae and recovered their country, and the eldest of them, Ægeus, ruled over the Athenians.

Now Pandion's daughters grew up to no happy fate, nor did they leave sons to avenge him. And yet, for the sake of extending his power, he had allied himself in marriage with the king of Thrace. But there is no means whereby a man may avoid the fate appointed by God. The story is that Tereus, who had married Procne, outraged Philomela, a deed abhorrent to the customs of the Greeks, and having also mutilated the maiden, drove the women to take justice upon him. There is another statue of Pandion, on the Acropolis, which is worth seeing.)

i. 5, 5. These are the original Athenian eponymous heroes. In later times tribes were named after Attalos of Mysia and Ptolemy of Egypt, and in my own day, after the Emperor Hadrian, a man pre-eminently distinguished for his piety and for the great benefits which he conferred upon the various nations under his rule. He never engaged voluntarily in any war, but he subdued the Hebrews of the country beyond Syria when they rebelled against him. Of the sanctuaries of the gods that he built entirely, and of those that he adorned with offerings and sacred furniture, as well as of the gifts he bestowed upon the cities of Greece and such of the barbarian kings as required them, there is a complete list at Athens in the sanctuary dedicated to all the gods.

. . . . . .

Digression about Attalos and Ptolemy.

i. 8, 2. After the statues of eponymous heroes are images of gods, Amphiaraos, and Eirene carrying the child Ploutos. There are also bronze statues of Lycurgus, son of Lycophron; and Callias, who, according to the version prevalent at Athens, negotiated the peace between the Greeks and Artaxerxes, son of Xerxes. There is also Demosthenes, whom the Athenians drove into exile at Calauria, the island lying off Troezene. He returned subsequently, but was again banished after the defeat

i. 8, 3. at Lamia. When Demosthenes fled the second time, he again passed over to Calauria, and there took poison and died. He was the only Greek exile whom Archias did not recover and surrender to Antipater and the Macedonians. This Archias, who was a Thurian, was guilty of a most abominable deed. He gave up to Antipater's vengeance all the Greeks who had followed an anti-Macedonian policy before the disaster of the Greeks in Thessaly. This, then, was the end of Demosthenes' extraordinary patriotism. The saying seems to me to be true, that no man who has given himself up to politics and trusted in the people ever comes to a fair end.

i. 8, 4. Near the statue of Demosthenes is the sanctuary of Ares, where are two statues of Aphrodite, an Ares by Alcamenes, and an Athena by a Parian sculptor called Lokros. There

is also a statue of Enyo, made by the sons of Praxiteles. Round the temple are Herakles, Theseus, and Apollo binding his hair with a fillet, as well as statues of †Calades, who is said to have made laws for the Athenians, and Pindar. Pindar received other gifts from the Athenians as well as this statue in return for his having praised them in one of his songs.

i. 8, 5. Not far off are Harmodios and Aristogeiton, the slayers of Hipparchos. The cause and manner of their deed have been related by others. These statues are by Kritios; the older ones were made by Antenor. Xerxes carried them away as spoil among other things when he captured Athens after its abandonment by the Athenians, and subsequently Antiochus sent them back to Athens.

COMMENTARY ON i. 5; 8, §§ 2, 3, 4, 5.

Leaving the Metröon and its dependencies, Pausanias goes on somewhat higher (*ἀνωτέρω*), and comes to a series of monuments, for the most part votive. These are—

The statues of the Eponymi.
Amphiaraos.
Eirene with Ploutos.
Lycurgus and Callias.
Demosthenes.
Temple of Ares, with statues in and round.
Calades and Pindar.
Harmodios and Aristogeiton.

The first of these—the Eponymi, or heroes who gave their names to Attic tribes—stood in a conspicuous place, and they seem to have been used as a convenient point for setting up public notices to attract attention in the agora. According to an ordinance of Solon's, laws to be proposed before the assembly had to be posted up at the statues of the Eponymi.[105] There, too, were written the names of those drawn for military service. The conscripts seem to have had no more individual warning—at least, if we may trust Aristophanes.[106] Of a victim of the war he says—

"One poor wretch had brought no victuals, for he knew not he must go
Till he on Pandion's statue spied the list and knew 'twas so."

To have a statue set up near the Eponymi was an honour naturally reserved for the greatest public benefactors.[107] Lucian[108] makes Solon say to the Scythian stranger that the man who can

suggest any alteration in Athenian law for the better shall be written up as a benefactor, and have a bronze statue near the Eponymi or in the Acropolis near the Athene, places most sacred and honourable.

The passage in Herodotus [109] Pausanias refers to is as follows: —"Cleisthenes, finding himself the weaker, called to his aid the common people. Hereupon, instead of the four tribes among which the Athenians had been divided hitherto, Cleisthenes made ten tribes and parcelled out the Athenians among them. He likewise changed the names of the tribes; for whereas they had till now been called after Geleon, Ægicores, Argades, and Hoples, the four sons of Ion, Cleisthenes set these names aside and called his tribes after certain other heroes, all of whom were native except Ajax. Ajax was associated because, although a foreigner, he was neighbour and ally of Athens." The old four tribes then were—

Geleontes,	called after	Geleon.
Hopletes,	,, ,,	Hoples.
Ægicoreis,	,, ,,	Ægicores.
Argadeis,	,, ,,	Argades.

The new—

Erechtheis,	called after	Erechtheus.
Ægeis,	,, ,,	Ægeus.
Pandionis,	,, ,,	Pandion.
Leontis,	,, ,,	Leos.
Acamantis,	,, ,,	Acamas.
Oeneis,	,, ,,	Oeneus.
Cecropis,	,, ,,	Cecrops.
Hippothöontis,	,, ,,	Hippothöon.
Æantis,	,, ,,	Ajax.
Antiochis,	,, ,,	Antiochos.

These were the original ten. Later (305 B.C.) were added—

Ptolemy (called at first Antigonias and Demetrias):

Attalos:

and in the times of Pausanias himself—

Hadrian.

Pausanias goes off, at this point, into a long digression on the history of Ptolemy and Attalos. Nothing, perhaps, shows with such melancholy distinctness the loss of national feeling among the

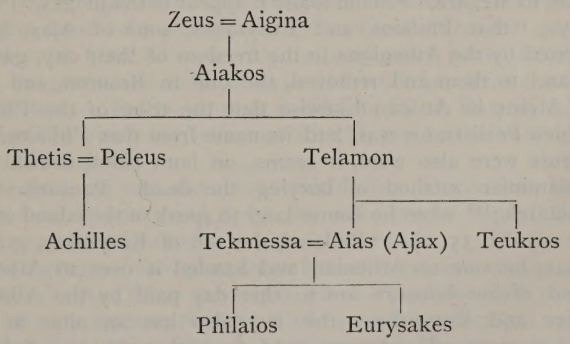
Athenians as the addition of these new tribes called after foreign potentates and placed side by side with the old indigenous heroes. Whether there were actually statues set up of Ptolemy, Attalos, and Hadrian, Pausanias does not say, but it seems probable.

The object and results of the reform of Cleisthenes cannot be fully discussed here. The account Herodotus gives is obviously from the aristocratic point of view. He saw in the creation of the ten tribes only a selfish pandering to the mob. It is enough to note here that the movement was essentially a popular one, aimed at the breaking down of obsolete but still obstructive class barriers, and that therefore the statues of the eponymous heroes stand with special appropriateness in the agora, the stronghold of the people.

Many tesserae or tokens of the several tribes have been found.[110] The tessera of Hippothöon is stamped with a mare suckling a child. Usually the monograph of the tribe is inscribed—*e.g.*, "Pand." for "Pandionis."

The eponymous heroes are given above in their conventional order of precedence, which Pausanias does not observe. The names of Erechtheus, Ægeus, Pandion, Acamas, Oeneus, Cecrops, Hippothöon, and Leos belong, as has been seen, to Attic legends, and they seem fitly in place, lending their names to their historical descendants.

It remains to speak here only of the Æginetan hero Ajax, whose reputed genealogy is given below.



Ajax, Herodotus says, was included because, though a foreigner, he was an ally. In the story of the madness of Ajax, Athene is his

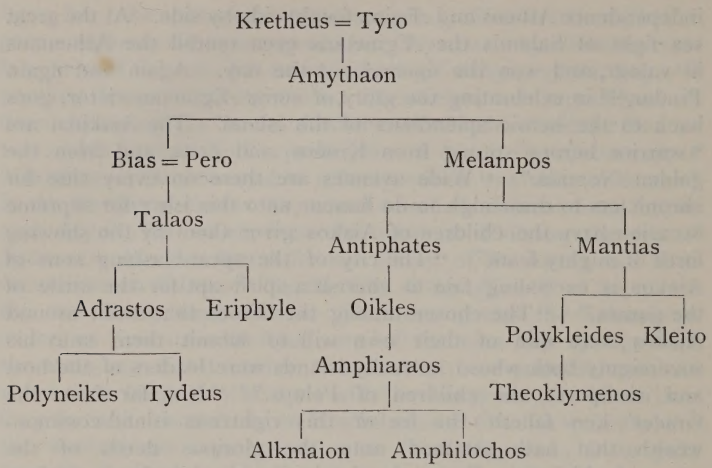
bitter foe ; she appears, however, not as a goddess of Athens, but as patron of the rival and enemy of Ajax, Odysseus. Ajax was the tutelary hero of Salamis, but as early as the *Catalogue of the Ships*,[111] possibly interpolated by Solon, his warriors are represented as drawn up next to the heroes of Athens. Alcibiades dated the foundation of his family from Eurysakes, son of Ajax. Herodotus says of Miltiades—"He belonged to a family which was wont to contend in the four-horse chariot races, and traced its descent from Æacus and Ægina, but which from the time of Philaios, the son of Ajax, who was the first Athenian citizen of the house, had been naturalised at Athens." By the time of the *Ajax*[112] of Sophocles the two States were as one. Tecmessa greets the Salaminian sailors as "mariners of Ajax, sons of the race that springs from the earth-born Erechtheidae ;" and when these same Salaminians chant their longing to be done with the weary war, the home they long for is the sacred city of Erechtheus—"O to be wafted where the wooded sea-cape stands upon the laving sea ; O to pass beneath Sunium's level summit, that so we might greet sacred Athens." The story of Solon and Salamis is almost too well known to bear quotation ; Plutarch tells it in full.[113] Of Solon's elegy, *Salamis*, we have only eight lines left us. He braved death to recite this elegy, and stir the heart of Athens "to fight for Ægina, the lovely island, and thrust away harsh shame." The most important part of the story, equally important whether it be fact or fable, is the account of the reasons given when the Spartan arbitration is appointed for handing over Salamis to Athens rather than to Megara. "Solon made it appear to the judges," Plutarch[114] says, "that Philaios and Eurysakes, sons of Ajax, being admitted by the Athenians to the freedom of their city, gave up the island to them and removed, the one to Brauron, and the other to Melite in Attica ; likewise that the tribe of the Philaidai, of which Peisistratos was, had its name from that Philaios." Arguments were also used, it seems, on both sides, drawn from the Salaminian method of burying the dead. Pausanias confirms Plutarch ;[115] when he comes later to speak of the island of Salamis, he says (i. 35, 2)—"Philaios, the son of Eurysakes, grandson of Ajax, became an Athenian and handed it over to Athens. . . . And divine honours are to this day paid by the Athenians to Ajax and Eurysakes : this last also has an altar at Athens." Solon came off victorious, and from that day on, Salamis was one State with Athens till (318 B.C.) it fell into the hands of the Macedonians. Through all the glorious period of Greek

independence Athens and Ægina fought side by side. At the great sea fight of Salamis the Æginetans even outdid the Athenians in valour, and won the ἀριστεῖα of the day. Again and again Pindar,[116] in celebrating the glory of some Æginetan victor, goes back to the heroic splendours of the island. The Aiakidai are "warrior heroes sprung from Kronos and Zeus, and from the golden Nereids." "Wide avenues are there on every side for chroniclers to draw nigh to do honour unto this isle; for supreme occasion have the children of Aiakos given them by the showing forth of mighty feats." "The city of the spear-clashing sons of Aiakos is exceeding fain to cherish a spirit apt for the strife of the games." "The chosen among the heroes that dwelt around Aiakos were fain of their own will to submit them unto his sovereignty both whoso in rocky islands were leaders of the host and at Sparta, the children of Pelops." "Not far from the Graces' ken falleth the lot of this righteous island-commonwealth that hath attained unto the glorious deeds of the sons of Aiakos. From the beginning is her fame perfect, for she is sung as the nurse of heroes foremost in many games and in violent fights, and in her mortal men also is she pre-eminent." Her glory was not less in commerce than in war. "Aigina, where Saviour Themis, who sitteth in judgment by Zeus the stranger's succour, is honoured more than any elsewhere among men. . . . Some ordinance of immortals hath given this sea-defended land to be to strangers out of every clime a pillar built of God."

It will not be forgotten that Evagoras of Salamis, in Cyprus, whose statue stood before the porch of Zeus Eleutherios, was proud to claim descent from Aiakos. On the only coins before Roman days that we possess of Salamis (350-318 B.C.) her heroic glory is not forgotten. On the reverse is the shield of Eurysakes,[117] the broad-shield which the father gave to his son before he sought death by the seashore:—

"Take thou, my son, the broad-shield from which thou hast thy name, hold it and wield it by the well-wrought armlet, that sevenfold spear-proof targe."

After the group of the eponymous heroes came five statues, as enumerated above. From the way in which Pausanias links them together, we may suppose they were all near each other, and none far from the Eponymi. First is Amphiaraos. He comes of the stock of the Aiolidai, and his whole legend belongs rather to Theban than Attic cycles.



It has, however, constantly to be remembered that though the Athenians were proud of their own autochthonic origin, they were essentially hospitable to the stranger god and hero. One of their favourite devices for incorporating a foreign hero was this. The hero falls out with his own people; they refuse to entertain him during life, to bury him after death. He makes appeal to the large-hearted people of Theseus, and is received with all honour. The grave of Œdipus was at Colonos, and in the Athenian territory of Oropos was a temple to Amphiaraos. The district of Oropos belonged originally, Pausanias says, to Boeotia, but the Athenians constantly fought for it, and it was at last handed over to them by Philip. Long before these days, however, Theban legends had found a home at Athens. The original *Thebais* is lost to us; but Sophocles in the *Œdipus* trilogy, and Æschylus in the *Seven against Thebes*, had gone to Thebes for the story of their plot. It is to Æschylus we have mainly to look for the picture of the prophet king.

Mythology has no more tragic figure than Amphiaraos. He came of the mantic stock of Amythaon. "Apollo loved him with all manner of love."[118] He was kinsman to Melampos, the seer who heard the woodworms talking on the roof; kinsman, too, to Theoklymenos, who in the halls of Odysseus saw a sight hidden from other men's sight—blood dripping from the walls and the "heads and the faces and the knees of the suitors shrouded in

night." And this man, with the blood of soothsayers in his veins, dowered with the gift of second sight, was yet compelled to go with Adrastos, his kinsman, against Thebes, knowing that Fate was against him. Moreover, it is this man, sure and upright above the rest, who alone carries no blazon upon his shield, for his desire is to be, not to seem to be.[119] "So spake the prophet, bearing a shield of plain brass without a blazon upon it, to the careless ones around, for his desire is not to seem the bravest, but to be, and he reaps in thought the deep furrow whence grows the fruit of good counsel. 'Twere well to send him an adversary sure and brave, worthy fear is he who worships." And again,[120] "Sometimes in a city a righteous one, joined with others cruel to man and forgetful of god, being found contrary to nature in the same web, dies by the undistinguishing blow of the divine spear. So shall it be with the prophet, the son of Oikles, a true, righteous, brave, pious man, a mighty interpreter of heaven, confounded with wicked men whose lips defy their conscience. They are bound on that journey whence 'tis an overlong way back, and he, when Zeus takes them, shall also be dragged down." Amphiaraos knows he must die, but he believes that the gods whom he serves will save him from dishonour and give him the guerdon of an honourable burial. "Howsoever," he says, "I at last shall fatten the soil of this land—shall have burial as a prophet upon her borders, though her foe. Let us fight, and the rites of death I shall not lose. So spake the prophet, wisest of warriors, bravest of seers." And in truth the gods were jealous for their servant's honour. When (in the later version of the story)[121] Adrastos buries his dead comrades, he needs to pronounce no eulogy over the body of Amphiaraos, for the gods themselves have called him blessed, for "they caught him away and hid him in the deep recesses of the earth." Apollodorus[122] tells this form of the story in detail. Amphiaraos was flying from the spear of Periklymenos, and that he might not be dishonoured by a wound in the back the earth opened and swallowed up him and his four-horse chariot and his charioteer Baton, and the gods made him immortal. The place was called Harma—*i.e.*, the chariot.[123] "On the road from Potniae to Thebes, on the right-hand side as you go, there is a small enclosure with pillars met, where it was fabled that the earth opened for Amphiaraos; and men say to this day that neither do birds perch upon the pillars, nor do animals, whether they are tame or wild, feed there on the grass."

To discuss in detail the cult of Amphiaraos would lead too

far. But his strange altar at Oropos cannot be passed by. "The Oropians," Pausanias says, "first made him a god, and since then all the Greeks have held him to be divine." At Oropos he had a temple and a statue of white stone, and an altar with five divisions—one to Herakles, Zeus, and Paeonian Apollo; another to heroes and the wives of heroes; a third to Hestia and Hermes and Amphiaraos and the sons of Amphilochos, only excepting Alkmaion, because of the murder of Eriphyle; a fourth to Aphrodite and Panakeia and Iaso and Hygieia and Paeonian Athene; and the fifth to the Nymphs and Pan and the rivers Achelöos and Cephisus. It is easy to see that the worship of Amphiaraos was akin to that of Asklepios; Panakeia, Iaso, Hygieia, are his three daughters. In his precinct at Athens was an altar to an Aphrodite and the Nymphs. They are both god-heroes, primarily of oracular and after of healing power; they send dreams and through dreams counsel for healing. There was a fountain at Oropos, but not for lustration or the washing of hands; into it only men who were healed of diseases dropped the coins with which they paid the god from their infected hands. Oracular sayings by Amphiaraos were preserved in the days of Pausanias, and were of marvellous potency on the popular mind. Whoever consulted Amphiaraos must first purify himself by sacrifice, both to the god himself and all those to whom the altar was sacred. Then these things done, he slays a ram, wraps himself in its skin, and goes to sleep, awaiting divine guidance in a dream. We seem to be in the Asklepieion at Athens.

The site of this Amphiareion has been in part excavated; the sites of the Doric temple and the great theatre are known. Most important for mythology is a relief found at Oropos showing us the art-type of Amphiaraos. He is, as had been suspected, the double of Asklepios; he rests upon a shaft round which is twined a serpent. Beside him Hygieia is seated on a rock.

Other art monuments that represent Amphiaraos need only briefly be noted. A small series of vase-paintings of great interest depict his starting for Thebes and his parting from the treacherous Eriphyle; Roman sarcophagi show him swallowed by the earth; but neither of these classes would be in place here. Standing near the eponymous heroes, he comes before us, not as the dream oracle-god of the lower world, but rather as the hero-saint, the typically upright man. When the lines of Æschylus[124] were recited in the theatre, all men turned to look at the just Aristides, for they saw in Amphiaraos the prototype of

the steadfast citizen, the man whom popular praise might not flutter, nor blame disconcert.[125]

Among the ghosts of so many vanished statues it is a relief to come at last to one of which we can reconstruct the semblance with tolerable certainty. This is the more fortunate, as the *Eirene holding Ploutos* seems to have been a work of art of some note in antiquity. In his account of Thebes Pausanias[126] again incidentally mentions it. He saw there a statue of Fortune (Tyche) carrying Wealth (Ploutos), and he remarks—"It was a clever idea that these artists had, to put Wealth into the hands of Fortune, as though she were its nurse and mother; and it was no less clever of Kephisodotos, when he made for the Athenians the statue of Eirene holding Ploutos."

The name Kephisodotos carries us to the transition time between Pheidias and Praxiteles. It is interesting to know that this Kephisodotos, enamoured, it would seem, of the motive of nurse and child, also made a group of Hermes holding Dionysos[127]—the prototype, no doubt, of the more famous "Hermes" of Olympia. Of his style tradition tells us nothing; it may, perhaps, safely be concluded that he had a leaning towards abstract impersonations, for he is known to have made a statue of the city Megalopolis, part of a group of Zeus seated with an attendant city on either hand.

It is probable that so late as 1672 the actual group seen by Pausanias was still in existence. An interesting letter, bearing the date October 8th of this year, from a Jesuit called Jacques Paul Babin to the Abbé Pecoil at Lyon, contains, in the course of a general description of the antiquities of Athens, the following passage:—"Les Francs n'ont à Athènes que la chapelle des pères Capucins comme auparavant ils n'avoient que celle des pères Jesuites, disent que des massons, ayant trouvé sous terre parmi les ruines de cette ancienne église Grecque, une statue de marbre qui représentoit la sainte vierge tenant son fils entre les bras, L'Archévêque défunt, aussitôt qu'il la vist, la mit en pièces de peur que les Latins n'eussent cet argument contre les Grecs et ne leur objectassent que St. Denys honoroit les images en bosse, puisqu'on en avoit trouvé une dans les ruines de sa maison qui joint cette église." There seems a high degree of probability, though obviously no certain proof, that the image of the "Virgin and child" was in reality Eirene and Ploutos. The pious priest says, in the opening words of his letter, "j'espère que la lecture de

FIG. 12.—EIRENE AND PLOUTOS (GLYPTOTHEK, MUNICH).

cette relation ne vous sera pas désagréable, et que votre piété et votre curiosité y trouveront quelque satisfaction." If the

identification be correct, the first half of the wish has certainly been fulfilled for us at the expense of the latter. But, for all the pious zeal of the bishop, the group in another form was fated to survive. In a statue now standing in the Glyptothek at Munich (Catalogue, 90), and once belonging to the Villa Albani, Prof. Brunn has recognised the same motive. It represents (fig. 12) a tall stately woman draped in long chiton with diplöis. On her left arm she holds a child. The head of the child is antique, but does not belong to the body. Both arms of the woman figure are wrongly restored. As to the right restoration, happily, there is no doubt. Luckily for our knowledge of several Athenian statues, about the time of Hadrian the city of Athens was allowed to coin her own autonomous bronze money, and her die-sinkers had the happy idea of reproducing groups sculptured by famous artists. Among these coins is one representing a woman figure standing just in the pose of the Munich statue, and holding a child on her left arm (fig. 13). Her right arm rests on a long sceptre; and the child, instead of the meaningless, restored vase, holds the symbol of Ploutos, the cornucopia. It can scarcely be doubted that the coin is a reproduction of the group of Kephisodotos, and that the Munich statue may safely be restored from it. The Munich statue is of Attic marble, and so also was the group destroyed by the archbishop. Specialists, however, decide that the Munich group bears the stamp of marble work *copied from bronze*. This is most clearly seen in the lower part of the drapery, where there is a sharpness and hardness of definition contrary to marble technique. Very probably the original work of Kephisodotos was in bronze. It may have perished, and, as often happened, have been replaced by a marble copy. Of this copy several replicas were probably made. In addition to the destroyed group and that at Munich, another undoubtedly existed. A fragment of it, the child only with a bit of the cornucopia (fig. 14), was found in the harbour at the Peiraeus and is now in the Central Museum at Athens (Cat., No. 66). If further proof were needed, the style of the Munich statue answers admirably to what would, *a priori*, be expected of Kephisodotos. It stands midway, as the sculptor did, between Pheidias and Praxiteles. The austere, upright pose of the body, the simple folds of the drapery disposed on the scheme that may be repeatedly seen in the maidens of the Parthenon frieze,

FIG. 13.—COIN: EIRENE AND PLOUTOS.

nay more, to come to close detail, the selvage finish of the cloth, are of the date of Pheidias; the bending head, softened expression of the face, and the tender motive of the group point on towards Praxiteles.

For the actual date of the statue we are left to conjecture. The lifetime of Kephisodotos falls in the early half of the fourth century. His sister was Phocion's first wife. He made, it will be remembered, a statue of Megalopolis, probably soon after the founding of the city in 366 B.C. There is evidence that the cult of Eirene was regularly organised, or at least reorganised, about 375 B.C., after the battle of Leukas. Cornelius Nepos,[128] in his *Life of Timotheos*, says—"So great was the joy felt by the Athenians at this victory, that they then first made public altars to Peace and ordained a feast for the goddess." But Plutarch,[129] in his *Life of Cimon*, says that an altar was set up to Peace by the Athenians on account of the treaty brought about by Callias.

FIG. 14.—FRAGMENT OF CHILD: PLOUTOS (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

Whatever may have been the date of the altar, it seems probable that the group by Kephisodotos was set up about 375 B.C. The conception of Eirene was, of course, no new one. As early as Hesiod[130] she appears as one of the Hours, sister of Law and Justice (Eunomia and Dike), daughter of Zeus and Themis. Bacchylides,[131] because the grievous memory of the Persian War was still fresh, chanted a pæan to the goddess:—

"Also Peace has gifts for men,
Wealth and song aflower again,

Dædal altars and divine,
Yellow-lit for service shine,
Fat with fleecy sheep and kine.
There are the young men at their play
Till night—then fluting, dancing, disarray.

But in the iron-bound shield laid by,
Their webs the dusky spiders ply;
Tame with rust are sword and spear,
Quieted the trumpet's cheer,
Eyelids closed and lulled heart deep
In gentle, unforbidden sleep.
Street by street the city brims
With lovers' feasts, and burns with lovers' hymns."

But it was not until a struggle more disastrous—the fatal, inglorious Peloponnesian war—had wasted the best energies of Athens that in deed and truth she longed for the goddess. It is in the *Acharnians* and the *Peace* of Aristophanes [132] that the utterance of this longing breaks out—the longing for

"Peace, most holy, august, serene,
O heaven-born queen,
Peace with Wealth in her arms."

The *Peace* was first played in 423 B.C., and through all the fooling and burlesque of comedy there is a strain of serious reality. The citizen is wearying of his galling armour and short rations. He longs to see again his country home, his figs and olives, to be rid of the smell of rancid oil and stale cheese and onions:—

"For I can't enjoy a battle,
But I love to pass my days
With my wine and boon companion
Round the merry, merry blaze,
When the logs are dry and seasoned
And the fire is burning bright,
And I roast the peas and chestnut
In the embers all alight."

He longs, too, for a little leisure—that thing so dear to the Athenian—the leisure of the rare, rainy day:—

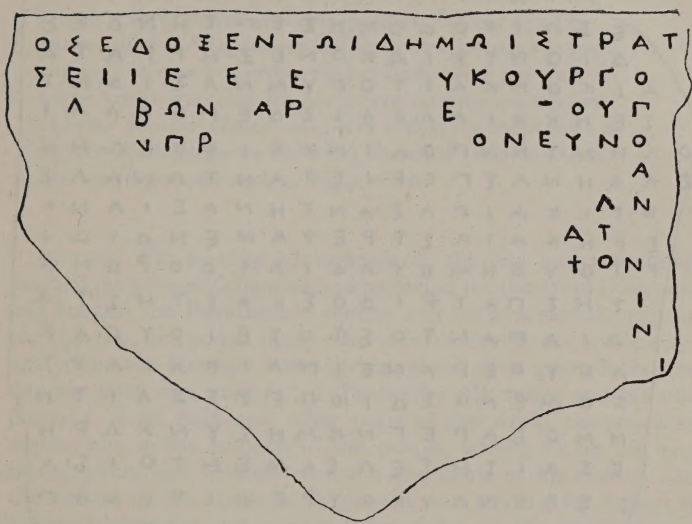
"O there's nothing half so sweet as when the seed is in the ground,
God a gracious rain is sending, and a neighbour saunters round."

He longs to be human again, away from the machinery of conscription, able to bless his god for the fruits of the earth in due season.

Next come the bronze statues of Lycurgus and Callias. Lycurgus[133] was the contemporary of Demosthenes, and, like him, through a long political career adopted a consistent anti-Macedonian policy. He came of the ancient, sacerdotal family of the Eteobutadae, among whom the name Lycurgus was hereditary. Five of the family are known to have borne it. The eponymous hero was Butes; but in some respects Butes is but the double of the other mythical hero Lycurgus, step-brother of Butes and enemy of Dionysos. The mythology of Butes has already been noted, and that of Lycurgus will be touched on when the theatre of Dionysos is reached. In early life Lycurgus was a pupil of Plato, but politics soon took the place of philosophy. He deserved well of his country, not only for his foreign policy and his administration of finance, but also—a merit Athens was ever ready to recognise—for the care he took in the adornment of the city. He made and planted the gymnasium of the Lykeion, built the palaestra, and completed the Dionysiac theatre; he completed the half-finished docks and arsenals; he levelled and walled in the Panathenaic stadium; he also presented to the State a number of gold and silver sacrificial vessels. When he was about to die, he desired, as has been seen, to be carried into the Metröon, there to render up his account of the public moneys, and the one accuser who rose up against him he put to silence. His perfect probity and large beneficence seem to have met with full, if somewhat tardy, recognition. It was not till about seventeen years after his death (in the archonship of Anaxikrates, 307 B.C.) that a decree was moved by Stratokles commemorating his benefactions and ordaining that a statue of bronze should be set up to him in the Kerameikos, and that his eldest surviving descendant should have public maintenance in the Prytaneion.

All these particulars we draw from the *Life of Lycurgus* by the pseudo-Plutarch. He mentions the decree of Stratokles, and two fragments of an inscription have been found which form parts, there is no doubt, of the decree to which he refers, and which closely confirm his account. The inscriptions are given in facsimile, and beneath them the proposed restoration.[134] Fragment I. was found at Athens in 1860, near the Church of the Panagia Pyrgrotissa, north-west of the Kerameikos; the second, found in 1862, was, according to the purchaser, found to the south-east of the Dionysiac theatre. It is quite possible that there were several copies. The diphthongs ει and ου (first used in 403 B.C.) agree with the date of Anaxikrates.

Decree of Stratokles

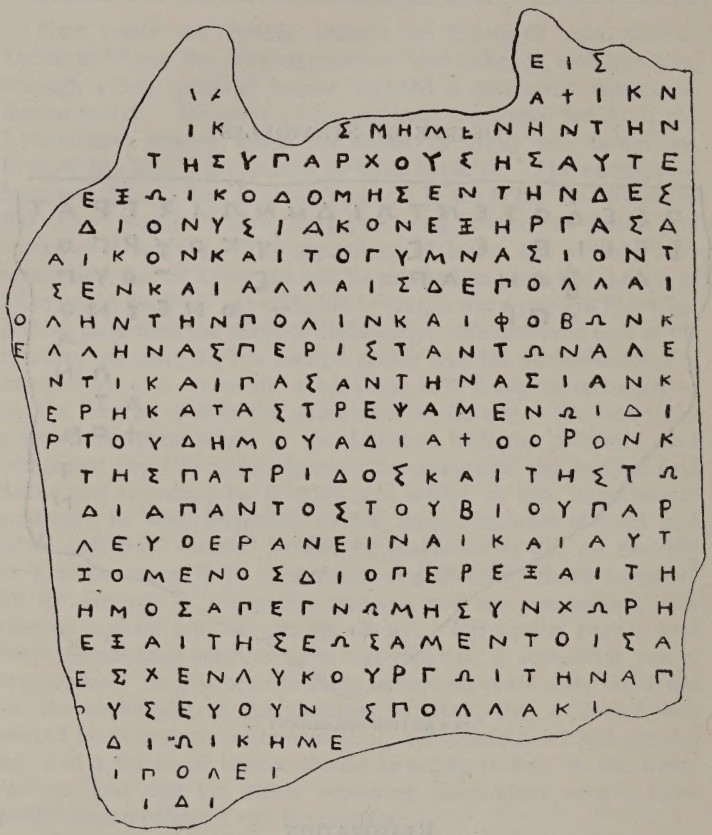


INSCRIPTION—FRAGMENT I.

Restoration

Ἐπὶ Ἀναξικράτους ἄρχοντ]ος, ἔδοξεν τῶι δήμωι, Στρατ
-οκλῆς Εὐθυδήμου Διομεεοὺ]ς εἶπε[ν]· ἐ[π]ε[ιδὴ Λ]υκοῦργο[ς
Λυκόφρονος Βουτάδης παρα] λ[α]/βὼν [π]αρ[ὰ τῶν] ἑ[αυ]τοῦ π[ρ
ογόνων οἰκείαν ἐκ παλαιοῦ τὴ]ν πρ[ὸς τὸν δῆμ]ον εὔνο[ι

"In the archonship of Anaxikrates, it was resolved by the people, on the proposal of Stratokles, son of Euthydemos, of the deme of Diomeia, as follows:—Inasmuch as Lycurgus, son of Lycophron, of the Butadae, having inherited from his ancestors a natural love for the people of Athens" . . . .



INSCRIPTION—FRAGMENT II.

RESTORATION

εις
αφικν
ικ[εκο]σμημένην τὴν
πόλιν ἐπισκευάσας κρείττονα]τῆς ὑπαρχούσης αὐτε-
πάγγελτος τοὺς νεωσοίκους] ἐξωικοδόμησεν τὴν δὲ σ
κευοθήκην καὶ τὸ θεάτρον τὸ] Διονυσιακὸν ἐξηργάσα
το τό τε στάδιον τὸ Παναθην]αικὸν καὶ τὸ γυμνάσιον τ
ὸ κατὰ τὸ Λύκειον κατεσκεύα]σεν καὶ ἄλλαις δὲ πολλαῖ
ς κατασκευαῖς ἐκόσμησεν] ὅλην τὴν πόλιν καὶ φόβων κ
αὶ κινδύνων μεγάλων τοὺς] Ἕλληνας περιστάντων Ἀλε

ξάνδρωι Θηβῶν ἐπικρατήσα]ντι καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Ἀσίαν κ
αὶ ἄλλα δὲ τῆς οἰκουμένης μ]έρη καταστρεψαμένωι δι
ετέλει ἐναντιούμενος ὑπὲ]ρ τοῦ δήμου ἀδιάφθορον κ
αὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτον αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ]τῆς πατρίδος καί τῆς τῶ
ν Ἑλλήνων ἁπάντων σωτηρίας] διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου παρ-
έχων καὶ ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν πόλιν ἐ]λευθέραν εἶναι καὶ αὐτ-
όνομον πασῆι μηχανῆι ἀγωνι]ζόμενος· διὸπερ ἐξαιτή-
σαντος αὐτὸν Ἀλεξάνδρου ὁ δ]ῆμος ἀπέγνω μὴ συνχωρῆ
σαι μηδὲ λόγον ποιεῖσθαι τῆς] ἐξαιτήσεως ἃ μὲν τοῖς ἄ
λλοις πᾶσιν συνειδὼς ὧν μετ]έσχεν Λυκούργωι τὴν απ
ολογίαν δικαίαν οὖσαν· καὶ δ]οὺς εὐθύν[α]ς πολλάκι[ς τ
ῶν πεπολιτευμένων τε καὶ τῶν] διωικημέ [νων ἐν ἐλευθ
έραι καὶ δημοκρατουμένηι τῆ] ι πόλει
ιδι

. . . . . .

"improved the existing adornments of the city and voluntarily finished the property-chamber and perfected the theatre of Dionysos, and finished the Panathenaic stadion and the gymnasium opposite the Lykeion, and added many other adornments to the whole city; and, when the Hellenes were encompassed with great fears and dangers upon the conquest of Thebes by Alexander and his subjugation of all Asia and other parts of the world, continued to oppose him in the interests of the people, serving all his life long incorruptibly and without reproach the cause of his country and the welfare of the Hellenes in general, and striving his utmost to secure the freedom and independence of the city (for which reason, when Alexander demanded his person, the people resolved not to consent nor to entertain the demand, feeling that Lycurgus could make as proper a defence as the rest for actions in which all had taken part), and thus gave, under the free and popular constitution of the State, repeated opportunities of testing his policy and administration. . . ."

The restoration is not of course certain in the details, and in the latter part particularly there is doubt as to the exact wording and relation of the clauses; but the above will represent the general sense, as well as the singularly verbose and invertebrate style which is characteristic of Greek inscriptions later than the great age.

The statue of Callias goes back to earlier days. He was the reputed author of the so-called *Peace of Cimon*, concluded 445 B.C. Demosthenes speaks of him as negotiating "the peace that was in every man's mouth." At the time of its arrangement it

seems to have been regarded rather as a matter of necessity, and not in any way glorious. Callias, we know, narrowly escaped sentence of death, and was condemned to pay a fine. Thucydides passes it over in complete silence, and even Herodotus, whose business it was to narrate in detail matters connected with Persia, only mentions it incidentally. Some sixty years later, however, when Sparta had concluded her treaty, the Athenian orators seem to have persuaded themselves that by the treaty of Callias Athens had won for herself great prestige and imposed hard conditions on the great king. It would probably be about this time that the statue was set up, and it may be that with intent it was put near the image of the Peace goddess. Callias, as will be seen, dedicated a statue of Aphrodite on the Acropolis.

The *statue of Demosthenes*, as it is mentioned separately, stood, in all probability, a little apart. To the melancholy reflections of Pausanias may be added the sad commentary of Plutarch's narrative.[135] The spirit of the great orator and politician was broken at the last. When from his voluntary exile in Troezene he looked towards Attica, "tears fell from his eyes." In the words he spoke there was nothing of that firm reason, nothing of the bold things he had done and said in public life. As he was leaving Athens it is said he upraised his hands to the Acropolis and cried, "Oh, mistress Athene, who dwellest in the citadel, why dost thou so delight in three such strange monsters, thy owl, thy dragon, and thy people?" And when young men came to him for counsel, he bade them keep aloof from public affairs, saying, "If I had been shown two roads at the first, the one leading to the bema and the assembly, and the other to perdition, and I could have foreseen the evils that beset politics—the fears, and envyings, and slanders, and contentions—I would have chosen the one that led me straight to death." He contrived—after what fashion it was disputed—to take poison, and so avoided falling into the hands of Archias, sent to take him prisoner again. He died within the sanctuary of Poseidon, where he had taken refuge, on the 16th day of Pyanepsion—the most mournful day of the Thesmophoria, when the women keep their fast in the temple of the goddess. "Not long after," Plutarch adds (as a matter of fact it was forty years), "the people of Athens paid him due honour, and set up a bronze statue, and voted to the eldest of his descendants public maintenance in the Prytaneion." On the pedestal of the statue was inscribed the famous epigram—

"Had but thy power, Demosthenes, been equal to thy will,
Vain had been Macedonian arms, and Greeks were freemen still."

—an inscription sad enough when it is remembered that, according to tradition, the orator himself wrote it the last thing before his death.

Of the sanctuary of Poseidon in Calauria (Poros) the foundations still remain, at a distance of about three-quarters of an hour from the modern town of Poros. A terra-cotta relief now in the library of the Dublin University represents Demosthenes at Calauria. Upon the altar on which he sits is inscribed Δημοσθένης ἐπιβώμιος—"Demosthenes (as suppliant) on the altar." The terra-cotta is unfortunately now known to be a forgery.

From the pseudo-Plutarch it is known that the statue set up in honour of the orator was by Polyeuctes, and, further, that it stood near the "perischoinisma" and the altar of the Twelve Gods. What the "perischoinisma" or "place surrounded by a rope" precisely was, is not known. It was customary on many occasions to surround sacred persons or places with a rope (περισχοινίζειν), but this must have been some permanent enclosure. The altar of the Twelve Gods presumably stood somewhere in front of the ancient city gate, as it served as a milestone, and from the city gate distances would naturally be calculated.

From an anecdote recorded by Plutarch himself, it seems that Demosthenes was represented standing with his hands folded together. A soldier hid what money he had in the hands of the statue, and the money got further hid by some leaves from a plane tree that stood near. Whether the leaves were put there by the soldier, or whether they dropped by chance from the tree, Plutarch does not know.

As to the general art-type of Demosthenes there is no doubt.[136] Between the numerous busts and statues of him remaining there is a general analogy which presupposes some measure of portraiture. The lined careworn brow, and the anxious compressed expression of the stammering mouth, are common to all Demosthenes statues.

From the statue of Demosthenes Pausanias passes straight on to the temple of Ares. There can be no reasonable doubt that the temple stood somewhere close to the western slope of the Areopagus: more it is impossible to say. The statues seen in or immediately near to the temple were—

Two images of Aphrodite.
Ares, by Alcamenes.

Athene, by Lokros.
Enyo, by the sons of Praxiteles.

Athene, as goddess of war, needs no explanation by the side of Ares and his wife Aphrodite. Enyo is a somewhat less familiar figure. Her personality is misty and abstracted. She is by turns mother, sister, nurse, attribute, of Ares—in fact, she is the personification of war. When in the *Iliad*[137] Ares leads on the hosts of the Trojans, with him is "dread Enyo, she bringing ruthless turmoil of war." She is like the impersonations that figure on the ægis of Athene, "panic and strife and horrible onslaught." She and Athene are, Pausanias[138] says elsewhere, referring to this passage of Homer, "supreme in war." With the sensational writers of later times, Philostratos and Quintus Smyrnaeus,[139] her figure grows in horror. She revels in the blood-soaked ground of the battle-field—"Reeking with blood and sweat, she rages among the combatants." That she had a regular cult in Athens is known from an inscription in which a certain archon is described as "priest of Ares Enyalios and Enyo and Zeus Geleon."[140] The titles Enyalios and Enyos show clearly that Enyo is the personification of an attribute, not at first a distinct personality. It is by Ares Enyos and Terror that the seven warriors take their oath when they set out against Thebes. This personification of attributes was one of the most fertile sources of mythological increase. The city of Comana in Pontus was famous for its worship of Enyo. On coins of the regal period[141] her bust appears surrounded by rays, and the high priest of her temple ranked next to the King of Pontus.

Of the statues in front of the temple we know absolutely nothing. The works of Alcamenes abounded at Athens. What is known of his style will be best noted in connection with the famous Aphrodite in the Gardens. Lokros is wholly unknown but for this notice. The two sons of Praxiteles were called Kephisodotos and Timarchos. Other works by them are attested by inscriptions. It may be conjectured that they carried on the traditions of their great father. One of them (Kephisodotos) was, it is known, famous for his sensational realism.[142] In the statue of Enyo he would have a subject to his taste.

Pausanias leaves his main description of the Areopagus till after his visit to the Acropolis, and till then must be reserved all general considerations as to the worship of Ares.

"Round the temple," Pausanias says, there were two groups of statues—a god and two heroes, and also the statues of two mortals—

Herakles.	Calades.
Theseus.	Pindar.
Apollo.	

There seems no special connection between these statues and the temple of Ares. The main fact to be noted is that they stood within the agora—*i.e.*, in a place deemed specially honourable. Apollo binding his brow with the fillet may have stood somewhat in the pose of the famous Diadoumenos, but we have no clue to the statue's date. As Pausanias leaves us entirely in ignorance of the attitude and style of the statues of Herakles and Theseus, we cannot identify them with any of the types of these heroes that appear on Athenian coins. (For the question of Calades, see Appendix.) Respecting the statue of Pindar, a passage in the pseudo-Æschines [143] says that it was of bronze, and represented the poet draped, and in a sitting posture with a lyre in his hands, and on his knee an open book.

"Not far" from the temple of Ares, Pausanias says, are the statues of the great tyrannicides, Harmodios and Aristogeiton. To this vague information we may add two other passages. First as it will be remembered, the statues stood "about opposite" the Metröon, and, as Arrian [144] goes on to say, "not far from the altar of the Eudanemoi." He explains that whoever has been initiated to the two goddesses in Eleusis knows the altar of the Eudanemoi. From this it may, as has been noted, be safely concluded that the altar in question was not far from the Eleusinion, but as we are not sure where the Eleusinion was, this does not advance us much. Secondly, a lexicographer [145] gives an almost equally tantalising notice. Explaining the word "orchestra" he says—"It is a conspicuous place intended for public festivals, where the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton are." Of the position of this orchestra we know nothing. It was no doubt a circular dancing place in use possibly long before the orchestra of the Dionysiac theatre was made. There was room, it seems, near it for a wooden scaffolding of seats for spectators, and we hear of a poplar tree from which the dancers in the orchestra [146] could be seen over the heads of the regular spectators. A "view from the poplar" was equivalent to a cheap seat. The people who got these cheap seats seem to have hung up little votive tablets [147] on the poplar tree. Pausanias does not mention the orchestra. Possibly, as Dr. Dörpfeld suggests, its site may have been

occupied by the theatre of Agrippa (p. 91), just as the old orchestra (p. 285) to the south of the Acropolis was supplanted by the Dionysiac theatre. The market-place orchestra is in itself of great interest, but topographically all we can get out of the passage for our purpose is that the statues also stood in or near a conspicuous place, which indeed anyhow would be expected. We shall probably not be far wrong in supposing that Pausanias is now passing along between the Hill of the Nymphs and the Areopagus, where the modern road, as shown in fig. 15, still

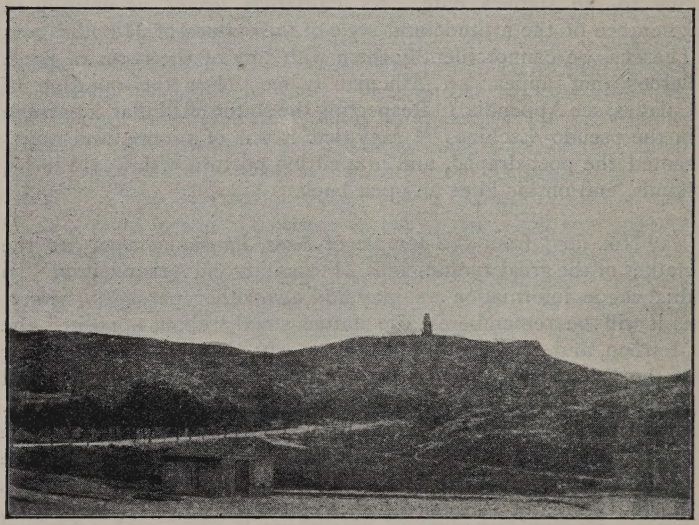


FIG. 15.—ROAD BETWEEN AREOPAGUS AND HILL OF THE NYMPHS.

runs. To his right will be the orchestra and statues of the tyrant-slayers, to the left the Metröon, Eponymi, and sanctuary of Ares.

The one point to be kept clearly in mind is that wherever we place the Metröon, about opposite to it must be the statues. The sanctity of the position occupied by them is attested on all hands. From an inscription still existing it appears that it was illegal to place any other statue by the side of them,[148] and this enactment is more than once referred to in decrees by which an honorary statue is accorded to some benefactor of the State. In the decree just mentioned relating to Lycurgus,[149] the words occur, "a bronze statue to be set up to him, anywhere except where

the law forbids." Only in her latter days, then,[150] could Athens bear to place the gilded statues of Antigonus and Demetrius "near to" those of the tyrant-slayers, and again bronze ones of Brutus and Cassius actually by their very side. As Pausanias says nothing about these later sacrilegious additions, it is probable they had been removed by some Roman governor or emperor, to whom their presence may have been politically offensive. The fact that the decree was so long observed is certainly a very remarkable testimony to the intensely democratic sentiment of the Athenians. Harmodios and Aristogeiton are to them heroes utterly apart, even greater than the Eponymi, more sacred than such heroes as Amphiaraos.

The "cause and manner" of their deed have, Pausanias says, "been related by others," notably by Thucydides,[151] who has left us a lively picture of the scene in the outer Kerameikos, where Hippias was marshalling the Panathenaic procession, while Hipparchos remained within near to the Leokorion. Hipparchos alone fell, and Hippias survived only to oppress the people at large with a still heavier tyranny. Thucydides, in his chilling way, takes care to explain that the popular estimate of the benefit conferred by the tyrant-slayers was a mistake, and that the whole traditional story was inaccurate, but none the less the heroes kept their firm hold on the popular mind, the famous skolion[152] still "lived dispersedly in many hands." The four verses that have come down to us give such vivid utterance to public sentiment that they may be quoted in full:—

"In a myrtle bough shall my sword be hid.
So Harmodios and Aristogeiton did,
The day that they struck the tyrant down,
And made this Athens a freeman's town.

Dearest Harmodios, never dead,
But in Islands of Blessed Men now, 'tis said,
Where is Achilles, the great of speed,
And Tydeus' son, goodly Diomede.

In a myrtle bough shall my sword be hid.
So Harmodios and Aristogeiton did,
When on the Day of the Offering
They slew Hipparchos, the tyrant king.

Ever their fame shall be and shall brighten,
Dearest Harmodios and Aristogeiton!
Because it was they put the tyrant down,
And made this Athens a freeman's town."

No doubt the verses went on *ad infinitum*. The skolion was so popular that it would probably have fallen sometimes to the lot of most Athenian diners-out to tune a verse in honour of the tyrant-slayers. In the *Wasps*,[153] when Bdelykleon invites Philokleon to cap verses after dinner, they begin as a matter of course with the "Harmodios," and sing the first line of a verse not elsewhere preserved. The allusions in Aristophanes —a sure test of popularity—are constant. "I won't have War," says the chorus in the *Acharnians*, "at my dinner table. I won't have him singing the 'Harmodios'"; as if the two were about equivalent. "Those women," says the chorus of men in the *Ecclesiazousae*, "are getting the upper hand, but they shan't tyrannise over me." "In a myrtle bough shall my sword be hid," "I'll lounge about in the market-place near the statue of Aristogeiton."

Turning to the monuments themselves, we have abundant material for a rough reconstruction of the group; but whether of the earlier or later pair, both of which probably stood side by side in the days of Pausanias, cannot be decided. Probably Kritios and Nesiotes, working after 480 B.C., did their utmost to reproduce the style of Antenor. Antenor's group would be set up soon after the expulsion of Hippias, 510 B.C. We must be content to take the various copies that follow as rough reproductions of the composition, pose, and gesture of the group.[154]

These copies are as follows:—

1. A marble group in the museum at Naples.
2. Possibly two statues in the Boboli Gardens at Florence.
3. A relief on a marble throne at Broom Hall (Fife).
4. The reverse of an Attic tetradrachm.
5. Obverse of a coin of Cyzicus.
6. A piombo or lead token.
7. Design on a Panathenaic amphora in the British Museum.
8. Design on a stamnos in the museum at Wurzburg.

To begin with copies in the round, the Boboli statues may be dismissed. They have been so largely restored that, though they must be enumerated in any list of possible reproductions, it is impossible to say whether originally they really represented the group or not.

The well-known Naples statues (fig. 16), though also much restored, offer a more trustworthy basis for reconstruction. They

originally belonged to the Farnese collection; where they were found is not known, but they passed in 1790 to Naples. The two figures

FIG. 16.—HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON (NAPLES MUSEUM).

were originally not grouped together. Taking the figure to the left first, the head is an obvious restoration; it is something of the

Meleager type, centuries later than the genuine archaic head of the figure to the right. The two arms of the left-hand figure are both restored, but in the main rightly; the left hand should hold a bronze sheath, the right the drawn sword. The arms of the right-hand figure are also modern, but probably in the main correct, only the sword-hilt in the right hand must be taken away and a drawn sword substituted.

From the minor copies that follow it is possible to give names to the two statues—the figure advancing to the front is the younger of the two, Harmodios; the one who holds the cloak is the elder, Aristogeiton. Where an authentic head is preserved, it is bearded. This is clearly seen on the relief at Broom Hall. This relief is worked on one side of a marble throne; on the other is the figure of a man slaying a prostrate woman, probably Theseus and an Amazon. The throne was found by Stackelberg about 1810 at Athens, "on the site of the ancient Prytaneion"; it passed into Lord Elgin's possession, and Dr. Michaelis saw and described it in its present state in Broom Hall. On the broken upper edge of the chair is an inscription which may probably be restored—"Boellios, son of Diodoros." Rough and indistinct though the working of the relief is, the pointed beard of the hindermost figure is clearly seen, and marks him as Aristogeiton.

On Athenian coins of the second century B.C. (fig. 17) the type of the tyrant-slayers appears again, in conjunction with the owl standing on the amphora. The fact that the group was of sufficient importance to be stamped on the city's coinage is interesting, but the reproduction is of course too small to advance our knowledge of the style of the group.

FIG. 17.—COIN: HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON.

On a coin of Cyzicus also, dating about 431-371 B.C., a similar type occupies the whole field of the coin. The tyrant-slayers are represented standing on a tunny fish, symbol of the sea-coast city of Cyzicus.

The piombo or lead token is in the numismatic collection at Athens. It is interesting only as confirming what is already known.

The Panathenaic amphora (fig. 18) shows the tyrant-slayers as a blazon on the shield of Athene. The figure of Harmodios is thrown

back for the thrust with more violence than in any other of the copies. It would not be safe to conclude that the group was in any way the regular blazon for the shield of Athene. She appears with all manner of devices. The amphora is in the British Museum; it is one of the large class of prize amphoras given to the victor in the Panathenaic games. It bears the usual inscription, written "pillar fashion" (κιονηδόν), "the prize of the games at Athens."

FIG. 18. — PANATHENAIC AMPHORA: HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON.

So far the monuments noted have reproduced the memorial group in the Agora. One design remains of special interest (fig. 19); it is from the obverse of a red-figured stamnos at Wurzburg, and is executed in the finest severe red-figured style—*i.e.*, about 480-450 B.C. In the centre is Hipparchos; the bearded Aristogeiton is plunging his sword into the tyrant's right side. The young Harmodios comes up to the right, prepared to deal the second blow. The figure of Aristogeiton being thus separated, the composition is obviously original, and yet it is by no means uninfluenced by the marble group, as a glance at the figure of Harmodios shows. Apart, however, from the great beauty of the drawing, and the interest due to the presence of Hipparchos, this design, occurring as it does on a vase-painting, has another special value: it brings before us far more vividly than any of the other monuments the attitude of the Athenian mind towards the tyrant-slayers. It is well known that vase-painters, while they delight in scenes from mythology and daily life, in no accredited instance depict an historical event *as such*; only such rare events or personages as were invested with a halo of mythological glory appear on vases. Such is Croesus, such is the Persian war, such are Harmodios and Aristogeiton. They have left the real to enter the field of the ideal; they are not dead, as the skolion says, they dwell with Achilles and Diomede, with demi-gods and heroes, in the islands of the blest.

From the copies considered it is not safe to draw deductions as to the manner and precise style of either Antenor or Kritios and Nesiotes. We are justified in recognising the broad characteristics of their age—the formal archaic hair, the long pointed chin, the schematic rigid grouping; further it would not be safe to go.

FIG. 19.—VASE: HARMODIOS AND ARISTOGEITON (WÜRZBURG).

SECTION V

ODEION—TEMPLE OF ARTEMIS EUKLEIA

TEXT, i. 8, § 6; 9, §§ 3, 4; 11, § 1; 14, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

i. 8, 6. IN front of the entrance to the theatre called the Odeion are statues of the kings of Egypt. They are all named Ptolemy, with a special addition to each. One is called Philometor, another Philadelphos, while the son of Ptolemy Lagos is called Soter (Saviour), a name given him by the Rhodians. Of these kings Philadelphos is the one I have already mentioned in the list of eponymous heroes. Near him is a statue of his sister Arsinoe.

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Digression on Ptolemy Philometor.

i. 9, 3. The Athenians, having received from Ptolemy Philometor many benefits, not worth enumerating, set up a bronze statue of him and of Berenice, who was his only legitimate child.

i. 9, 4. Next after the statues of the Egyptians are statues of Philip and his son Alexander; their achievements are too great to be the subject of a digression in a work on another topic. Upon the Egyptians these honours were bestowed as a sincere compliment for benefits received; but in the case of Philip and Alexander it was owing rather to the servility of the people, just as it was from no friendly feeling towards Lysimachus that they set up his statue, but from considerations of expediency.

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Digression on Lysimachus.

i. 11, 1. The Athenians have also a statue of Pyrrhus.

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Digression on Pyrrhus.

i. 14, 1. In the entrance of the Odeion at Athens, among other things, is a Dionysos worth seeing. Near to it is a spring which they call Enneakrounos (nine conduits). Peisistratos gave it this convenient arrangement, because, although there are wells through all the city, this is the only spring.

Beyond the fountain are temples—one built for Demeter and Kore, the other containing an image of Triptolemos. I will recount the stories about Triptolemos, with the exception

i. 14, 2. of the part that relates to Deiope. Among the Greeks, those who most nearly rival the Athenians in their claims to ancient descent and the possession of gifts bestowed by the gods are the Argives, just as among the barbarians the Egyptians stand nearest to the Phrygians. Accordingly tradition says that when Demeter came to Argos, Pelasgos received her into his house, and Chrysanthis, being acquainted with the rape of Kore, told the story to Demeter. Later Trochilos the priest, banished from Argos owing to the enmity of Agenor, came, they say, into Attica and married a wife from Eleusis, and had two sons, Euboules and Triptolemos. This is the Argive version. But the Athenians and those on their side are sure of this, that Triptolemos, son of Keleos, was the first to sow culti-

i. 14, 3. vated grain. A poem of Musaeus—if indeed it is to be attributed to Musaeus—says that Triptolemos was the son of Okeanos and Ge; while a poem attributed to Orpheus —but also not genuine, as it seems to me—says that Dysaules was the father of Euboules and Triptolemos, and that because they gave Demeter news of her daughter, they were permitted by Demeter to sow this corn. In a play of Choerilus the Athenian called *Alope*, it is said that Kerkyon and Triptolemos were brothers, sons of a daughter of Amphictyon, but that Raros was the father of Triptolemos, while Kerkyon's father was Poseidon. I intended to carry this story further, and also to give such account as is possible of the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinion, but was prevented by a vision in a dream. I will turn to what may lawfully be told to every one.

i. 14, 4. In front of this temple, where is the image of Triptolemos, is a bronze bull, apparently being led to sacrifice, and a seated figure of Epimenides of Gnossos. Epimenides is said to have gone into a field and fallen asleep there in a cave, and the sleep did not depart from him till he had lain slumbering for forty years; and after his awakening he wrote poems and purified various cities, among them Athens. Thales, who stayed the plague for the Lacedaemonians, was nowise connected with Epimenides, nor did he come from the same city. Epimenides was of Gnossos; but Thales, according to Polymnastos of Kolophon, in the poem that he wrote for the Lacedaemonians about him, was of Gortyn.

i. 14, 5. "A little farther on is a temple of Eukleia, which is another of the offerings from the spoils of the Medes who occupied the region of Marathon. This is the victory of which the Athenians are, as I think, most proud. Indeed Æschylus, when the end of his days was come, remembered none other of his deeds, though he had won great fame both by his poetry and because he had fought at sea off Artemisium and at Salamis; but he caused to be graven on his tomb his own name, and his father's name, and his city, and that for witnesses of his bravery he had the precinct at Marathon and the Medes who there landed.

COMMENTARY ON i. 8, § 6; 9, §§ 3, 4; 11, § 1; 14, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

From the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton Pausanias passes straight on to a small group of temples, monuments, etc., which he links together more or less closely. These are—

—The Odeion.
"Near to it"—The Enneakrounos.
"Beyond this"—The temples of Demeter and Kore.
"A little farther on"—The temple of Artemis Eukleia.

About no portion of the narrative of Pausanias has there been so much, or, as it seems to me, such needless discussion. The whole passage is known as the "Enneakrounos episode." The uninstructed reader would naturally think that as Pausanias goes straight on from the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton to the Odeion, the two lay somewhere not far apart. He learns with surprise that here, and nowhere else, Pausanias breaks off his narrative, and, with no apparent reason and no hint in the text, wanders away for nearly half a mile and plants his reader down on the bank of the Ilissus; that further, again without hint or warning, he comes back to resume his account of the Kerameikos (i. 14, 6). A theory so startling had need be well defended. Among its supporters are indeed names of no less weight than Leake, Bursian, Curtius, Hirschfeld, and Wachsmuth.[155] Among these, only Wachsmuth offers a hypothesis in any way adequate to explain so extraordinary a digression. He thinks that the leaves of the MS. of Pausanias have got out of place. But this confusion of the MS. remains a pure hypothesis. Dyer steadily maintained that the narrative of Pausanias was unbroken, and this view has been recently revived by Dr. Loeschke with his accustomed brilliancy.

The burden of proof lies certainly with those who assert the digression. But in the case of a theory so widespread and influential it is perhaps due to the reader to point out how what we believe to be a total misconception arose—the more so as the passage which caused the misconception is in itself one very instructive for the ancient topography of Athens.

Thucydides says [156]—"Before his (*i.e.*, Theseus) time, what is now the Acropolis and the ground lying under it to the south was the city. Many reasons may be urged in proof of this statement:—The temples of Athene and of other divinities are situated on the Acropolis itself, and those which are not lie chiefly thereabouts—the temples of Olympian Zeus, for example, and of the Pythian Apollo, and the temple of Earth and of Dionysos in the Marshes, in honour of whom the more ancient Dionysia are celebrated on the 12th day of the month Anthesterion, a festival which also continues to be observed by the Ionian descendants of the Athenians. In the same quarter are other ancient temples, and *not far off is the fountain now called Enneakrounos or the Nine Conduits, from the form given it by the tyrants, but originally, before the streams were covered in, Kallirrhoe or the Fair Stream.* The water of this fountain was used by the ancient Athenians on great occasions, and at marriage rites and other ceremonies the custom is still retained. To this day the Acropolis or Citadel is called by the Athenians Polis or City, because that neighbourhood was first inhabited." Here Thucydides says the Enneakrounos used to be called Kallirrhoe. That there is a fountain called Kallirrhoe in the Ilissus no one denies, and hence the archæologists above named have proceeded to assert that the fountain seen by Pausanias was the Kallirrhoe of the Ilissus. I do not pretend here to give even a summary of the arguments by which they support this hypothesis. As I do not accept the hypothesis, the task would be, from my point of view, fruitless. Those who are interested in the matter, and to whom the hypothesis commends itself, must consult the works cited in the notes. Out of deference, however, to names so great, I enumerate the chief grounds which cause me to feel that their hypothesis is not only incorrect but impossible. All that learning and ingenuity can do in the way of formal controversy against this hypothesis has been done by Dr. Loeschke. I prefer, therefore, not to resume his arguments, which are best appreciated in his own writings, but to summarise the impressions which, after long weighing of the arguments on both sides, have slowly grown together into what is

for me personally, not a demonstration, but that surer thing, a conviction.[157]

1. First and foremost, only definite proof can justify us in assuming either (*a*) the unexplained breach of continuity—elsewhere unexampled—in the narrative of Pausanias, or (*b*) a dislocation so serious of the MS.

2. Kallirrhoe was a name of perfectly general application. Any spring might be the "fair spring," just as any spring in the Greece of to-day is apt to be Maoromati (Black-eye). It seems likely that the spring on the Areopagus was called Kallirrhoe, and when it lost that name and got the more artificial title of the Nine Conduits, the spring of the Ilissus became the Kallirrhoe *par excellence*.

3. As there are to this day remains of a watercourse of the time of Peisistratos, leading to the south-west corner of the Areopagus, where the Enneakrounos is marked in the map, and *ending there*, just at the spot where the Enneakrounos naturally comes in the narrative of Pausanias, it is idle to look for it elsewhere.

4. The activity of the tyrants extended mainly to the sphere of the agora. The spring which they would enlarge and decorate would be naturally that which supplied the market-place.

5. The other buildings mentioned in connection with the Enneakrounos are most naturally near, in, and about the agora. It would be unreasonable to suppose that Artemis Eukleia, a goddess specially of the market-place, whose temple was built in honour of the Persian victor, should have her temple on a site beyond the Ilissus. The same applies to the temples of Demeter and Triptolemos.

The force of these arguments will be better felt at the conclusion of the Enneakrounos section, though they are stated here together for convenience. The exact position of the several monuments connected with the Enneakrounos must as yet be matter of conjecture.

The spring which supplied the fountain of Enneakrounos is no longer above ground; its position, however, is exactly known, as there are substantial remains of the conduit made for it by Peisistratos.* Probably the small open spring Kallirrhoe, which

* For the particulars respecting this conduit and the consequent position of the Enneakrounos at the south-western corner of the Areopagus, I am entirely indebted to the kindness of Dr. Dörpfeld, and by his permission publish the result of his investigations. I had long before independently arrived at the conclusion that the "Enneakrounos episode" did not exist.

had long before been used by the city, was by his time inadequate to its needs, and he had to resort to artificial means to reinforce it. He seems to have brought water by a conduit, which can be traced along the southern side of the Acropolis as far as the south-western corner of the Areopagus. Beyond this it cannot be made out. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that it stopped at the Enneakrounos. The traces of the conduit can best be seen in the rock below the Pnyx hill,[158] immediately opposite the Areopagus, where the rock comes close to the modern high road on the right hand as you go up from the Nymphs' hill to the Acropolis. Here the borings through the rock are distinctly visible.

The site of this spring, just outside the ancient city gate, was the scene of many an old story. A king's daughter, Oreithyia, ventured out from the fortress to fetch water, and the north-wind Boreas swept her away. Many a rash maiden was no doubt carried off in like fashion. When the rude Pelasgians scoured the country from their stronghold on Hymettus, it was to the Enneakrounos that they came for rapine, the spring where the daughters of the land were wont to loiter.[159] Later legend, indeed, made Oreithyia gather flowers by the Ilissus, but the older story was never forgotten, it was kept up as an alternative version, and when the Enneakrounos on the Areopagus was forgotten,[160] it was a puzzle to mythologists why the hill of the stern war-god—a hill too stony and arid to be a flower garden—should have been chosen for the maiden's flower-gathering; but keep Enneakrounos and the old Kallirrhoe in its right place before the city gates, and all is clear. Peisistratos could do no more popular thing than to enlarge and beautify the ancient agora spring.

When the Enneakrounos fell into disuse is not known. When Athens had been a small rock city, even the early Kallirrhoe would suffice for the drinking-water of the Athenians. Later, when the houses spread in the Ilissus direction, even if the supply of the Enneakrounos sufficed, the distance was too great. Water would be fetched thence by those far off only for certain rites; but the dwellers round about the market-place would continue to use the spring for their daily needs.

Something of its ancient appearance may be gathered from a black-figured hydria[161] in the British Museum (fig. 20), on which is represented a scene taking place at a fountain. To the left, within a Doric portico, water gushes out from a lion's head into the

hydria below. Near it is written ΚΑΛΙΡΕΚΡΕΝΕ—*i.e.*, "Kallirrhoe, the fountain." A group of six women are coming and going from the spring, their names written beside them. Above their heads is inscribed ΗΙΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ ("Hippocrates is beautiful"). It is quite possible that the actual Enneakrounos may be here represented under its early name—a name which probably survived alongside of the new one—and it would be a pleasant subject for the potter, as being the spring that supplied his own quarter; but the term "Kallirrhoe," I repeat, seems to me so general that I do not feel certain of the identification. It seems very probable that, as Dr. Studniczka suggests, the

FIG. 20.—HYDRIA: KALLIRRHOE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

Hippocrates named is the brother of Cleisthenes; the style of the vase admits of the possibility.

With respect to the Odeion, it should be distinctly borne in mind that the Athens of classical days had one Odeion only—*i.e.*, that built by Pericles, and seen by Pausanias near the Dionysiac theatre. In later days there were added to these two buildings which went by the name Odeion—(1) the great Odeion of Herodes Atticus, built after the visit of Pausanias, and still existing; (2) the building seen by Pausanias in the market-place.

It is conjectured by Dr. Dörpfeld that this Odeion of the market-place is identical with the Agrippeion mentioned by

Philostratos as "the theatre in the Kerameikos which goes by the name of the Agrippeion." Pausanias, it will be observed, speaks of the building in just the same way, "a *theatre* which they call the Odeion." If the Agrippeion was built on the site of the ancient orchestra (p. 77), it accounts for Pausanias not mentioning the orchestra.

Pausanias leaves it uncertain how many of the Ptolemies had statues in front of the Odeion. He names only three, but it is quite possible that others were represented. We may take for certain—following the order of Pausanias, which is not chronological—

Ptolemy { Philometor and Berenice (181-143 B.C.),
Philadelphos and Arsinoe (285-247 B.C.),
Soter (323-284 B.C.),

and near to these—

Philip,
Alexander,
Lysimachus,
and probably Pyrrhus.

Chapters ix.-xiii. are taken up with a long digression on Ptolemy Philometor, Lysimachus, and Pyrrhus. The best commentary on these statues, of which no copies remain, is the coinage of Egypt, on which the portrait-heads of many of the Ptolemies and their famous wives appear. When Ptolemy Soter ceased to be regent and became finally king (305 B.C.) he struck tetradrachms with his own head for obverse type, to replace the head of Alexander, and on the reverse the eagle of Zeus on the thunderbolt, with the inscription Πτολεμαίου βασιλέως ("Ptolemy the king").

He was succeeded by Philadelphos (285 B.C.), and at first his type was maintained. But about 261 B.C. his worship as a god was instituted under one of the titles of Zeus—*i.e.*, the Saviour. Both he and his queen, Berenice, were canonised, and their heads appear on coins with the inscription θεῶν ("of the gods"). Philadelphos, however, was not content with the type of his deified father; he issued coins with his own head and that of his wife (also his sister), Arsinoe II. Coins with the head of Arsinoe alone also appear.[162]

There is in the Central Museum at Athens a colossal granite head, which the hieroglyphic inscription shows to be a portrait of Ptolemy Philometor; the hair and headgear are of Egyptian fashion; the

features are pleasing and gentle, and agree well with what Polybius says of Philometor's character, that he was "gentle and good" (πρᾶος καὶ χρηστός). The head was found in the harbour at Ægina; how it came there is not known.[163] The Berenice whose statue was set up does not appear on the coinage, and is not the heroine of the famous lock of hair.

It is even more painful to find the statues of Philip and Alexander under the very eyes, as it were, of the statue of Demosthenes. The servility of the Athenians to the father and son knew scarcely any bounds, and extended, it seems, even to Lysimachus the spear-bearer of Alexander. Demades[164] had voted that divine honour should be paid to Philip, and he was reverenced as a god at Cynosarges. The same servile politician proposed that Alexander should be made a thirteenth Olympian god,[165] but the Athenians turned at this and fined Demades for his presumption. They allowed Alexander, though he might not be added to the sacred Olympian Twelve, to be called by the name of Dionysos,[166] who, comparatively, was a parvenu.

Beyond (ὑπέρ) the Enneakrounos were the two temples—one of Demeter and Kore, the other of Triptolemos. After his digression on the Triptolemos stories, Pausanias says he was about to give such account as was possible of the sanctuary at Athens called the Eleusinion, but was prevented by a vision. We are undoubtedly justified in supposing that the two temples went together by the name of Eleusinion. Passages, therefore, describing the Eleusinion at Athens may be used to fix the site of the temples in question.

Clement of Alexandria[167] speaks of the precinct of the Eleusinion "which was beneath the Acropolis." This, of course, does not fix the direction in which it was "beneath." Fortunately, another passage does this. In the description of the Panathenaic procession Philostratos[168] says that "the ship, starting from the Kerameikos with a thousand oars, sailed up to the Eleusinion, and having made the circuit of it, passed the Pelasgikon." The ship, then, passed the Pelasgikon just after the Eleusinion; we may suppose, therefore, they were not far apart. From a passage in Xenophon's *Hipparchus*[169] it may be gathered that the Eleusinion was a customary goal for festival processions. After making the circuit of the agora shrines, the cavalry are recommended to "put their horses to a good pace and ride up in tribes to the Eleusinion, there to draw rein and return."

The Eleusinion must, then, be placed somewhere beyond the Enneakrounos, near the Pelasgikon, in a situation that would make it a natural goal for processions to go round. The situation marked on the map, just beneath the Areopagus, due south of it, can scarcely be far wrong. A view of the point now reached is given in fig. 21. It was in consequence of these cavalry processions, doubtless, that Simon, the author of a treatise on horsemanship, set up near the Eleusinion, according to Xenophon,[170] a bronze horse; according to Pliny,[171] an equestrian statue of himself. The Eleusinion is mentioned by Plutarch[172] as

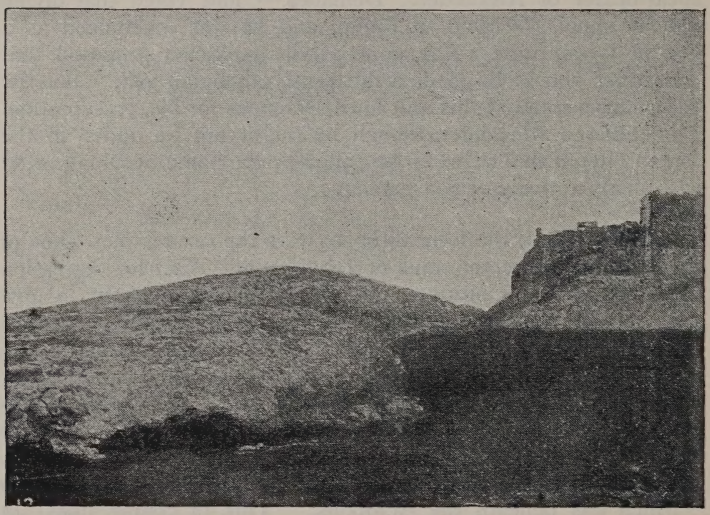


FIG. 21.—SITE OF THE ELEUSINION, SOUTH OF THE AREOPAGUS.

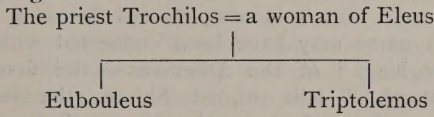
one among the three most sacred places of Athens, equal to the Acropolis and the Theseion. In these three, and these only, owing to their special sanctity, the country people who fled to Athens[173] for refuge at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war were forbidden to take shelter.

The attention of Pausanias is at once caught by a statue of Triptolemos, whose various legends he proceeds to tell, with the exception of what concerned Deiope. We should have been glad of more information about Deiope; all we know is gathered from a passage in Aristotle's[174] *Mirabilia*. He says—"They relate that when the Athenians were building the sanctuary of Demeter

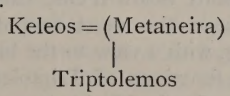
at Eleusis a bronze stele was found surrounded by stones, and on it was written, 'This is the monument of Deiope.' She, some say, was wife of Triptolemos; others, his mother." It is very possible that Deiope is identical with Antiope, who, according to Hermesianax, quoted by Athenaeus,[175] was celebrated by the bard Musaeus. Of her it was said that she was "famous even in Hades."

The whole cycle of Demeter and Kore and Triptolemos belongs of right rather to Eleusis than to Athens, and, in addition to what has already been briefly said, only so much can be noted here as serves to elucidate the comments of Pausanias and the cult in the Eleusinion. The Triptolemos genealogies are not uninstructive; they are as follows:—

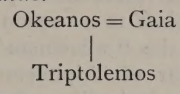
1. *The Argive Tradition.*



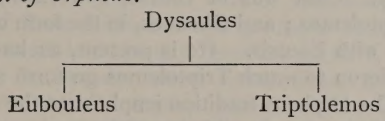
2. *Attic Tradition.*



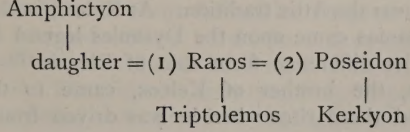
3. *Tradition of Musaeus.*



4. *Tradition of Orpheus.*



5. *Tradition of Play of "Alope."*



The mere fact of this multiplex local tradition shows that the worship of Triptolemos was a widespread and popular one. A late author [176] expressly says that "all men set up shrines and altars to Triptolemos; to him were attributed such time-honoured saws [177] as 'honour of parents,' and 'worship the gods with the fruits of the earth,'" which in reality he had borrowed from the more primitive morality of the Bouzygos. Triptolemos seemed in later days to be what his name by a false etymology was thought to indicate, the "thrice plougher." Sir C. Newton, in his account of the agriculture of Mytilene, notes that "the olive requires the earth in which it grows to be ploughed or dug not less than three times a year." It has already been seen that the art of vase-painting in the fifth and fourth centuries and contemporary sculpture know Triptolemos nowhere as the ploughman, but only as the messenger of Demeter, seated on the winged car. But it is also, as will be seen, very probable that his name may have been connected with the three "sacred ploughings" of the Athenians — the first of which was, as Plutarch [178] tells us, at Skiron, the remembrance of the most ancient of the seed-sowings; the second on the Rarian plain; the third below Pelis, called the Bouzygion, or oxen-yoking. Of these the most sacred is the nuptial seed-sowing and ploughing, with a view to the birth of children. Here, it may be noted, the functions of Triptolemos seem to touch on the more plain-spoken ritual of Eubouleus.

Meantime other local traditions of parentage must be noted. The name Trochilos points to a version of the myth that arose in connection with art; the "wheelman" must surely have come in when the winged car of Triptolemos was well established. The tradition of Musaeus looks like a fanciful and somewhat careless genealogy. Gaia was of course, conveniently enough, the mother of Triptolemos; and Okeanos, in the form of Poseidon, was closely linked with Eleusis. He is present, as has been seen, on the vase of Hieron to watch Triptolemos go forth and as father of Eamolpos. The Orpheus tradition emphasises the plough; Triptolemos, the "thrice plougher," is learnedly made to be son of the double-furrow, Dysaules. Dysaules was brother to Keleos; so here we come very near the Attic tradition. At Keleai, in the Corinthian territory, Pausanias came upon the Dysaules legend in full force, and he notes its difference from that of Eleusis [179]—"They say that Dysaules, the brother of Keleos, came to their country and established there rites when he was driven from Eleusis by

Ion, the son of Xuthus, who had been chosen leader by the Athenians when they fought against the Eleusinians. This statement I cannot agree to. . . . But it is possible, from some other cause, Dysaules went to Keleai, and not for the cause that the Phliasians say. It seems to me the only connection he had with the chiefs of Eleusis was that he was brother of Keleos, for otherwise Homer, in his hymn to Demeter, would not have omitted him. In his enumeration of those to whom the goddess taught the mysteries he does not name Dysaules. These are the lines:— 'To Triptolemos, and Diokles the horse-tamer, and mighty Eumolpos, and Keleos, leader of the people, she showed the due performance of her rites and mysteries.' However, according to the Phliasian tradition, Dysaules instituted the mysteries here, and gave the name Keleai to the place. There is here also, as I said, a tomb of Dysaules, but later than the date of the tomb of Aras, for according to their account Dysaules came later than the time when Aras was king." This account is instructive, because it helps to show how the interminable web of local mythology gets woven. Given a place called Keleai and the worship of a god of ploughing, nothing so easy as for a priest who knew of the Keleos legend at Eleusis to connect the two. He is perhaps afraid to call his local god actually the son of the great Keleos of Eleusis, or perhaps too proud to borrow an alien hero direct, so he makes his local god of the plough son of the double-furrow, Dysaules, the brother of Keleos.

The tradition given in the *Alope* has already been touched upon. It shows the attempt to weld Eleusis, Athens, and the interlying district together, and also, as before said, to attach Theseus to another cycle of legends. Raros is here said to be the father of Triptolemos; Raros is, of course, merely the eponym of the Rarian plain. It was to this Rarian plain that, by command of Zeus, Rhea came to persuade Demeter to remit the famine her wrath had brought upon the earth.[180] "And Rhea disobeyed not, but made haste down from the summits of Olympus, and came to the Rarian plain, where crops plenteously sucked life of yore; but life at this time it yielded none; nay, it stood idle, without one blade, and left the white barley buried, according to the intents of the fair-ankled Demeter; nevertheless, the hour was at hand when it would wave once again all at once with spikes of corn." Pausanias, when he comes to Eleusis,[181] says—"And the Eleusinians have a temple to Triptolemos, and to Propylaean Artemis; and to Poseidon the Father a well, called Kalli-

choros, where the Eleusinian women first danced and sang songs to the goddess. And the Rarian plain was the first sown and the first that produced crops, as it is said ; and this is why custom prescribes that barley from it should be used to make the cakes for sacrifices. Here also they show the threshing-floor and the altar of Triptolemos. But what is inside the sacred enclosure a dream forbids me to disclose ; for as the uninitiated may not see, so also they may not hear of the mysteries. And the hero Eleusis, who gave the city its name, was, according to some, the son of Hermes and Daira, daughter of Okeanos ; and according to others, the son of Ogyges." Pausanias very pertinently adds—"For the men of old time, when they had nothing whereon to build their genealogies, invented fictitious ones, and especially in the genealogies of heroes."

In the Homeric hymn to Demeter,[182] Triptolemos only appears as one among the several local chieftains of Eleusis. The hymn, as is well known, is concerned rather with the mysteries of the lower world, with the rape of Kore, the sorrowing search of Demeter, her consolation, her institution of the sacred Eleusinian rites—in a word, with the fortunes of the "beautiful-haired the holy goddess and her slender-ankled daughter"—than with the grain-giver Triptolemos. The child whom Demeter nurses is, in the hymn, not Triptolemos but Iacchus, and it closes with a general acknowledgment of the blessings of wealth that come by favour of the goddess, and not with any specific account of the sending forth of Triptolemos. "Awe and majesty are upon them. Very blessed upon the earth is the man to whom those holy ones incline favourably ; lightly they send Ploutos, who giveth abundance to mortals, to abide beside the hearth in the mansion of him they love." Sophocles wrote a play, *Triptolemos*, but the fragments that remain are not sufficient to tell us what version he followed. We can scarcely refrain from supposing that he brought upon the stage Triptolemos in his winged car, a figure in his time already so widely popular in Attic art. On a few late black and countless red-figured vases the scene is depicted. The finest and most complete representation is the vase of Hieron in the British Museum, already discussed. Another instance has been noted in connection with Hippothöon. To these a third may now be added. The design (fig. 22) is from a very remarkable vase found in a grave at Cumae, once belonging to the Campana Collection and now in the Hermitage at St. Petersburg.[183] It occupies a conspicuous place in the centre of the third room, and is certainly one

of the most notable pieces in the collection. In the small reproduction given here the technical peculiarities necessarily escape notice. The main body of the vase is of ribbed black ware; the two decorative friezes are polychrome and in relief. The effect of the original, much of the colour being preserved, is very gorgeous. In the upper and principal frieze the relief is so high that some of the heads of the figures are almost in the round. The vase is almost certainly Athenian, and may safely be placed in the fourth century B.C.

Turning to the principal frieze, it is evident at once that the

FIG. 22.—VASE: ELEUSINIAN ASSEMBLY (HERMITAGE).

composition falls into five groups, each of two figures conversing —it falls, in fact, into five "sacred conversations" loosely linked together. The two centre figures are manifestly the chief of all. Demeter, with the high calathus on her head and a sceptre in her right hand, is seated as queen. Her daughter Persephone stands by her side, holding the emblem she shares with her mother—the torch. Between them is one of the little portable altars (ἐσχαραι) in frequent use. It just marks the sanctity of the place and occasion. Over it are two crossed sheaves, symbolic of offerings. In the next group to the right we have a youth, lightly clad but

crowned, approaching—a young pig on his right, a bundle of corn ears on his left. He can scarcely be other than the sacred swineherd Eubouleus. With him, in friendly talk, sits Athene, for Athens as well as Eleusis joins in fellowship the two goddesses. Turning to the left, we have Triptolemos balancing the seated figure of Athene. He is seated in the winged car, but the artist, as though fearing to make the drawing too complicated, omits the wheels and puts only the golden serpents. Triptolemos turns to speak to a heavily-draped figure leaning against a tripod and holding a thyrsus. His long white priestly stole is decorated with gold, and he wears the myrtle crown. He is Dionysos, who in his aspect of Iacchus was a member of the Eleusinian circle. The two side groups are less important, and their precise interpretation is uncertain. The male figure to the left, standing, is probably Eumolpos, another of the regular Eleusinian cycle. He is probably talking to Eleusis, the personification of the city. The corresponding female figure, holding torches, may be Hecate or Artemis talking to Aphrodite; but I prefer to give no certain names where proof is lacking. In this vase and others of similar character we have the nearest approach to initiation that ancient art permits us. We are allowed to see the two goddesses who shared one altar (*ὁμοβώμιοι*); Triptolemos a sharer in their grace; and, most important for our purpose, Athene lending the sanction of her presence. But here the veil falls; we are still in the outer court. We may see nothing of the sacred pageant, the panorama of the rape of Kore, of the wanderings of Demeter, of the birth of Iacchus; hear nothing of the ecstatic songs of the initiation, know nothing of the untold peace of the mystics; on the lips of all who saw and heard "the ministrant Eumolpidae have laid for ever the precious seal of silence." [184]

Pausanias gives no hint as to what the statue of Triptolemos was like. In every representation that ancient art has left us, he appears so uniformly a charioteer that it is impossible to think of him apart from his winged car and serpents. On the coinage both of Eleusis and Athens the type of the figure in the chariot is frequent, but the figure is sometimes male (Triptolemos), sometimes female (Demeter).[185]

As to the bronze bull and the seated statue of Epimenides there seems to be some confusion.[186] Pausanias distinctly states that the statue represented the Cretan Epimenides, the law-giver. He, however, had nothing to do with the temple of Triptolemos; his place would be within the precinct of the Semnai. Nor can

we see any connection between Epimenides of Crete and a bronze bull. There was, however, another Epimenides, the mythical founder of the family of Bouzygoi [187] who presided over the sacred ploughing—he would be well in place with a bronze bull in front of the temple of Triptolemos. It is quite possible that Pausanias was misinformed by his guide. It is also possible that by his time popular tradition had got confused between the two heroes of the same name. There is, however, a third possibility, and that is, that the statue really represented the Cretan, and that as the precincts of the Eleusinion and the sanctuary of the Semnai adjoined, Pausanias attributed to the one what really belonged to the other. I hold, however, that most probably the statue represented Epimenides the Boüzygos, who was sometimes the double of Triptolemos.

In two of the genealogies, 1 and 4, the brother of Triptolemos is Eubouleus, the man "of good counsel." This Eubouleus is a somewhat mysterious figure. Hesychius identifies Eubouleus with Plouton, god of the lower world, and by the euphemistic title of Euboulos this god was undoubtedly invoked. As one of the under-world Trinity his worship is attested by an inscription [188] found at Kastri, in Asia Minor—

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΚΟΡΗΙ
ΔΙΙΕΥΒΟΥΛΕΙ
ΔΗΜΟΔΙΚΗ
ΣΙΜΟΝΟΣΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ

—("To Demeter and to Kore, to Zeus Eubouleus, Demodike, daughter of Simon, dedicated this.") Zeus Eubouleus is the same practically as Plouton. Plouton, it will be seen, had a cult on the Areopagus, and it may be that he was there invoked by his euphemistic name. His worship is further attested by an inscription [189] of the fifth century, found at Eleusis in the Church of S. Zacharias, in which a special and complete sacrifice is prescribed not only for Triptolemos and for "the god" and "the goddess," but also for Eubouleus and to each individually. But then there was another legend seemingly ill in accord with this august ceremonial. Swine played a prominent part in the ritual of Eleusis; a pig, as may be seen in the votive slab in fig. 23, was a customary offering to Demeter and Persephone. Some said that Eubouleus was the herdsman whose swine were swallowed up when the earth opened at the rape of Kore. How came it that to the great king of the lower world, whose name men feared

to utter, was assigned an origin so lowly? The key to this mystery lies in certain strange ceremonies which took place at the Thesmophoria, and to account for which the figure of the *swineherd* Eubouleus had to be invented. The account taken from a scholiast on Lucian [190] must be given in full. It is at least probable that from it we learn much of the mysterious ceremonies in the Eleusinion which Pausanias dare not tell :—

"The Thesmophoria is a Greek feast with a mysterious ritual, and is also called the Skirophoria. The legendary reason for its celebration is that when Kore was carried off by Plouton as she

FIG. 23.—VOTIVE RELIEF: SACRIFICE OF PIG TO DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE.

was gathering flowers, there was a certain swineherd called Eubouleus feeding his swine on the spot, and they were all swallowed up in the chasm. So then, in honour of Eubouleus, they cast pigs into the chasms of Demeter and Kore. The decayed parts of the pigs that have been thrown into the 'megara' are brought back by women called drawers, who have undergone purification during three days. These women go down into the adytum, and, fetching up the flesh, place it on the altars. It is believed that if some of this flesh is taken and sown with the grain, there will be a good crop. They say, too, that down below,

about the chasms, are snakes who devour the greater part of what is thrown in. Therefore, a noise is made when the women are drawing up the flesh, and when they are putting the images in place of it, so as to drive back the snakes, whom they consider the guardians of the adytum. The same feast is also called the Arretophoria, and the same ceremonial is used to produce the fruit of the earth and the offspring of men. On this occasion also mysterious sacred objects, made of the dough from wheat, in the shape of the forms of snakes and men, are deposited in the chasms. They † *take* shoots of the pine tree on account of its fertility. They throw into the adyta, also called 'megara,' both these and pigs, as already said, these being also chosen for their fertility, so as to unite the production of fruit and the procreation of children."

These "megara" are explained as "underground chambers[191] of the two goddesses—*i.e.*, of Demeter and Kore." Pausanias,[192] describing Megara, says—"They say that the city was so called by Kar, the son of Phoroneus, who was king in that country. They say that there first were places sacred to Demeter, and that men called them 'megara.'" The etymology seems at least probable. The "megara" certainly were not confined to Attica. At Potniae, in Boeotia,[193] there was a grove to Demeter and Persephone, and there certain ceremonies were performed which consisted in part of letting newly born pigs loose into places called "megara." That the same ceremony as the scholiast describes went on in the sanctuary of Demeter at Cnidus is proved by the stone pigs[194] (πλάσματα) found there.

The account of the scholiast is confirmed by Clement of Alexandria in his *Protrepticus*.[195] The Christian Father has, fortunately for us, no scruples in revealing the to him trivial and disgusting details of mysterious rites. How better can he win souls to a purer and higher faith? "Shall I tell you," he asks in his indignant protest, "of the flower-gatherings of Pherephatta and the basket, and the rape of Aidoneus, and the cleft of the earth, and the swine of Eubouleus that were swallowed down with the goddesses, on account of which in the Thesmophoria the women who perform the 'megara' ceremonies dig out the pigs? This story the women celebrate in diverse fashion in the city, as Thesmophoria, Skirophoria, Arrephoria, dramatising the rape of Pherephatta in manifold ways."

There is no doubt from these passages that the megara ceremony formed part of the Thesmophoria; but that other rites were

included in it is equally certain. Lobeck,[196] quoting from Epiphanius, says—"Among the Greeks what a number of mysteries and rites there are! For example, there are the ceremonies of the megara and of the Thesmophoria which the women perform, and which differ from each other, and then there are as many mysteries at Eleusis."

It is a point of no small interest that the scholiast and Clement both identify in the main the rites of the Thesmophoria and the Arrephoria. The question of the significance of the Arrephoria has already been treated.

Whatever else may remain obscure in this curious and disgusting ceremony of the megara, it at once explains the story of Eubouleus, which is otherwise a foolish and unmeaning appendage to that of the rape of Kore. To propitiate the god of the lower world, to make Hades into Eubouleus, the women at the Thesmophoria buried the pigs and sowed the putrid flesh upon the fields. "Though the rite is magical in character, perhaps the decaying flesh might act as manure and be of real service to the farmer." The Khonds, Mr. Lang[197] says, do the like in India, and the Pawnees in America. The Khonds sacrifice a pig and a human victim, the Pawnees a girl of a foreign tribe. The pieces of flesh are buried in the borders of the fields. This rite of the Thesmophoria went on, no doubt, to Christian times, but bit by bit its real significance as a magical means of procuring fertility both for the earth and man was lost, and men cast about for a story to explain a ceremony so offensive. Then Eubouleus the under-world god became Eubouleus the swineherd.

A beautiful head of a youth (fig. 24) found at Eleusis in the small temple of Pluto has been shown to represent Eubouleus.[198] The head is in the Central Museum at Athens. It is of great mythological interest, as showing that Eubouleus was, in the times of Praxiteles, neither the august lower-world god nor the rough swineherd, but like a young Dionysos, brother to or double of Triptolemos. The figure of Triptolemos is indeed throughout the product of a later, more graceful, and more rational imagination. He came to be when men sought for fertility in their lands, not by magical rites, but by diligent sowing and ploughing. There is about the fair young hero's whole legend a simplicity and sobriety that contrasts at once with the obscure uncleanness of Eubouleus and the mystic exaltation of Iacchus.

As Aristophanes[199] took for the subject of one of his most

brilliant comedies the *Women celebrating the Thesmophoria*, it is somewhat disappointing that we can gather from the piece no details of the ceremonies. In the nature of the case, however, no such information could be expected. Aristophanes, as a man,

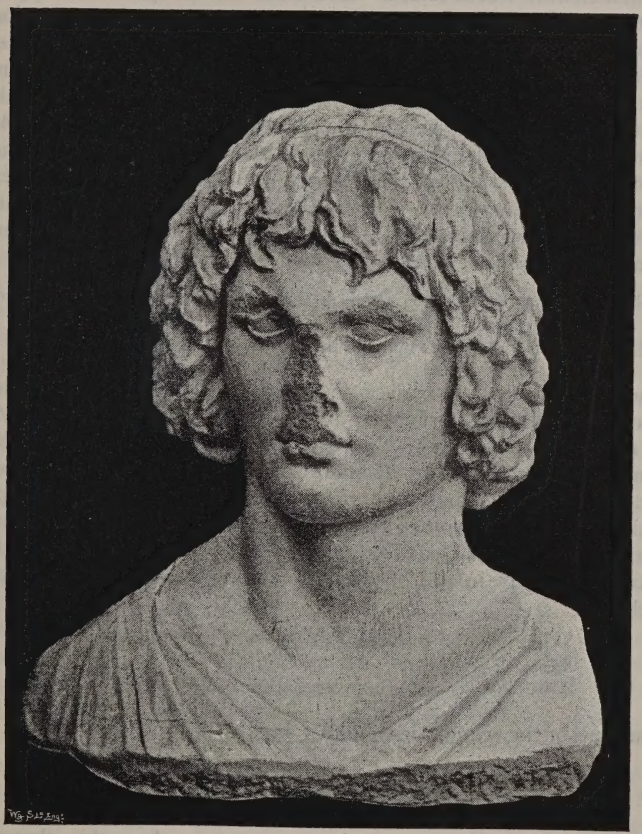


FIG. 24.—HEAD OF EUBOULEUS (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

could not be initiated, and had any forbidden knowledge come to his ears he dared not have divulged it or he would have fared much worse than his hero Mnesilochus. One point, however, of the first topographical importance the *Thesmophoriazousae* sets at

rest for ever. The Pnyx was the scene of the celebration. Half the fun of the piece turns upon that. It was an actual fact that for three or four days the women who celebrated the Thesmophoria held possession of that Pnyx which the women of the *Ecclesiazousae* would like to have held for always. If the play is taken in a straightforward sense, this admits of no question. The point of the play is not in the least the strong-minded women in the *Ecclesiazousae*, it is in the main Euripides himself and the scandals he attributed to them. The *mise en scène*, the assembly, the female herald, the prayer, the debate, the resolution are simply suggested by the actual fact that the Thesmophoria is celebrated on and about the Pnyx. If proof were wanted of this, we have it from the lips of the chorus. When Mnesilochus is discovered, they sing the search-song as they dance round seeking for another man interloper—

"Search the whole Pnyx, and search the tents, and search the entrance-places round,
If by chance some other man be in the precinct skulking found."

And the commentators must needs darken counsel by explaining that "the Thesmophorion might rightly be called the Pnyx—*for in the temple, as though it were a Pnyx*, was held the assembly concerning Euripides." Therefore the words τὴν πύκνα πᾶσαν, etc., will mean "Thesmophorium totum et tentoria huic templo vicina." That the women on the Pnyx are also within the Thesmophorion precinct is clear from a later passage. When Euripides comes fooling in in the character of Menelaos he says to Mnesilochus—

"What manner of land is this our bark hath touched?
Mnes. 'Tis Egypt.
Eur. Woe is me, where have we sailed?"

And one of the women indignantly breaks in—

"Don't you believe a word the idiot says.
Confound his lies. Why, this is the Thesmophorion."

We have no other conclusion open to us than this, that the Pnyx district, or at least a portion of it used ordinarily as a place of assembly for the men, and even then under the guardianship of the Thesmophoroi, became for a few days yearly a sacred precinct under the title of Thesmophorion.[200] Here, on the wide open space, were pitched the tents where every woman had her

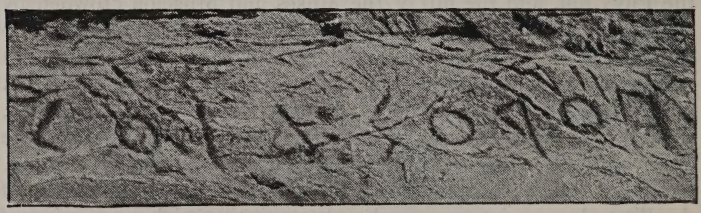
messmate; here was danced the diplè; here, in this rocky cavernous district, we can scarcely doubt, were the megara into which the pigs were let down. For the great concourse of women who kept the Thesmophoria, the actual temples of Demeter and Persephone would be far too small. The Thesmophorion was a precinct, and no doubt an extensive one, which took some time for a thorough search. Pausanias says nothing whatever about the Pnyx, the site of which and the controversy as to its identification are so keenly interesting to the modern tourist. Mainly on account of its mythological, not its political influence, a word must be said as to the exact meaning of the term.

The word "Pnyx" is used in two senses—a wider sense, in which it means an extensive hill district; a narrower, in which it means the place of assembly for the Athenian people. In the time of Plato it clearly included in its wider use the whole hill district to the south-west of the Acropolis and Areopagus, possibly the Areopagus itself. In the *Kritias*,[201] in his description of the primitive state of Athens, Plato says—"In primitive times the hill of the Acropolis extended to the Eridanus and Ilissus, and included the Pnyx on one side and the Lycabettus as a boundary on the opposite side of the Pnyx." Here clearly Plato is not selecting individual hills, but wishing to include the whole complex on either side of the Acropolis. For the Pnyx side this would be the three hills known now as "the hill of the Nymphs, the Pnyx hill, and the hill of the Muses and Museion crowned by the Philopappos monument." All these three hills are part of one range, and from the general character of the remains found on them clearly at one time belonged to one continuous district. This character, it may be noted, belonged also to the Areopagus, though no doubt from early times the sacred associations of the Areopagus seemed to differentiate it in the popular mind. Scattered all over this range of hills are abundant traces of dwelling-places, cisterns, tombs, steps, votive niches, remains of altars, and the like—every evidence, in fact, of civilised occupation; such, *e.g.*, are the so-called "prison of Socrates" and the "tomb of Cimon." Into the nature of these dwellings it is not necessary for my purpose to enter; it is sufficient to note that though the district must some time have been densely inhabited, by the days of Æschines it was deserted. Timarchos had brought forward a proposition before the Areopagus to recolonise the Pnyx; this was rejected. In the course of the speech against Timarchos, Æschines[202] brings up the matter and makes frequent

allusion to the "desolation of the Pnyx district" (*καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ταύτης καὶ τοῦ τόπου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Πυκνὶ μὴ θαυμάσητε, κ.τ.λ.*), to its quietness (*ἐν τῇ ἡσυχίᾳ ταύτῃ*), to the dwellings and cisterns (*οἰκοπέδων καὶ τῶν λάκκων*). These passages well describe the state of this hill district at the present time; and, indeed, we can scarcely suppose that a region used for the secret ceremonies of the Thesmophoria could be otherwise than silent and deserted.

So much for the Pnyx region in general, comprising the three hills. Of these the Museion, crowned by the monument of Philopappos, will be briefly noted later. The most northerly of the hills, the hill of the Nymphs,[203] takes its name from an inscription scarcely legible now; *ἱερον Νυμφ . . . δεμο* ("sanctuary of the Nymphs") is all that can now be made out.

The inscription is not easy to find; it is inside the garden of the observatory on the top of the hill, to the right-hand side of the path as one enters. The hill was not, however, wholly devoted to the worship of the Nymphs. On the lower platform, about thirty paces lower than the chapel of Hagia Maria and six paces from the south extremity of the hill, will be found another inscription,[204] carved on the flat face of the rock in letters of the sixth century—*ὅρος Διός* ("precinct of Zeus"). The writing is from right to left. The letters are cut very deep, and are about three inches long.



It remains briefly to notice the midmost hill of the three—the Pnyx [205] in its narrower sense as the place of assembly for the people. With its political import we have here nothing to do, but as the scene of the Thesmophoria, and as bearing certain close analogies to the Dionysiac theatre, the place has its interest even from the mythological as well as topographical point of view.

And, first, it is of the utmost importance to note that an ancient place of assembly and an ancient theatre had much in common, and were in structure practically the same in construction. Each

required (1) an altar, (2) a theatron, or place for spectators. The broad steps or basis of the altar was the place from which the orator spoke, on which he, like the protagonist of Dionysos, acted his part. The assembly, like the theatre proper, was consecrated to the gods.

These structural necessities are exactly fulfilled by the ancient remains currently known as the Pnyx, but recently maintained by Dr. Curtius to be only an altar-place to Zeus Hypsistos. His view is mainly based on certain late dedications and inscriptions, and cannot here be discussed in detail. The true view I believe to be that the altar-place which still remains is in fact the ancient Bema. Immediately behind it are three rows of seats cut in the rock; these serve to confirm this view, as it is known that the Prytanes had seats *facing* the people. A woman in the *Ecclesiazousae*[206] says to Praxagora—

> "By Zeus! you ought to go and seize the places
> Beneath the stone, facing the Prytanes"

—*i.e.*, get a good seat just under the orator.

In front of the orator as he looked towards the agora and Areopagus was the semicircular amphitheatre for the assembly generally. It is the partial destruction of this that has caused all the difficulty in the identification of the Pnyx. At present, if the orator were to stand on the Bema, he would look down; the ground slopes away distinctly from his feet. As the voice rises, this would never do. This downward slope is, however, wholly due to modern devastation; originally the ground sloped upwards, as can still be seen by its lie both to the right and left of the Bema. The support-wall of the amphitheatre was partly natural, partly artificial; it can be seen best from below, on the carriage-road leading round the west of the Areopagus to the Acropolis. The masonry, though polygonal, is not Cyclopean, but of good Hellenic period; it must be conceived of as extending to a much greater height than it does at present. Great quantities of the stones of this wall were rolled down by the Turks and used as building material. To the people in the agora below, the assembly would indeed seem to be seated upon the rocks (ἐπὶ ταῖς πέτραις).

The Pnyx, then, was like a theatre, but like one of the old simple fashion. Pollux[207] distinctly says "the Pnyx was a place near the Acropolis, arranged according to antique simplicity, not with the complexity of a theatre," by which he doubtless means, not

that it was not like a theatre, but that it was like the old form, the altar and the space for spectators, not like the new theatres, with stage and stone seats and porticoes. It was used as a place of assembly from the time of Cleisthenes to the time of Lycurgus; occasionally even in the days of Thucydides[208] the assembly met in the Dionysiac theatre and felt no incongruity. After the year 332-331 B.C. the Dionysiac theatre was in regular use. No doubt the stone seats and other forms of "complexity" were found convenient for an assembly grown luxurious; also by this time a great portion of the population had shifted to the better-watered neighbourhood of the Ilissus.

"A little farther" Pausanias comes to the temple of Eukleia, a votive offering in honour of Marathon. Those who place the temple, with the whole "Enneakrounos episode," on the banks of the Ilissus deny the identification of the Athenian Eukleia with Artemis; Artemis is especially an agora goddess; and as they have taken the temple out of the agora and planted it on the outskirts of the city, the identification is awkward. A passage from Plutarch[209] leaves little doubt. Euchides the Plataean, who had run with all possible speed to fetch the pine fire from Delphi to light the altar of Zeus Eleutherios, when he had greeted the citizens of Plataea and delivered the fire fell down dead on the spot; and they carried him to the temple of Artemis called Eukleia, and buried him there. Plutarch goes on to say—"As for Eukleia, most believe her to be Artemis and call her by that name, but some say she was the daughter of Herakles and Myrto, daughter of Menaikeus and sister of Patroklos, and that as she died a maiden she had divine honours paid to her both by the Boeotians and Locrians. For in all their cities, in the market-place, she has a statue and an altar, where both young men and maidens offer sacrifice before marriage." At Thebes Pausanias[210] saw a temple of Artemis Eukleia, and a statue of the goddess by Scopas. Near to the temple were the statues of Apollo Boedromios and Hermes Agoraios, so it seems likely that this was the site of the old agora, which was deserted in the time of Pausanias. The chorus of Thebans in the *Œdipus Rex*[211] pray to Artemis Eukleia, who sits on her circled throne in the agora, to heal them from the plague. In the altis at Olympia were the altars of Zeus Agoraios and Artemis Agoraia. There can be no doubt that Eukleia's fair fame was at first an attribute of Artemis, and that subsequently, as so often happened, the attribute got

separated off into an individuality, and Eukleia was worshipped with a cult of her own. Inscriptions show this. Several exist commemorating a priest "of Eukleia and Eunomia,"[212] and Xenophon[213] speaks of a feast called the Eukleia kept by the Argives, the Athenians, Boeotians, and Corinthians. At this festival, he says, there was wont to be an unusual concourse in the agora.

Dr. Dörpfeld identifies this temple of Artemis Eukleia with the sanctuary of Artemis Aristoboule (good counsel) dedicated by Themistocles. Plutarch[214] says in his *Life*—"He gave further offence to the people by setting up a sanctuary of Artemis, to whom he gave the title of Aristoboule, on the grounds that he had given the best counsel to the city and to the Greeks in general, and he built the sanctuary in Melite near to his own house, where the public executioners now cast out the bodies of those who have been put to death, and where they throw the clothes and the halters of those who have been condemned to death and strangled. Even in our own days there remains a statue of Themistocles in the temple of Aristoboule, and he seems to have been a hero, not only in temper, but in outward appearance." It certainly seems unlikely that two temples to Artemis should have been separately dedicated in memory of the Persian war. It must have been the title, not the foundation, that offended the people, hence it is very likely they changed the name from Aristoboule to Eukleia. The temple of Aristoboule would be well in place near the Pnyx, and the site usually identified with the Barathron is not far away. The Barathron would of course be outside the walls, the temple probably within. Themistocles would not be likely to build either his own house or a temple to Artemis quite near a spot with such revolting associations.

I cannot refrain from the conjecture that Artemis Eukleia is the goddess addressed as Kalligeneia (goddess of fair birth) in the prayer with which the Thesmophoria[215] was opened—"Invoke the Thesmophorae (*i.e.*, Demeter, Kore), and Plouton, and Kalligeneia, and Kourotrophos (*i.e.*, Ge, the Great Mother), and Hermes, and the Charites." Her temple, if it stood anywhere near the Pnyx, would be well in sight.

SECTION VI

TEMPLE OF HEPHAISTOS—SANCTUARY OF APHRODITE

TEXT, i. 14, §§ 6, 7.

i. 14, 6. BEYOND the Kerameikos and the Stoa called Basileios is a temple of Hephaistos. That an image of Athena stands beside the god himself was no matter of surprise to me, since I knew the legend about Erichthonios; but when I saw that the image of Athena had gray eyes, I recognised the Libyan version of the myth. For the Libyans say that the goddess is the daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis, and therefore her eyes are gray for the same reason that Poseidon's eyes are gray.

i. 14, 7. Close by is a sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania. The first men to worship Aphrodite Ourania were the Assyrians, and next after them the people of Paphos in Cyprus, and the Phoenicians who dwell at Askalon in Palestine. The people of Cythera learnt the ritual from the Phoenicians. Ægeus introduced the worship into Athens, because he thought that his own childlessness—for at that period he had no children—and the misfortune of his sisters were due to the wrath of Aphrodite Ourania. The image still existing in my time is of Parian marble, and the work of Pheidias. In the Athenian deme called Athmoneus the story is current that it was Porphyrion, who reigned before Actaeus, who founded the sanctuary of Aphrodite Ourania in the deme Athmoneus. This is one of several instances where legends in the demes are quite different from the versions current at Athens.

COMMENTARY ON i. 14, §§ 6, 7.

Pausanias, having finished his account of the temple of Eukleia, goes no farther south. He intends to take the south side of the

Acropolis in a later walk (p. 239). The monuments on the east side of the Areopagus he also reserves—for the time when he comes down from the Acropolis. He now turns directly back, and gives us a clue to his movements by distinctly stating that the two monuments he next visits are beyond (ὑπέρ) the Kerameikos and the Stoa Basileios. Beyond the Kerameikos generally, and more specifically beyond the Stoa Basileios—*i.e.*, from the point where he stands—the whole complex of monuments he has just described stand between him and the coming temple.

FIG. 25.—THESEION, FROM THE NORTH-EAST.

He turns then straight back, and we may suppose him walking with his back to the Pnyx along the modern road between the Pnyx and Areopagus. We expect to find the next monuments facing him. Here, just where it is wanted to make sure our conjecture is right, comes a fixed point. The temple of Hephaistos is the Doric temple usually known as the Theseion (fig. 25).

It is fortunate that a certain name can at last be given to the best-preserved temple of the ancient world. No temple has been the subject of more controversy. Up to the year 1838

it went usually among travellers by the name of the Theseion, a title so time-honoured that it will be necessary to set forth in some detail the reasons for its rejection. One traveller only up to that date—Cyriac of Ancona—called it the temple of Ares. This name was revived in 1838 by Ross. Curtius inclined to the view that it was the temple of Herakles in Melite. Dyer calls it the Amazonium; Lange, the temple of Aphrodite. To Pervanoglu is due the credit of first giving the temple its right name, the temple of Hephaistos; and Dr. Dörpfeld supports this view by arguments which can scarcely be contravened.[216]

The data for forming an opinion are these:—

1. Considerations of topography, combined with the narrative of Pausanias under two heads—(*a*) his description of the Theseion, (*b*) his present account of the temples standing on the site of the so-called Theseion.

2. Considerations as to the architectural character of the temple itself, and the subject of its decorative sculptures.

It is necessary to observe first that though the earliest name given to the temple—*i.e.*, by the Paris Anonymous at the end of the fifteenth century—is the Theseion, this is no evidence whatever of ancient tradition, it is only a chance identification by an almost wholly incompetent traveller. Topography is all against the popular attribution. When Pausanias describes the Theseion, as has already been seen, he has completely left the west side of the market-place and is "near the gymnasium." The next temple he mentions after the Theseion is the temple of the Dioscuri, about the site of which within very narrow limits there is no doubt. Then, turning to the second topographical point—*i.e.*, the description of the actual site of the so-called Theseion—it has been shown that in all probability it was towards this hill that Pausanias was looking when he describes the region "beyond the Kerameikos and the Stoa called Basileios." On this hill he mentions only two temples, those of Hephaistos and Aphrodite. Had the present temple been a third, it could scarcely have escaped notice. Topography, therefore, and the narrative of Pausanias distinctly go against the Theseion attribution.

Arguments based on the second set of data will be better appreciated after an examination of the temple itself[217] and the sculptures remaining.

The temple is a Doric peripteral hexastyle with thirteen side columns (counting the angle columns twice); its length is 104

feet, breadth 44. It is built on a basis of Peiraeus limestone, the temple itself being of Pentelic marble. At a little distance it still looks almost intact, but on a closer examination it may be seen that much damage has been done both by earthquakes and spoliation. In 1660 the Turks began to pull the building down in order to build a mosque; they were stopped, but not before they had hacked away part of the south-west corner both of the peristyle and cella. The whole of the east end of the cella was pulled down to make way for an apse when the temple was turned into a Christian church. At the same time a large door was made in the west end, but was walled in, as the Turks had the habit of riding in on horseback when the door was left open. When the large door was walled up, two small doors were opened through the south and north walls. The Christians also covered in the cella with a semicircular vault. Though the wall of the pronaos was removed to make the church more roomy, the marks on the side walls show clearly where it stood. On the inside walls of the temple may also clearly be seen the marks of *preparation* for plastering. Those who hold the "Theseion" theory attach much importance to these marks, as being signs of the former existence of mural painting, such as Pausanias describes in his account of the actual Theseion. As a matter of fact, even had the paintings existed—of which there is no evidence—this proves nothing, for mural decoration was quite a usual thing.

Another point in the existing temple has been turned to false account. It is stated by Stuart, and frequently repeated (*e.g.*, by *Murray's Guide*, p. 259), that the foundation of the temple has only two steps. Stuart goes on to explain that this was the custom with a temple that was only a heröon, not a temple of the gods. As a matter of fact, the temple in question is built on three steps, though the lowest one is of poros stone, the two upper of Pentelic marble. Probably the lowest one, the foundation of some older structure, has been utilised.

Fortunately to such negative arguments one that is positive can be added, which, by fixing the date of the temple, puts an end for ever to the name "Theseion." The date and name of the temple have been discussed far too much on æsthetic grounds connected with the style and attribution of the decorative sculptures. How precarious these grounds are will be shown later. Dr. Dörpfeld dates the temple mainly by a consideration of more tangible evidence—*i.e.*, the architectural character of the Ionic frieze of the cella, and a comparison of it with the similar friezes of the

Parthenon and Sunium temple. The order of date of the three he holds to be as follows :—

1. Parthenon,
2. Theseion,
3. Sunium,

for the following reasons. The Parthenon frieze is Ionic, but with reminiscences of Doric. The guttae, senseless except in connection with the Doric triglyphs, are still placed below the simple continuous Ionic frieze. The architect of the "Theseion" has gone a step further ; he feels the superfluity of the guttae and he omits them, but he is still so far haunted by a reminiscence of Doric feeling that, in Doric fashion, he places the corner columns nearer together than those intervening, a course necessary in order to get the columns square under the triglyphs. In the Sunium temple this last remnant of Doric influence has died out ; triglyph conditions are of no account. Not only are the guttae absent, but the columns are all equally spaced. This architectural detail is all-important, because it fixes the "Theseion" as later than the Parthenon—not much, but a little later ; and this date is mythologically important, because, as it is known that the real Theseion was built in Cimon's time, the present temple can be no Theseion at all. Before passing to the sculptures — the main source of error — it is necessary to lay one more architectural ghost. It is often urged that on some of the calymnae (cassettes) of the roof, masons' marks have been found consisting of archaic letters—*e.g.*,∨—and that therefore the temple must be of pre-Periclean date. This would be cogent enough but that there are other masons' marks on the same cassettes, and these are of post-Eukleidic form—*e.g.*, in the case of lambda, Λ. The true explanation is probably that, as in the case of the foundation, older material, possibly of a temple never finished, was used up and the stones remained. A further argument for the existence of an older temple is the difference of style and material between the metopes and the frieze. The metopes are of Parian marble ; the frieze is of the material which came later into fashion, and of which most of the temple is built, Pentelic marble.

It is time to turn to the question of the sculptural decorations.

Mr. Penrose has shown that not only the east but the west pediment was filled with sculptured groups ; not a fragment of these remains. They would probably have furnished the keynote to the intention. What remains of the sculptures is as follows :—

1. Eighteen metopes.
2. Two friezes, each 38 ft. long.

The metopes are arranged as follows :—Ten along the east front, four on the north and south sides respectively, at the ends nearest the east front.

The two friezes are disposed at either end of the cella.

The subjects of the metopes of the east front are—

1. Herakles and the Nemean lion.
2. ,, ,, Hydra.
3. ,, ,, stag of Cerynea.
4. ,, ,, Erymanthian boar.
5. ,, ,, mare of Diomede.
6. ,, ,, Cerberus.
7. ,, ,, (probably) the Amazon Hippolyte.
8. } ,, ,, Geryon.
9. }
10. ,, ,, Hesperides.

The metopes of the north side are—

1. Theseus contending with Periphetes.
2. ,, ,, Kerkyon.
3. ,, ,, Skiron.
4. ,, ,, sow of Krommyon.

The metopes of the south side are—

1. Theseus contending with Minotaur.
2. ,, ,, bull of Marathon.
3. ,, ,, Sinis.
4. ,, ,, Prokrustes.

The remaining fifty metopes have no sculptures, but it is quite possible they were painted. For a temple to have all its metopes sculptured, like the Parthenon, was quite exceptional.

Because these metopes relate to the heroes Herakles and Theseus it has been supposed that the temple was dedicated to these heroes, one or both. Suppose the pediment sculptures of the Parthenon had been lost, we might—had we argued from the best preserved of the metopes—have concluded that the temple was a Theseion, as the subject of these metopes is the Thesean contest between Lapiths and Centaurs; or, arguing from the east end metopes, we should have with difficulty selected a principal god

from the Gigantomachia. On turning to the Zeus temple at Olympia we find the twelve front and back metopes decorated with the twelve labours of Herakles, but we do not conclude that the temple is a Herakleion.

Equally precarious is it, to my mind, to argue from the subject-matter of the friezes.

Of these the subject of the western frieze is certain. It represents a fight between Lapiths and Centaurs, and contains several typical motives repeated on other works of art—*e.g.*, the frieze of Phigaleia and the Gjölbaschi Heröon. Of the eastern frieze all that can be certainly said is that it represents a battle in the presence of six seated gods. These seated groups remind the most casual observer of the seated gods in the Parthenon frieze. To my mind, no argument based on the subject-matter of the sculptures is of the smallest value. There is scarcely any god or goddess on whose temple in Athens sculptures representing Centaurs, Lapiths, or labours of Herakles would come amiss, and doubtless at the time the labours of Theseus and those of his prototype, Herakles, were exceedingly fashionable.

The Theseion theory has been discussed in detail, because the theory had a time-honoured claim to respect. It will not be necessary to examine in detail the other theories which attribute the temple to Ares, Apollo, Herakles, Aphrodite, the Amazons. It will be sufficient to show the grounds on which the Hephaistos attribution is based.

Of the situation of the temple of Hephaistos we know, in addition to what Pausanias says, two things—(1) that it stood on high ground; (2) that it, together with another sanctuary, the Eurysakeion, which Pausanias does not here mention, stood on the hill Kolonos Agoraios. Andokides,[218] in his speech on the mysteries, says that Diokleides, "seeing Euphemus sitting in the Chalkeion, led him up (ἀναγάγων) to the Hephaisteion" before he began to tell him his story. Harpocration,[219] explaining the term "Kolonetas," says—"They call them Kolonetai because they stand near the hill Kolonos, which is near the agora, where are the Hephaisteion and Eurysakeion, and this Kolonos goes by the name of Kolonos Agoraios" (*i.e.*, of the market-place). The lexicographer, anxious to avoid the confusion of this Kolonos with the more famous Kolonos of Œdipus, gives incidentally a very valuable bit of topographical information. What other hill can the Kolonos Agoraios be but the one on which the so-called Theseion stands? Curtius has indeed tried to place it on the east of the agora; there

is only one difficulty, and that is, that on this east side there is no hill.

The Hephaisteion, then, stood on the hill Kolonos Agoraios. On it also stands the so-called Theseion. To the Hephaisteion Pausanias has now come. On or near the hill in question he describes only one other monument, the Aphroditeion, and describes it as a sanctuary (ἱερόν), not as a temple (ναός). Could he have missed out a temple of the proportions of the temple still standing? We can scarcely avoid the conclusion that the temple he saw and described as the temple of Hephaistos is the so-called Theseion.

This view is confirmed by some subordinate evidence :—

1. The site is eminently fitted for a temple of Hephaistos; it overlooks the Kerameikos, the potters' quarter.

2. An inscription dating 440-416 B.C. records the revival or institution of the worship of Athene and Hephaistos and the setting up of an altar and an image to Hephaistos. This would agree with the date of the so-called Theseion, and it seems probable that the image mentioned is the very image that is known from other sources to have been the work of Alcamenes.

All that Pausanias notices about the *temple of Hephaistos* is that beside the god stood a statue of the goddess Athene. This he explains to himself by reference to the story of the birth of Erichthonios, already discussed. The relations between Hephaistos and Athene are very diverse and shifting; he is sometimes the god who cleaves the head of Zeus at the birth of Athene, sometimes the father of her son Erichthonios, sometimes her brother, sometimes her fellow-craftsman at the birth of Pandora. Plato, who, when he can, rejects the grosser forms of mythological tradition, speaks in the *Kritias*[220] of them as brother and sister, joint guardians of the earliest settlers in the Acropolis —"Hephaistos and Athene, who were brother and sister, and sprang from the same father, having a common nature and being united also in the love of philosophy and art, both obtained as their allotted region this land, which was naturally adapted for wisdom and virtue, and there they implanted brave children of the soil and put into their minds the order of government." Plato is, of course, here only rationalising in a noble and philosophic manner the myth of Hephaistos and Athene current in his days, but in the expression "having a common nature" he strikes the true note of the explanation for many a mythological relationship. Athene and Hephaistos were both craftsmen, patrons of potters

and all artists. Hephaistos forged weapons, Athene wore them. Both were patrons of the plough, both excelled in all manner of skill and cunning, so from remote days legend linked them by marriage or kinship. Plato says of their early worship—"Outside the Acropolis and on the sides of the hills there dwelt artisans and such of the husbandmen as were tilling the ground near; at the summit the warrior class dwelt by themselves round the temples of Athene and Hephaistos, in one enclosure, which was like the garden of a single house." No doubt this is a reminiscence of ancient fact, that before the joint temple to Hephaistos and Athene was built overlooking the agora, the two had a common shrine in the Acropolis. But by and by Athene, in the splendour of her moral strength and the glory of her aspect as Nike, eclipsed her fellow-craftsman, and his memory faded more or less from the cults of the Acropolis; but a temple was built for him in the potters' quarter, among his own people, where, though the goddess was his paredros, he himself was supreme. There they had a common festival, the Chalkeia,[221] a festival of craftsmen. During its solemnisation the weaving of the peplos of Athene was begun, the peplos afterwards to be offered to the goddess in her ancient Acropolis temple. Had we only not lost the *Chalkeia* of Menander we should no doubt have possessed many a curious and valuable detail of the ceremonies.

The statue of Athene which stood within the temple would naturally be subordinate to the temple statue of the god himself. A famous statue of Hephaistos by Alcamenes[222] is known which was noted for the ingenuity with which the artist expressed the lameness of the god, rather as an attribute than a deformity. Of course this is mere conjecture, but it seems highly probable that the statue, as it is known to have been made for the Athenians, stood in the Hephaisteion. Hephaistos appears on vase-paintings sometimes as the ordinary Athenian citizen, or, again, as the workman with the conical cap and tongs or mallet; as such, he often wears the short tunic of the slave. On coins also his head appears with the conical cap.[223] The legend of his connection with the return of Dionysos to Olympus, one of the most popular tales about him, will be told later. At Athens, where volcanic irruptions are unknown, his cult was in the main distinctly subservient to Athene.

The Hephaisteion seems to have served as a place for the examination and even torture of suspected persons—possibly the implements of the fire-god were ready to hand.

On looking at the statue of Athene, Pausanias was chiefly struck by her gray eyes, a proof, if one were needed, that the statues of the ancients were painted. It scarcely seems necessary to apologise for the gray eyes of Athene Glaukopis; but Pausanias, after the explanatory fashion of his times, accounts for the colour by the association of the goddess with the lake Tritonis. The epithet "Tritogeneia" (Triton-born) is as old as the *Iliad*.[224] The Achæans are urged on to the battle before Troy by "Zeus' daughter, the Triton-born"; and again, in the *Odyssey*, Nestor says to Telemachus, "Truly there is none other of those who keep the mansions of Olympus save only the daughter of Zeus, the driver of spoil, the maiden Trito-born." What "Tritogeneia" originally meant is probably now past finding out. Ancient commentators suggested that "Trito" was Cretan for "head," and that "Tritogeneia"[225] meant "head-born." Certainly in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* passages the fact that she is *par excellence* daughter of Zeus is emphasised. Another explanation, however, found more general favour, probably because it allowed the association of the birth of the great goddess Athene with many local streams, lakes, and fountains. This explanation was that "Tritogeneia" meant "born of the Trito-water"—the same root that appears in Triton the water-god. On the strength of this etymology it was easy to localise the birth of the goddess near the lake Tritonis in Libya, or the marsh Tritonis in Boeotia, and so on *ad infinitum*. The fashion of attributing an Egyptian origin to deities and their names made the Libyan legend on the whole obtain. Herodotus[226] says, in speaking of the lake Tritonis—"The Auseans declare that Athene is the daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis. They say that she quarrelled with her father and applied to Zeus, who consented to let her be his child, and so she became his adopted daughter." The Ausean maidens, he further tells us, celebrated curious ceremonies in honour of their native goddess, who Herodotus in his way says was identical with Athene. They fought in two bodies with stones and clubs; no true maiden could die of the wounds received in this combat. Before the fight, the loveliest of all the maidens was clothed in a complete suit of Greek armour and a Corinthian helmet, and led in procession round the lake. The whole account is interesting as showing the Greek tendency, whenever they found a deity with attributes similar to one of their own, to identify their origin and worship. At Alalcomenae, in Boeotia, Pausanias[227] found a local Athene Tritogeneia. "The river that runs here is a small stream; they call it Triton because

they say Athene was brought up near the river Triton, as if it were this Triton and not the Libyan Triton, which runs out from the lake Tritonis into the Libyan Sea." Alalcomenae, with its river Triton, has as good a right to its local Tritogeneia as Libya, but Pausanias prefers the more widespread and fashionable tradition. Again at Alipheria, in Arcadia, a similar process had been gone through. Pausanias says—"The latter (*i.e.*, Athene) they worship most, and say that she was born and reared among them. They have also erected an altar here to Zeus Lecheates, so called because here he gave birth to Athene. And they give the name of Tritonis to their spring, for they adopt as their own the legend about the river Triton." The title "Tritogeneia" was not at all confined to obscure priestly or local tradition. Athene was, as has been seen, Tritogeneia in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; she is saluted as such by the writer of the Homeric hymn,[228] by Hesiod, by Aristophanes and Euripides—in fact, it was an early hieratic epithet whose original meaning is now probably lost, but whose subsequent etymology was turned to account, both for local purposes and also to fit Athene with a sort of cosmic parentage, to make her the child of the water element, the origin of all things. It is one thing to explain the actual *rise* of an epithet; it is quite another to state how even the Greeks themselves subsequently accounted for it.

Near to the temple of Hephaistos was a sanctuary of the heavenly Aphrodite. Nothing is known of it but that it contained a statue by Pheidias. Later, when he comes to the district of the Ilissus, Pausanias describes another sanctuary of Aphrodite with an old four-square image. It may safely be inferred that this Aphrodite "of the Gardens" represents the more ancient cult. I cannot refrain from the conjecture that the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the Kolonos hill may simply have been a late foundation, out of compliment to Hephaistos, and instituted by the Athenians when they learnt the tradition, not indigenous to Athens, that Aphrodite was wife to Hephaistos. Be that as it may, it is, I think, clear that, as Wachsmuth has pointed out, Pausanias transplanted the Ægeus traditions from "the Gardens" to the Kolonos hill. He here exhausts the learning that would have been more in place when discussing the original cult. The source of his information about the Oriental origin of Aphrodite is, of course, Herodotus,[229] on whom, however, he is proud to improve somewhat by setting the Assyrians before the Phoenicians; he might, while he was about it, have gone further, and set the Babylonians before the Assyrians.

Herodotus tells how, when the Scythians were returning from Egypt, some of them lagged behind to pillage the temple of celestial Aphrodite in the ancient city of Ascalon, and adds—"I have inquired, and find that the temple at Ascalon is the most ancient of all the temples to this goddess; for the one in Cyprus, as the Cyprians themselves admit, was built in imitation of it, and that in Cythera was erected by the Phoenicians, who belonged to this part of Syria." And as regards Cythera, Pausanias[230] says, when he is visiting Laconia—"The temple of the heavenly Aphrodite is the most sacred and most ancient of all the shrines of Aphrodite among the Greeks, and the statue is an ancient one of wood, and the goddess is a xoanon with arms."

SECTION VII

STOA POIKILE—VARIOUS ALTARS

TEXT, i. 15, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4; 16, §§ 1, 3; 17, § 1.

i. 15, 1. ON the way to the Stoa Poikile or Painted Colonnade, so called from the pictures it contains, there is a bronze Hermes called Agoraios, and near it a gate. On this gate is a trophy in honour of the victory of the Athenian cavalry over Pleistarchus, who was in command of the horse and mercenary troops of his brother Cassander. The first picture in the Colonnade shows the Athenians drawn up against the Lacedaemonians at Œnoe in Argolis. The scene represents neither the battle at its hottest, nor even such a stage of the engagement as would afford opportunities for portraying particular deeds of valour, but the moment at which the action begins before the

i. 15, 2. combatants have actually met. On the middle wall is the fight between the Athenians under Theseus and the Amazons. It would seem that women are peculiar, in that disasters do not check their recklessness in enterprise, if it is true that after the capture of Themiskyra by Herakles, and the subsequent destruction of the army sent against Athens, they yet came to Troy, where they fought, not only with the Athenians, but also with the rest of the Greeks. Next after the picture of the battle with the Amazons is a representation of the Greeks after the capture of Troy, when the kings have gathered together on account of the outrage on Cassandra by Ajax. Ajax himself is shown in the picture, and Cassandra among

i. 15, 3. other captive women. The last subject is the combatants at Marathon, the Boeotians of Plataea and the whole Athenian force contending with the barbarians. In this part of the picture neither side has the advantage; but in the centre the barbarians are in flight, and pushing one another into the marsh. At the end of the picture are the Phoenician ships, and the barbarians slain by the Athenians as they try to

embark. In the painting are also represented the hero Marathon, from whom the plain derives its name; Theseus, seeming to rise from out of the earth; Athena, and Herakles —the people of Marathon having been, according to their own story, the first to hold Herakles for a god. The most conspicuous among the warriors are Kallimachos, who had been chosen polemarch of the Athenian army; Miltiades, one of the generals; and also a hero called Echetlos, whom I shall have occasion to mention again.

i. 15, 4. In the Colonnade are some bronze shields. Some of these are inscribed as having been taken from the inhabitants of Skione and their auxiliaries; but those smeared with resin, to escape injury from rust in the course of time, are said to be the shields of the Lacedaemonians taken in the island of Sphakteria.

i. 16, 1. There are some bronze statues before the Colonnade, among them being one of Solon, the Athenian lawgiver, and another, a little farther on, of Seleucus.

. . . . . .

Digression about Seleucus—ending as follows:—

i. 16, 3. And Seleucus, I feel sure, was, as compared to other kings, a just man in general and pious in religious matters. An instance of this is that he sent back the bronze Apollo to the Milesians at Branchidae, the one which had been taken away by Xerxes to the Median city Ecbatana. And then again, when he founded Seleukeia on the river Tigris, and brought colonists from Babylon to live there, he left the fortifications of Babylon, and left the sanctuary of Bel, and allowed the Chaldæans to live round about it.

i. 17, 1. And in the Athenian market-place, besides various objects of no general interest, is an altar of Eleos. This god, although his functions are of special interest to human beings amid the vicissitudes of fortune, receives honour from none of the Greek States but Athens. Not only is kindliness to men a national characteristic of the Athenians, but they have more religion than other States. They have altars indeed to Aidos, Pheme, and Horme. This is palpable proof that those who have more religion than their neighbours have a proportionally greater share of prosperity.

COMMENTARY ON i. 15, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4; 16, §§ 1, 3; 17, § 1.

From the temple of Aphrodite Pausanias comes straight back to the agora, and describes the monuments bounding it on the north. He mentions first:—

1. The Stoa Poikile, with its paintings; and in front of the stoa, bronze statues of Solon and Seleucus.

2. Bronze statue of Hermes Agoraios.

3. A gate with a trophy commemorating the victory of the Athenians over Pleistarchus.

It will be best to take the three monuments together at first, as their position depends a good deal on certain statements as to their mutual relation. Next the worship of Hermes will be taken, in connection with the bronze statue and the street of the Hermae, omitted by Pausanias; and last, the paintings inside the Poikile will be discussed.

That the Poikile or painted stoa stood actually in the agora there is no doubt. "Come in spirit," says Æschines,[231] "to the Stoa Poikile, for the memorials of all your most glorious deeds are set up in the agora." The statue of Hermes close by was called Agoraios, the scholiast[232] says, because it was set up in the agora. Further, we must fix it near the hill of Kolonos Agoraios. The house of the astronomer Meton, Ælian[233] tells us, was close upon (ἐγειτνία) the Poikile. It was he who feigned madness, and set fire to his house to avoid going on the Sicilian expedition, the disasters of which he foresaw. Add to this that we know that Meton was of Kolonos. When Meton comes, as in the *Birds*,[233] to measure out the atmosphere, he is asked who he is and where he comes from, and makes answer—

"Meton I,
To Hellas and Kolonos known!"

So, putting the two together, we may conclude the Poikile was not far from the hill Kolonos; and this accords with the fact that Pausanias mentions it next. Further, it will be shown, in speaking of the street of the Hermae, that there is a high degree of probability for the supposition that the Poikile bordered the agora somewhere to the north.

The Poikile, from its size and beauty, and no doubt from the fact that Zeno chose it for the meeting-place of his disciples, was called the stoa *par excellence*. Plutarch,[234] in his discourse on *Exile*, bids his wanderer count up in spirit the hours of learned leisure he has spent "in the Lykeion, in the Academy, in the Stoa, the Palladion, the Odeion." The word "stoa" came to stand for the school of philosophy itself. Athenaeus[235] speaks of Zeno as "the founder of the porch." The Poikile is the *sapiens*

porticus of Persius.[236] In Lucian's *Zeus the Tragedian*,[237] Zeus is walking about in the Kerameikos when he sees a vast crowd assembled about the Poikile, some within the stoa and some in the open air; and finding all the commotion was about a dispute between two philosophers, the god disguises himself with a long beard, "so as to pass for a philosopher, and elbows his way in. He finds an Epicurean and a Stoic in high dispute. Poseidon proposes to slay the profane Epicurean by lightning, but Herakles, in his rough-and-ready Boeotian way, to put an end to the blasphemy of the philosophers by pulling down the whole stoa on their heads. To this suggestion Momus makes answer, 'By Herakles, this is rough measures! to put an end to so many at once, and to destroy the whole portico, with Marathon, Miltiades, Kynaigeiros, and the whole lot.'" The pictures on the wall seem to have afforded the stock commonplaces for the hack rhetorician, for he goes on—"However will future orators be able to deck out their speeches when these essential decorations are taken away from them?" On one occasion the Poikile seems to have been the scene of horrid slaughter; Diogenes Laertius[238] says that under the Thirty 1500 citizens were massacred there without a trial.

Hermes of the Market-place (Hermes Agoraios) is a conception not so familiar in modern times as that of Hermes the herald and messenger. To most people the word "Hermes" calls up a picture of the god "of the golden wand, like unto a young man with the first down on his lip, when youth is most gracious—a youth, too, with a winged cap upon his head and wings to his swift feet; or perhaps the figure of a young man, fair and dreamy, carrying a child upon his arm."[239] But these, even the Homeric description, are but the graceful fancies of poet and artist. Hermes of the Market-place takes us back to cruder and more practical conceptions. Herodotus,[240] who will have it that most of the Greek form of worship came from the Egyptian, owns that the worship of the square term or Herm came, not from the Egyptians, but the Pelasgians, which may generally be taken to mean that he regards the origin as obscure and remote, belonging rather to primitive tradition than advanced civilisation. In the remote village of Cyllene Pausanias[241] found a rude statue of the god, to which the inhabitants paid extravagant honours. At Pherae, in Achaia, he saw a statue of Hermes of the Market, and his account gives us some clue as to the way in which the god was there regarded—"The statue stood on the actual ground, was bearded, of no great size, and square-shaped; near

it was an oracle; in front of the statue was a hearth, itself made of stone, and brazen lamps were fastened with lead to the hearth. And whoever wanted to consult the god burned some incense on the hearth, and having filled the lamps with oil and set them alight, he lays on the altar, to the right hand of the god, a piece of the coin current in the country, a "bronze," and asks in the ear of the god whatever question he wants answered. Then he goes away out of the agora with his ears stopped up; and when he has got outside, he takes his hands from his ears, and the next sound he chances to overhear he takes it as an oracle." A god whose prophetic utterances were conducted after this fashion was surely, if any, the presiding divinity of *chance*—good luck. If worshipped by a shepherd people, good luck to herds and flocks; if worshipped by town folk, the luck of buying and selling, the luck of the orator, the luck of the gymnast, the luck of heaven above, luck of the weather, luck in the lower world, luck to the traveller, luck to the foundling: his kerykeion, the staff with the golden serpents, "the fair wand of wealth and riches, three-leaved and golden, which wardeth off all evil," [242] is but the divining-rod of the magician god. The kindliest, most human figure in all Olympus; a little lax in morals, perhaps; apt to steal a lyre and fool an elder god; a little over-versatile and tricksy (δόλιος), with a general tendency to toss for everything; but kindly always, bringing to mortals over-driven just that bit of timely luck which makes life seem less laboured, fate less inexorable; the god, too, who makes man kindly to his fellow-men, ready to cry "Hermes for both of us," "Shares in the luck," [243] when unexpected fortune warms his heart. The shifting aspects, the various faces of this conception of luck in the several stages of civilisation are well shown in the various art-forms of the god Hermes. To the savage herdsman the best luck is the fertility of his herds, and he will worship the symbol adored at Cyllene; the successful merchant, solid and respected, uprears in the market-place the god he knows and trusts, the bearded, reverent Hermes, with ordered hair and seemly mien, though he will still pay his conservative homage to the rude four-square image of his forefathers' cult. And the youth of Hellas know of another Hermes, who is neither savage luck nor commercial prosperity, neither the god of the fool and the sluggard, nor yet the god of diligence and application, but something nobler and fairer than either, yet with a touch of each. At the entrance to the racecourse of Olympia was an altar to Hermes the athlete, and though Pausanias [244] does not mention it,

there was close at hand a statue of the god standing on an astragalos, and close to him was a god near akin, Kairos (Opportunity). Hermes of the Wrestling-ground could indeed be scarcely other than Kairos [245]—not mere chance or luck, but time possessed by action, seized and utilised by human energy; time the inert transformed into Attic activity. It was this Hermes who, like Kairos, seized the lucky moment in the wrestling bout, who grazed the goal so close with his skilful chariot wheels; a young man, fresh and "fit," alert, with winged feet, poised in delicate balance, yet at rest; the god of the man with mind eager to think, and body trained to act. Such a thought is very far removed from any conception of mere chance, mere good luck; [246] it is the man and the time come together—man's ability, time's opportunity.

The Hermes Agoraios was one of the most popular statues in the agora, and deserves more than the scant notice that Pausanias gives it. The Aristophanic sausage-seller [247] swears by Hermes of the Market-place. In Lucian's amusing dialogue, *Zeus the Tragedian*,[247] when the gods are discussing the impiety of man and their own consequent reduced circumstances, they are interrupted by Hermes Agoraios, who runs up in haste from the agora to tell of the impious discussions going on close by where he stood in the Stoa Poikile. Zeus sees him coming, and says, "Who is this brazen figure coming up to us in such hot haste, with his hair tied back in the old way? Why, Hermes, it's your brother from the agora who stands near the Poikile, and he's all over pitch from the statue-makers taking casts of him. Well, my son, what's it all about; have you any news from down below?"

"*Hermes Agoraios.* Most important news; must be attended to at once.

"*Zeus.* Well, what's the new disturbance?

"*Hermes Agoraios* (in antique blank verse)—

> "With back and breast besmeared with pitch, I stood."

Zeus begs Hermes Agoraios to stop talking in iambics and tell him plainly what was the matter.

The passage is interesting from the point of view of art, because it gives us some notion of the style of the statue. It was evidently no rude four-square Hermes bust, but a statue of the finest archaic style, and of such perfect execution that artists constantly desired to model from it. It was specially noted as of beautiful outline (εὔγραμμος καὶ εὐπερίγραπτος), and the hair was bound in the archaic formal manner. As to the date of the statue,

we can scarcely suppose that the one Pausanias saw was set up before the Persian war, as such a monument would scarcely be likely to escape destruction; as it was archaic in manner, it was probably erected soon after. Plutarch [248] mentions an altar set up to Hermes Agoraios during the archonship of Kallistratos, but it has been proposed to amend the passage and read for Kallistratos Akertorides; this would give a date for the altar, 474-473 B.C. About this time extensive improvements and adornments were begun for the city. From this notice of the altar it is evident that the statue was an agalma, a sacred dedication, and the object of a cult. The Hermes of the agora must not be confused—a mistake that has frequently been made—with the "Hermes near the gate" mentioned by Demosthenes, and set up before the Persian war. For the Hermes Agoraios, Philochoros gives the date of the archonship of Kebris; [249] but the archon Kebris is otherwise unknown.[250]

As to the square Hermae, Pausanias [251] says they were specially popular in Arcadia, from which we may gather that they were a very early form of representation. Thucydides,[252] in speaking of the mutilation of the Hermae, says they were "square figures of carved stone, which, *after the ancient Athenian fashion*, usually stand at the doorways." From Athens the custom spread to other States. Pausanias [253] at Megalopolis saw a Hermes "of Athenian pattern," and he goes on to say —"The busts of Hermes among the Athenians are square-shaped, and others have borrowed the pattern from them." On a curious vase-painting [254] (fig. 26) we have a good representation of the ordinary square Hermes. The type is thoroughly archaic, though the style of the drawing is much later; the god has no regular arms, but protrusions on which garlands were hung; near him are two little votive tablets with similar design, and behind the bust is a bath, used for gymnastic or for ritual observance. The square Hermes form was common

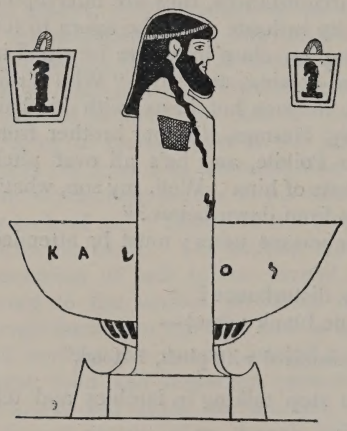


FIG. 26.—HERMES TERM.

to other gods, and especially popular for Dionysos, who in his aspect of nature-god is near akin to Hermes; it also became very usual for portrait busts.

In connection with the Hermes Agoraios it is impossible to pass over the famous street of the Hermae, which Pausanias leaves unnoted. Its position has been much disputed. Beyond a general knowledge that the Hermae stood in the agora, we have one passage which, if taken in the simple literal sense, should leave, it would seem, little doubt. Harpocration,[255] in explanation of the term "Hermae," says—"Either Menekles or Kallikrates, in the description of Athenian matters, says: 'From (ἀπό) the Poikile and the Stoa Basileios extend the figures called Hermae.'" Some commentators take this to mean from the Poikile *to the* Basileios, and hence they place the Poikile opposite the Basileios—*i.e.*, on the east side of the agora, with the street of the Hermae stretching between; but surely, if this had been the meaning, its expression would have been otherwise. The plain interpretation of the passage seems to be that the Hermae as marked on the map start *from* the Stoa Basileios and *from* the Poikile, and meet, as on the map, at some point where the spectator supposes himself to be.

It was near the Hermae that riding lessons were given by the Phylarchi[256] to the young men of Athens; they do not seem to have been far advanced, as it is expressly mentioned that they were taught mounting and dismounting. The knights,[257] on the occasion of State processions, appear to have started at one end of the Hermae, made the tour of the political agora, saluting the gods as they went, and came back in a semicircle to the other end—*i.e.*, the west end. We hear from Athenaeus[258] of a certain Demetrius who commanded the knights in the Panathenaea, and who erected a sort of grand stand over the heads of the Hermae so that his mistress might have a good view of the procession. The neighbourhood of the Hermae was much frequented, Lysias[259] tells us, by the Deceleians, and it was a charge against Socrates that he idled about near the money-changers' tables[260] and the Hermae. Harpocration[261] says that on one of the Hermae there was an archaic inscription which told of the treatment Agamemnon had received from the Achaeans, so that some of the busts must have been very ancient. A private person as well as a magistrate was allowed, it appears, to set up a Hermes if he were of sufficient distinction. Æschines[262] tells of certain persons who had endured great perils on the river Strymon fighting against the Medes, and they asked a reward of the people, and the people accorded what

was accounted a great honour, that they might set up three stone Hermae *in the Stoa of the Hermae*, which presumably was near the Stoa Poikile; they were not to inscribe their own names or that of the strategi, but the inscription was to be in the name of the people. The Hermae in the Stoa of the Hermae were no doubt distinct from those which formed the street.

The gate which Pausanias saw must also, if the Poikile has been rightly fixed, have stood well to the east of the hill Kolonos. Upon it, in the days of Pausanias, was a trophy in memory of the victory over Pleistarchus. Of this Pleistarchus, Diodorus Siculus [263] several times makes mention; we hear of him as left in command by Cassander at Chalcis, and again of his death in Asia Minor, but of the particular engagement commemorated by the trophy above the gate we know nothing; presumably it was set up about the time when Cassander was at war with Athens (*circ.* 317 B.C.).

Much of the fame of the Poikile was due to the paintings with which Mikon, Polygnotus, Panainos, and some other artist unknown had decorated its walls; in fact, it owed its second name to these decorations. Before they were executed, we know on the authority of several writers [264] that it was called Peisianakteios, a name it had probably from the brother-in-law of Cimon, Peisianax.

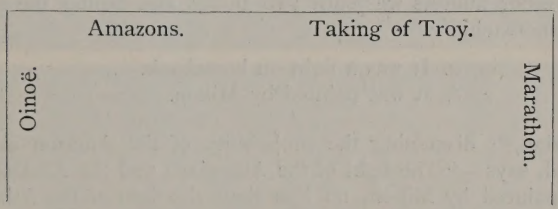
The paintings seen by Pausanias were as follows:—

1. The battle of Oinoë.
2. Battle of Theseus with Amazons (by Mikon).
3. Taking of Troy (by Polygnotus).
4. Battle of Marathon.

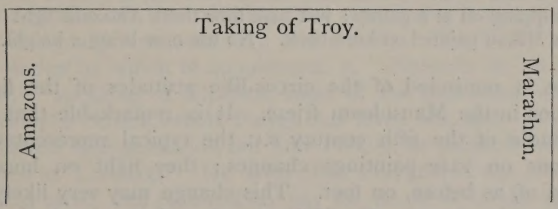
It is clear that we have here two mythological subjects and two historical. One of these historical subjects—the battle of Marathon — was of so memorable a kind and so distinguished by the intervention of gods and heroes that it stands on the borderland of mythology; the other, the battle of Oinoë, was, so far as we know, a comparatively unimportant skirmish. Before proceeding to discuss the others, it would be best to clear off the Oinoë picture. Pausanias,[265] in his book on Phocis, mentions the battle. He saw at Delphi certain votive offerings which were made, "so the inhabitants of Argos themselves said, of the spoils of the victory they, with the Athenians their allies, gained at Oinoë in Argolis." The village of Oinoë lies on the road from Argos to Mantinaea. The battle was fought about 388 B.C. But for the fact that it was commemorated at Delphi by the statues of the Epigoni, at Athens by the Poikile paintings, we should know

nothing of its importance. The sole notice of the painting is by Pausanias; of the other paintings, which doubtless were of much wider fame, we have frequent scattered mention. The artist of the Oinoë painting is unknown. As the battle only took place in 388 B.C., it follows that the painting must have been added later, as the artists of the three others—Panainos, Mikon, and Polygnotus—are known to have lived about the middle of the preceding century.

As to the disposition of the paintings, all that Pausanias says is that *first* came the Oinoë battle, then *on the middle wall* the Amazons, and in addition to or after them the taking of Troy, and last the battle of Marathon. As a stoa had usually three closed-in sides, the natural disposition seems to be thus—



At the same time this difficulty suggests itself. When the three earlier painters set to work to decorate the stoa, would they not naturally decorate the whole, disposing the pictures as follows?—



Why should they leave a blank space for Oinoë or any other battle which they could not foresee? I think, therefore, the precise disposition of the paintings must be left unsettled, the more so as it is almost certain that there were other paintings in the Poikile which Pausanias did not mention. In an anonymous *Life of Sophocles* it is mentioned that the poet was represented in the Poikile playing on the lyre, and a scholiast [266] on Aristophanes

mentions a picture by either Pamphilus or Apollodorus as painted "in the portico of the Athenians," which probably means in the Poikile.

To turn from the disposition to the subject-matter. Pausanias merely says that the Amazonomachia selected was the fight between Theseus and the Amazons. The Amazons, as he notes, were famous in other legends. In fact, there were three noted fights, which, taken in chronological or rather mythological order, are as follows :—

1. Fight of Herakles with the Amazons (in their own country).
2. Fight of Theseus (at Athens).
3. Fight of Achilles (before Troy).

From other authors we learn two things concerning the Poikile Amazonomachia—

a. It was a fight on horseback.
b. It was painted by Mikon.

Arrian,[267] discussing the probability of the Amazon myth in general, says—"The fight of the Athenians and the Amazons has been painted by Mikon, no less than the fight of the Athenians and Persians." The mounted Amazons of Mikon seem to point a moral for the chorus of conservative old gentlemen in the *Lysistrata*.[268] The women are coming to a pretty pass :—

"They'll take to their horses next, and be sure they'll stick to them tight.
No slipping off at a gallop ; just look how those Amazons fight
That Mikon painted on horseback. No use now being a knight."

One is reminded of the circus-like attitudes of the fighting Amazons in the Mausoleum frieze. It is remarkable that about the middle of the fifth century B.C. the typical representation of Amazons on vase-paintings changes ; they fight on horseback instead of, as before, on foot. This change may very likely have been brought about, as Dr. Klügmann has shown, by the influence of Mikon's great work. It would be out of place here to attempt a discussion of the long series of vase-paintings, friezes, and sarcophagi that depict the Amazonomachia,[269] but one fine instance, a composition not unworthy of a large mural fresco, is given in fig. 27. It is thoroughly Attic in character, witness the figures of Theseus, Peirithöos, and Phorbas. It gives on the one side somewhat detached scenes, groups of men and women fighting on foot, and

on the other a fine group of cavalry Amazons advancing against Greeks on foot, a group more sculptural, perhaps, than pictorial. The fact that only a detachment is mounted may point to its being an innovation. The figure of Hippolyte, the mounted Amazon with the helmet, is inscribed. Andromache, not Hippolyte, is engaged in actual combat with Theseus. It is highly probable that some frequently recurrent motives of such compositions as this were originated by Mikon, but there is no distinct evidence.

FIG. 27.—BATTLE OF GREEKS AND AMAZONS.

The notice of the painting that represented the taking of Troy is equally unsatisfactory and scanty. We have only one other notice by which to supplement it. Plutarch in his *Life of Cimon*,[270] speaking of Elpinice, sister of the statesman, says that according to current report Polygnotus loved her, and "in the stoa then called Peisianakteios, but now Poikile, he painted the face of Elpinice as Laodike." He adds that Polygnotus was not a professional artist, and received no pay for his work in the stoa, but did it without reward, to commend himself to his fellow-citizens. So the writers of history say, and also the poet Melanthus in these verses—

> "The temple of the gods,
> The heroes' shrines, and halls of Cecrops he
> In liberal wise made fair."

We can scarcely conclude from the words of Pausanias that

the scene he mentions, the council held after the outrage of Ajax, was the only episode depicted. Probably the whole Ilionpersis was painted somewhat after the fashion of the great fresco at Delphi by Polygnotus, which Pausanias describes in detail; but some special point arrested the attention of Pausanias in the Ajax scene, and he mentions nothing else. It is noticeable that vase-paintings frequently depict the actual scene of the outrage of Ajax, as shown on the chest of Cypselus, but never the consequent council of the chiefs.

As regards the figure of Laodike, daughter of Priam, she was naturally prominent in the Athenian picture as well as in that at Delphi, from her connection with the Athenian hero Akamas. Akamas forms, as previously noted, the link that connects Theseus with the Trojan cycle. The story of Laodike and Akamas is given by the scholiast[271] on Lycophron's *Alexandra*. He says—"Diomedes and Akamas, the son of Theseus, went on an embassy to the Trojans, and it fell out that Laodike, daughter of Priam, loved Akamas, and became his wife and bore him a son called Mounitos; but being in fear, she gave the babe to Aithra, mother of Theseus, to bring up; but she recognised the child of her grandson, and took care of it and reared it; and when Troy was taken, she was recognised by Akamas and went away with him, taking Mounitos; but when they came to Thrace and went out hunting, a snake bit Mounitos and he died."

The battle of Marathon was—if we may judge from the number of allusions to it—by far the most famous of the paintings. Pausanias elsewhere,[272] in his account of the painting of the balustrades of the throne of Zeus, says they were painted by Panainos, and "this Panainos was brother to Pheidias, and he painted the battle of Marathon in the Stoa Poikile at Athens."

Against this we have to set the testimony of Ælian,[273] who says that a portion of the picture was done by either Mikon or Polygnotus; as he seems uncertain which, we need not attach much weight to his opinion. The passage quoted above from Arrian certainly implies that he thought the battle of Marathon, as well as the Amazonomachia, was painted by Mikon. It is very probable that the whole decoration of the stoa was undertaken by the three great painters in common, and that they helped each other all round.

As to the figures represented, we have a good deal of information. From the account of Pausanias the action seems to have fallen into three scenes—(1) an equal fight; (2) the Persians

taking to flight, and pushing each other into the marsh; (3) their attempted escape in their ships.

Pausanias names seven figures—two gods, three heroes, two mortals—

Athene.
Herakles.
Theseus.
Marathon.
Echetlos.
Kallimachos.
Miltiades.

The two mortals were Athenian commanders. To them, from Pliny's account, we are able to add another Athenian and two Persians—

Kynaigeiros.
Dates.
Artaphernes.

The five mortals, Pliny says, were portraits, probably a novelty in fresco painting.

It seems probable that a portrait of Æschylus must be added. When he comes to the Dionysiac theatre, Pausanias notices a portrait statue of Æschylus, and remarks that it was executed long after the painting which represented the affair at Marathon; this would have no point unless the portrait of Æschylus were included in the painting.

There was also somewhere in the picture, and no doubt in the background, a head of Butes, brother of Erechtheus, but he was painted only as far as the eyes, the rest of his body being concealed behind a hill. This, according to Hesychius, gave rise to the proverb "more quickly than Butes" (*θᾶττον ἢ Βούτης*)—*i.e.*, more quickly painted. This account recalls the figures of Pan, Satyrs, and the like which appear breast-high above mountains in vase-paintings of the fourth century, which no doubt were much influenced by monumental wall painting. Butes would of course take a keen interest in the battle of Marathon, where he would watch the prowess of his descendants, the Eteobutadae.

To return to the list of figures already given. Athene and Herakles no doubt appeared in conjunction, as they so frequently do on vase-paintings. It is remarkable that Herakles on Athenian vase-painting—*e.g.*, at the birth of Athene—appears among the Olympian gods; elsewhere he is a mere hero. The

camp of the Athenians was pitched in the precinct of the god at Marathon.[274] The figure of Marathon may have been one of those half-figures rising from the ground to indicate the place itself, but this is mere conjecture. Theseus and Marathon were closely linked together by the legend of the Marathonian bull. Theseus, according to one traditional myth, ended his days chained to the rock in Hades; he is therefore naturally represented as appearing from Hades, after the manner, no doubt, of Gaia on vase-paintings. Of Echetlos, Pausanias tells the story when he comes to Marathon—"It happened, they narrate, during the battle that a countrified-looking man, both in dress and appearance, came and slew a number of the Persians with a ploughshare, and, when the fight was over, he vanished. When the Athenians consulted the oracle, the god gave this answer only, that they were to honour the hero Echetlos; and they erected a monument of white stone."

One figure, Miltiades, is the subject of frequent allusion; no doubt it was a fertile occasion for rhetorical commonplace. In the passage from the oration against Ctesiphon, already cited, Æschines[275] says—"There in the Poikile is the battle of Marathon. Who, then, is the general represented? If you were asked the question, you would all make answer, 'Miltiades.' But there is no inscription. How is that? Did he not ask this honour? He did ask, but the people gave it not. But in place of allowing his name they let him be represented in the forefront, urging on the soldiers." Cornelius Nepos[276] notes the same honour, that among the ten strategi, who apparently all appeared, his figure stood first. The scholiast on Aristides[277] adds that Miltiades stood "with hand extended, pointing to the barbarians and urging the Greeks to the attack."

Kallimachos the polemarch, and Kynaigeiros, brother of Æschylus, are both mentioned together by Herodotus[278] as having specially distinguished themselves at the close of the fight, near the ships:—"The Athenians hung upon the runaways and cut them down, chasing them all the way to the shore, on reaching which they laid hold of the ships and called aloud for fire. It was in the struggle here that Kallimachos the polemarch, after greatly distinguishing himself, lost his life. Stesilaos too, the son of Thrasilaos, one of the generals, was slain; and Kynaigeiros, the son of Euphorion, having seized a vessel of the enemy's by the ornament at the stern, had his hand cut off by the blow of an axe, and so perished." We hear of a funeral oration on Kallimachos

composed (in the time of the Antonines) by the sophist Polemon, in which he says that "the body of Kallimachos could not fall to the ground, so pierced was it by weapons." The bravery of Kynaigeiros also became matter of apocryphal legend.[279] Later writers recorded that when his right hand was cut off, he seized the ship with his left, and when that went he clung on with his teeth —not a very useful proceeding. His conduct was no doubt modelled on that of Hector at Troy.

One honourable combatant Pausanias passes by, but we are glad to know his valour was not uncommemorated. One of the Athenians, who must have been a thoroughly nice-minded man, took with him as his "fellow-soldier" at the battle of Marathon a dog; and both of them are painted in the picture, the dog not being left unhonoured, for he obtained this meed for the danger he faced, that he is to be seen together with Kynaigeiros, and Epizelos, and Kallimachos. Ælian [280] goes on to say that the heroes and the dog were done by Mikon, but others say by Polygnotus; one would like to think they all had a hand in painting the dog-hero. No author makes any mention of the figure of Pan, and yet it is difficult to believe that a god so prominently concerned in the battle was altogether absent; if he appeared, it is probable that he was represented, like Butes, looking out from behind a mountain in the background.

It has been hotly discussed whether the paintings of the Poikile were executed on the wall in fresco, or as separate paintings on wood, hung up or affixed to the walls. The whole controversy has been occasioned by two passages in the letters of Synesius,[281] which run as follows:—"The Stoa Poikile, in which Zeno used to hold his school of philosophy, which is now no longer Poikile, for the proconsul took away the boards (τὰς σανίδας), inasmuch as he forbade the philosophers to be excessively proud of their philosophy." And in another passage—"The proconsul took away the boards on which Polygnotus, the Thasian, had expended his art." This certainly seems a circumstantial statement that the pictures were on movable boards. We have to remember, however, on the other hand, that this was contrary to the usual custom of the time of Polygnotus. The painting of studio pictures as opposed to wall frescoes came in in the fourth century B.C. Further, Synesius is speaking from hearsay. The pictures did not exist in his time; in all probability they were destroyed at the time of the edict of Theodosius (291 A.D.), and Synesius did not come to Athens till eleven years later. The point of the

remarks of Synesius is simply this: Honorius, the proconsul, was annoyed that the Poikile, a stronghold of Pagan philosophy, should be held in such honour—more so, indeed, than the temples themselves; he therefore set to work to deface and dishonour it by the destruction of the pictures. "Boards" (σανίδας) is not a natural expression for pictures, though it may be paralleled by the Latin "tabula," and again it is quite possible that it was merely a contemptuous expression. Pictures were usually painted on wood in the time of Synesius, so he would not stop to consider whether his expression was archæologically correct; in fact, he may only have meant, "so the proconsul took away or made an end of the rubbishing things."

As to the style of the works of Mikon, Polygnotus, and Panainos, it is perhaps possible to recover something of their manner from the best early red-figured vase-paintings, but to argue from decorative to monumental art is precarious. Of this we may be sure, that the work of these contemporaries of Pheidias was simple and austere, was rather of the nature of polychrome drawing than of painting proper, and, however grand in outline and impressive in conception, showed little knowledge of aerial perspective.

Within the portico Pausanias mentions two sets of shields—those of the Skionaioi and their allies, and those taken from the Lacedaemonians at Sphakteria. Skione[282] revolted in 423 B.C., and was finally taken and handed over to the Plataeans in 421 B.C.; Sphakteria, after a blockade of ten weeks and two days, surrendered (425 B.C.). Thucydides recounts in full the disasters of both.

There seem to have been statues inside the Poikile, though Pausanias mentions none. In one of Lucian's dialogues, Demonax,[283] "seeing a statue in the portico with one hand," says—"At last Kynaigeiros is honoured by the Athenians with a bronze statue." In front of the Poikile, Pausanias noted two statues of Solon and Seleucus. Demosthenes,[284] in his second speech against Aristogeiton, and Ælian[285] both mention that Solon had a bronze statue in the agora.

The mention of Seleucus gives Pausanias occasion for a digression which occupies the sixteenth chapter, the only point of special interest in which is that as an instance of the piety of this king he notes that Seleucus restored to the Milesians at Branchidae the bronze Apollo that had been carried away by Xerxes to Ecbatana.

After this digression about Seleucus, Pausanias mentions that the Athenians, among other notable things, had an altar of Mercy in the agora, but he does not speak of it as if he saw it at the

moment. The train of thought is obviously this: Seleucus was a pious king; he restored the statue of Branchidae and left the sanctuary of Bel; but don't let me, now I'm writing a book about Athens, forget that the Athenians are pious too. They have in this very agora I am just leaving an altar to Mercy, which shows their concern for man, and various other altars which show their pious tendency to acknowledge divine manifestation disregarded by religions less delicate; such are Aidos, Pheme, and Horme (Reverence, Rumour, and Impulse).

From the fact that Pausanias mentions the altar of Mercy at this point, and also for the first time speaks of the Kerameikos by its other name, Agora, Dyer would conclude that he passes at this point into the new Roman Agora. As a matter of fact it seems clear to me that he sees none of the altars at all; they are only a reminiscence recalled by the piety of Seleucus. A like remembrance of the distinctive piety of the Athenians overtakes him, as will be seen, on the Acropolis.

Where this altar of Mercy actually was, is another question. Statius [286] has a long rhetorical passage on the altar, and he states that it stood in the middle of the city, "urbe fuit media," but the whole is too obviously poetical to be taken as evidence. It is noticeable that in the passages cited from the tragedians and comedians to prove the existence of this altar, it is always the scholiast,[287] not the writer, who gives the altar the actual name of Mercy. The conjecture of Wilamowitz,[288] that the altar to which the name of Mercy was attached was the same as the altar of the Twelve Gods, though it is only a conjecture, is one that has much to commend it. This altar of the Twelve Gods, Thucydides [289] distinctly states, was dedicated by Peisistratos during his term of office, and it was in the agora. "The Athenian people," he says, "afterwards added to one side of the altar in the agora and so concealed the inscription upon it." This altar, like the gilt pillar in the Forum at Rome, was used as a milestone. Herodotus [290] says that the length of the road from the sea up to Heliopolis is almost exactly the same as that of the road which runs from the altar of the Twelve Gods at Athens to the temple of Olympian Zeus at Pisa, and this is confirmed by inscriptions [291] relating to the distance of the Peiraeus. The natural place for the altar on which the stranger suppliant would sit was, not the middle of the market, but before the city gate. There we have to picture the Herakleidae; there the Laconian herald, Perikleidas. The suppliant must cling to the altar till the people within the citadel gate

decide if he shall be received as guest or slain as foe. Once within, he has no need to cling to any altar. Such an altar there was, at first some rude stone in front of the old Pelasgian gate, sacred whether to the gods in general, or to the god of the stranger or the guardian of the gates, we cannot decide; then in the more organised days of Peisistratos formally consecrated to the Twelve Gods. When the boundaries of the city were extended, and the Dipylon took the place of the old Enneapylai, still the spot would remain sacred, and later days would know it as the altar of Mercy. Not less natural is this position before the gates, for the altar that was used as a milestone, the altar to Pheme (Rumour), is mentioned by Æschines in his oration against Timarchus,[292] and in the *De Falsa Legatione* he says that the Athenians sacrifice there as to a god.

SECTION VIII

GYMNASIUM—THESEION

TEXT, i. 17, §§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

i. 17, 2. IN the gymnasium, at no great distance from the market-place, called from its founder the gymnasium of Ptolemy, there are some marble Hermae worth seeing, and a bronze statue of Ptolemy. There are also statues there of the Libyan Juba and Chrysippus of Soli.

Beside the gymnasium is the sanctuary of Theseus, with pictures of the war of the Athenians with the Amazons. This war is also represented on the shield of the Athena, as well as on the base of the Olympian Zeus. In the sanctuary of Theseus there is also a painting of the battle between the Centaurs and Lapiths. Theseus has already slain his Centaur, but among the other combatants the issue is still un-

i. 17, 3. decided. The subject of the painting on the third wall is not obvious without asking for the legend, partly owing to the age of the picture, and partly to the fact that Mikon has not represented the whole story. At the time when Theseus, with the other youths and maidens, was sent to Crete, Minos, who was in love with Periboia and found that Theseus was his chief opponent, among other taunts which he flung at him, said that he was no son of Poseidon; for, said Minos, "You could not bring back to me the seal ring which I am wearing, if I drop it into the sea." Here, they say, Minos dropped his ring into the sea, out of which Theseus returned with the ring and a golden crown, the gift of Amphitrite.

i. 17, 4. Of the end of Theseus many inconsistent stories are told, . . . and that he was imprisoned [in Hades] until released by Herakles. The following version is the most probable of those I have heard. Theseus invaded the Thesprotian land to carry off the wife of the king, lost the greater part of his army, and was himself taken prisoner, together with Peirithöos, for Peirithöos had joined the expedition with a view to marrying

the queen. They were both kept in bondage by the Thes-
i. 17, 5. protian king in Kichyros. Now in the Thesprotian land there are several objects worthy of a visit, among others the temple of Zeus at Dodona and his sacred oak. Close to Kichyros is a marsh called the Acherusian Marsh, and a river Acheron, and also a most unattractive stream called Kokytos. I believe that Homer saw these, and besides drawing upon them for his general imagination of Hades, actually took the names of his rivers in Hades from those in Thesprotia. While Theseus was thus detained, the sons of Tyndareus made an expedition to Aphidna, captured it, and restored Menestheus as king
i. 17, 6. at Athens. Menestheus took no account of the sons of Theseus who escaped to Elephenor's house in Euboea; but thinking that Theseus, if he was ever suffered to return by the Thesprotians, would be a formidable adversary, by flattering the people induced them, when Theseus was eventually sent back to Attica, to refuse him admission to the country. He intended to go to Deucalion at Crete, but was driven by contrary winds to the island of Skyros. The inhabitants received him with honour on account of his illustrious descent and his personal reputation, and this caused Lykomedes to devise his death. The consecration of a plot to Theseus by the Athenians was subsequent to the landing of the Medes at Marathon. The bones of Theseus were then brought to Athens by Cimon, son of Miltiades, who devastated Skyros, in retaliation, as it was pleaded, for the murder of Theseus.

COMMENTARY ON i. 17, §§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

Pausanias now fairly leaves the agora and passes to the description of two buildings close to each other:—

1. The gymnasium of Ptolemy, or Ptolemaion, in which were—
   - *a.* Stone Hermae.
   - *b.* Bronze statue of Ptolemy.
   - *c.* Statue of Juba.
   - *d.* Statue of Chrysippus.
2. The temple of Theseus, with wall paintings representing—
   - *a.* Fight of the Athenians and Amazons.
   - *b.* Fight of Centaurs and Lapiths.
   - *c.* The story of Theseus and Amphitrite.

From the direct statement of Pausanias we learn only that the two buildings were near together, and "not far from the agora." But from the fact that he passes straight on to the temple of the Dioscuri from the Theseion, and that he distinctly states that

above the temple of the Dioscuri is the precinct of Agraulos, a precinct we know to have been on the slope of the Acropolis, it seems safe to conclude that Pausanias has now turned to the description of buildings on the east side of the agora. This is the more probable, as it has already been shown that he has described a series of buildings on the west side—*e.g.*, temples of Aphrodite, Hephaistos. The only other literary clue to the position of the two buildings is the vague statement by Plutarch [293] that the Theseion lay "in the middle of the city near the gymnasium." A building that stood on the east side of the agora could fairly be so described; but if the Theseion has to be transplanted to the outlying hill of Kolonos on the west side, where the building now called the Theseion stands, Plutarch's statement is quite meaningless.

The Ptolemy who founded the gymnasium was undoubtedly Ptolemy Philadelphos (287-247 B.C.); he was the constant patron of learning abroad as well as in his own city of Alexandria. It is almost certain that the library in the Ptolemaion was his work; its existence is proved by many inscriptions relating to the Ephebi of Athens,[294] which have been found near the Stoa of Attalos. In these inscriptions a regularly recurring formula is: "And they also presented books to the library in the Ptolemaion." These Ephebic inscriptions, which occur in very large numbers,[295] must have been set up in the Ptolemaion, which they frequently mention, and this seems conclusive as to the situation of the Ptolemaion on the east side of the agora, not far from the Stoa of Attalos.

Pausanias does not say which of the Jubas was here represented. Considering that his statue stood in the learned company of Ptolemy Philadelphos and the philosopher Chrysippus, it seems more likely to have been the second Juba, who was patronised by Augustus, and made considerable mark by writing historical treatises. We have the portrait of the father, the warlike Juba,[296] on Numidian coins, a rough, almost savage-looking man, with a long elaborate beard; of the son there is no extant portrait.

Of Chrysippus Cicero [297] mentions a statue which stood in the Kerameikos; the philosopher was represented seated with outstretched hand. This statue was also mentioned by Diogenes Laertius,[298] who says, speaking of Chrysippus—"He was of inferior stature, as is clear from the portrait-statue of him in the Kerameikos, which is almost hidden by the horseman standing near. From this Carneades called him Krypsippos (horse-hider)." Whether this statue is the same as that near or in the gym-

nasium, is not clear; probably there were two. It would be quite natural for there to be another statue of Chrysippus near the Poikile, where he taught; and the statue of a horseman would, as has been seen, be quite in place there. Chrysippus seems to have been one of the most popular of all the Stoic philosophers; he lived from 280 to 207 B.C. Juvenal[299] notes how everywhere was to be found the bust of Chrysippus; and it will not be forgotten that in Lucian's *Auction of the Philosophers*[300] he went, with the single exception of Socrates, for a higher price than any of the others (12 minae). He is described as "with a bald head and a sorrowful countenance, and a great crowd of people had got together about the Poikile to hear this most perfect of all men." Centuries after his death his native city of Soli stamped his portrait on its coinage; he is represented with the philosopher's mantle folded about him, and raising one hand to touch his beard —a meditative pose. This coin was not struck till about 162 A.D., but the features of Chrysippus may have been taken from some earlier portrait.

The Theseion was especially sacred as the resting-place of the bones of Theseus,[301] brought by Cimon from the island of Skyros. Pausanias calls the Theseion, not a temple, but only a sanctuary (ἱερόν) and a mortuary hero chapel (σηκός). It was surrounded by an ample precinct (τέμενος), and this precinct was a place of refuge "for servants and all persons of mean condition, who fly from those more powerful than themselves; for Theseus, while he lived, was humane and benevolent, and accepted graciously the petition of the poor." Divine honours were paid to Theseus; his priest had a reserved seat to the right of the priest of Dionysos; in the theatre sacrifices were offered to the hero on the 8th day of each month, and on the 8th of Pyanepsion a special festival was held in his honour. Registers of the treasures in the Theseion have survived in inscriptions.[302] Plutarch, in his discourse on *Exile*,[303] mentions the Theseion with the Parthenon and the Eleusinion as the three places of special sanctity at Athens. As a refuge, it is spoken of with the sacred precinct of the Eumenides; the scandalised upper-class trireme in the *Equites*[304] of Aristophanes says that rather than let the low tyrant Hyperbolos come aboard her, she will sail away and sit down as a suppliant either in the Theseion or near the Eumenides. That the *temenos* was of considerable extent may be gathered from the statement of Thucydides,[305] that when the Athenian people feared a secret attack by the Lacedaemonians they lay under arms for the whole

night in the Theseion—the Theseion "within the walls," Thucydides expressly states.

Near to the Theseion appears to have been a heröon of a divinity known as the Hero Physician (Ἥρως Ἰατρος). Apollonios, in his *Life of Æschines*, says that his father Tromes was a slave from the beginning, and wore chains and taught letters near the Theseion and the Heröon of the Physician. Two large inscribed slabs relating to votive offerings made to the Hero Physician (*C. I. A.*, ii. 403, 404) have been found a little to the north of the Megalo Monasterio; it seems unlikely, from their size, they should have been dragged far, so that the Theseion must have been distinctly to the north-east of the agora.

It seems quite possible that the pictures Pausanias saw were painted round the peribolos walls. The subject of the Amazons and the Lapiths and Centaurs has been briefly discussed before; we have no means of knowing how they were represented by Mikon. The third subject—that of Theseus, Amphitrite, and the ring—is much rarer; but for Pausanias, we should only know the story from Hyginus.[306] With the version of Pausanias at hand, we are able to interpret certain vase-paintings the meaning of which would otherwise be hopelessly obscure. The finest of these is the well-known cylix in the Louvre (fig. 28), signed by the vase-painter Euphronios.[307] The scene is represented on the interior of the cylix; on the exterior are some of the other exploits of Theseus, which have been noted in dealing with his mythology. The interior design is simple and very beautiful. Theseus, a slender boy, has gone down into the depths of the sea to prove the fatherhood of Poseidon; a Triton supports him with upturned hands, ready at a moment to carry him back to the upper air; about him are playing three dolphins. He stretches out his hand to grasp the hand of Amphitrite. This grasping of the hand is never on Greek vases the mere token of greeting, it is always a solemn pledge. Amphitrite, seated—for she is queen in her own kingdom—wears a close-fitting chiton, which clings to her wave-like, as befits a sea garment; and over her head the himation is gathered, forming a beautiful shell-shaped canopy. Between them stands Athene; to protect her hero, she carries her sacred owl, with his feathers unwet; she looks to Amphitrite as if to implore her guerdon for the boy; her left hand holds a long delicate spear, which pleasantly cuts the picture into two unequal halves, breaking its vertical lines; the slender foot is turned sideways, the other to the front. Behind the four lovely feet curls the Triton's tail.

The picture is, to my mind, almost the most beautiful thing that ancient vase-painters have left us; but for the present it is its possible connection with the picture of Mikon that is important. Pausanias gives no clue to the way in which the picture

FIG. 28.—VASE: THESEUS AND AMPHITRITE (LOUVRE).

was conceived: he simply says Mikon did not portray the whole story; the same might be said of the vase-painting of Euphronios. There is no trace of the giving of the ring. Unfortunately, the vase-painting has another point in common with the fresco of Mikon; it has "faded from age." It is not possible to say with

perfect certainty whether Amphitrite holds in her left hand a crown or not. Of course it is not to be supposed for a moment that the vase-painting is a copy, or even an adaptation, of the fresco; such a proceeding would be quite foreign to the genius of the Greek vase-painter. It is simply, on chronological grounds, very probable he may have seen the painting, and it may have suggested a vase composition to him. The point deserves notice. The figure of Athene—a very beautiful motive—occurs again, with slight modifications, on another vase, which, though unsigned, may very likely be by Euphronios—the Jason cylix in the Museo Gregoriano.[308] The resemblance is too close to be accidental. It seems very possible that this figure of Athene, occurring as it does, may have been suggested by some great work of art, and possibly by the painting of Mikon. Finally, it should be noted that the same subject—the meeting of Theseus and Amphitrite—occurs on two other vases, neither, however, of at all the same merit as the cup of Euphronios; these two are (1) a krater in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris,[309] and (2) a krater in the Museo Civico at Bologna. In this last a Triton holds Theseus actually in his arms, and presents him, not to Amphitrite, but, as seems more natural, to the father Poseidon himself.

It has been thought, from the long digression on the legends of the end of Theseus, that there was a fourth painting dealing with his death, but this is quite uncertain.

SECTION IX

ANAKEION—PRYTANEION

TEXT, i. 18, §§ 1, 2, 3.

i. 18, 1. THE sanctuary of the Dioscuri is ancient; the heroes themselves are represented standing, and upon their horses are seated their servants. The picture of the marriage of the daughters of Leukippos in which the Dioscuri were concerned is by Polygnotus, that of the expedition under Jason against the Colchians by Mikon. In this picture Mikon has bestowed particular care on Akastos and his horses.

i. 18, 2. Beyond the sanctuary of the Dioscuri is the precinct of Agraulos. Legend says that Athena laid Erichthonios in a chest and gave him into the charge of Agraulos and her sisters Herse and Pandrosos, with the injunction not to be inquisitive about what had been entrusted to them. Pandrosos is said to have obeyed, but her two sisters, having opened the chest, were smitten with madness when they beheld Erichthonios, and threw themselves down from the Acropolis where it was steepest. It was at this point that the Medes ascended and slew those Athenians who thought they understood the oracle better than Themistocles, and so had defended the Acropolis with a wooden palisade.

i. 18, 3. Near is the Prytaneion, in which are inscribed the laws of Solon. Two images of gods have been set up there, those of Eirene and Hestia, and several statues of men, among others that of Autolykos the pancratiast. The statues of Miltiades and Themistocles have been re-inscribed as those of a Roman and a Thracian respectively.

COMMENTARY ON i. 18, §§ 1, 2, 3.

From the Theseion Pausanias passes straight on, but without any connecting link, to three buildings—

1. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri (Anakeion).

Above it—

2. The precinct of Agraulos.

And near, as will be seen later—

3. The Prytaneion.

Near the Prytaneion were certain other buildings and enclosures not mentioned by Pausanias, to be noted later. The precinct of the Anakeion must have been actually on the slope

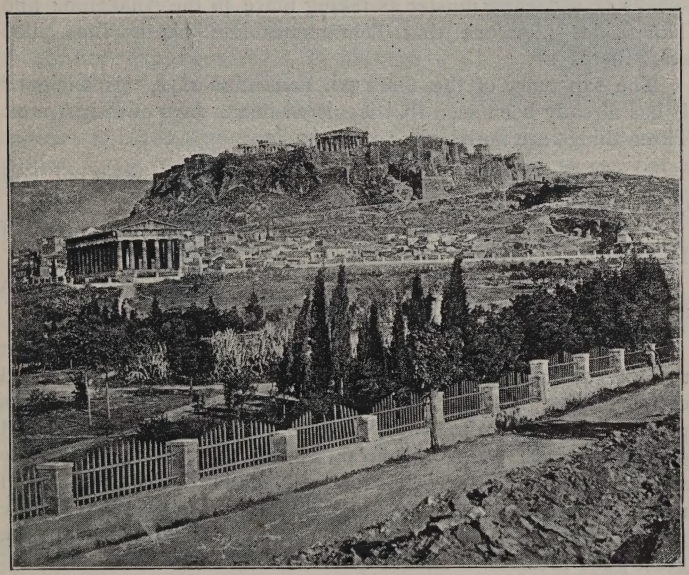


FIG. 29.—NORTH SIDE OF ACROPOLIS.

of the Acropolis, that northern slope which yet (1889) remains to be excavated. A view of it is given in fig. 29. Lucian,[310] in his amusing dialogue, the *Fisherman*, makes Parrhesiades summon all the philosophers to the Acropolis to receive a public donation. He describes how they all come swarming round:—"Look what a heap of them there are! Some of them are at the Pelasgikon; some at the temple of Asklepios; some at the Areopagus; some at the tomb of Talos; others are planting ladders against the Anakeion, and swarming up, my goodness,

they are just like a cluster of bees, if one may be allowed to be Homeric in one's similes." That it was high up is further shown by Demosthenes. He speaks of the slave Phormio [311] as "that good-for-nothing fellow from up there in the Anakeion." From the account Polyaenus [312] gives of the stratagem by which Peisistratos deprived the Athenians of their arms, it is evident, not only that the Anakeion existed in his days, but also that it was of large extent, as it was there he convoked and addressed the armed assembly. Further, Andokides,[313] in his speech on the mysteries, speaks of a cavalry muster as taking place in the Anakeion; and Thucydides mentions that Theramenes and his hoplites piled arms there.

The sanctuary of the Dioscuri, Pausanias says, "is ancient." It has already been seen that it existed in the days of Peisistratos. Three things are noted of it:—

1. Representations of the Dioscuri themselves standing, and of their servants seated on their horses.
2. A painting by Polygnotus relating to the daughters of Leukippos.
3. A painting by Mikon representing the expedition of Jason against the Colchians.

With respect to the first, Pausanias does not distinctly say that the representations were statues; but as a sanctuary would need cultus statues, it seems probable. The expression οἱ παῖδες is most naturally taken to mean "servants, grooms," but it is almost certain that the young men represented were the sons, not the servants, of the Dioscuri. It does not follow that Pausanias did not believe them to be, and describe them as, servants. Be the παῖδες servants or sons, it seems at first sight strange that the great gods themselves should be on foot and the παῖδες on horseback. The sons of the Dioscuri are, however, little other than the mythological doubles of their fathers. Pausanias [314] saw wooden images of them by Dipoenus and Scyllus in the temple of the Dioscuri at Coralli. He says—"And there are statues of the Dioscuri and their sons Anaxis and Mnasinous, and their mothers Hilaeira and Phoebe with them, by (τέχνῃ) Dipoenus and Scyllus, and made of ebony-wood." The greater part of the horses in these statues is also made of ebony-wood, but a few portions are of ivory. On the throne of Apollo at Amyclae Anaxis and Mnasinous were depicted, and Pausanias [315] distinctly says that they were on horseback.

As to the statues of the Dioscuri, it is known that Hegias, the Athenian, made a group of the two heroes, and it seems likely they may have been for the Anakeion. The only notice of these statues is by Pliny.[316] He says they were of renown in antiquity, and were carried to Rome, where they stood in front of the temple of Jupiter Tonans. On the bronze coins of Athens (fig. 30) the Dioscuri appear, and the type seems to be a copy of some archaic work; the "twins" embrace each other like Dermys and Kitylos on the Boeotian monument. If this type is a copy of the Anakeion statues, it is clear at once that there was no violence done to precedence in placing the sons on horseback; the fathers, as superior deities, keep the older type, the sons adopt the newer horse form. I am the more inclined to think this was the case from the fact that in an ancient festival calendar (fig. 31) the Dioscuri representing the festival Anakeia in the month Skirophorion are depicted just as on the coin. They are two naked youths, standing side by side with their arms about each other's necks. To their right hand stands a man wearing

FIG. 30.—COIN: DIOSCURI.

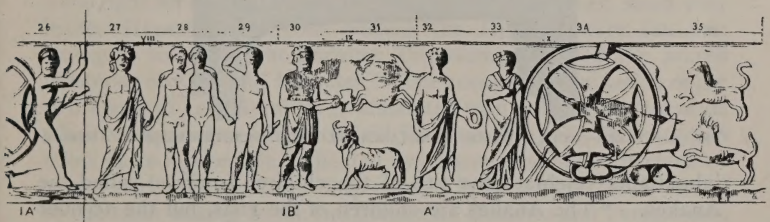


FIG. 31.—ATTIC CALENDAR: DIOSCURI (OLD METROPOLITAN CHURCH, ATHENS).

a crown, probably a magistrate; to their left, a youth with a strigil, denoting gymnastic competition. This festival calendar, to which reference will from time to time be made, once formed the frieze of some ancient building, and is now used again for a similar purpose on the west wall of the old Metropolitan Church of Athens. It is sanctified to Christian use by large crosses carved on it at intervals; these have destroyed a portion of the older sculpture.

The myth of the Tyndaridae belongs to Sparta. Castor, "tamer

of horses," and Polydeuces, "the skilful boxer," are own brothers to Helen, "whom the same mother bare."[317] The number two obtained at Sparta; and the myth of the twins, half-mortal, half-divine, developed there, and tended to absorb in itself other similar legends that grew up in places less favoured. But the story of the twins did not take its rise only in Sparta, though, when the Spartan legend got precedence, other local cults were eager to imagine they had borrowed it. At Brasiae, in Laconia,[318] Pausanias saw some brazen statues not more than a foot high with hats (piloi) on their heads, and he was puzzled to know whether they were the Dioscuri or not. Again, at Amphissa,[319] he says the

FIG. 32.—TERRA-COTTA: VOTIVE TWINS (ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY'S MUSEUM, ATHENS).

inhabitants celebrate the rite of the children (παίδων) called the Anakes. "The Anakes are children of the gods, but the account about them differs; some say they are the Dioscuri, others the Curetes, and those who think they know more than the others say they are the Kabeiroi." At Charadra,[320] again, he saw altars of those who were called heroes in the Agora; and some said they were the Dioscuri, others local heroes. Further, it cannot be forgotten that Thebes had its sacred pair, Amphion and Zethos, and Rome its Romulus and Remus. Enough attention has scarcely been paid to some terra-cottas[321] which bear upon this question, and which are specially interesting in connection with the diminutive statues seen by Pausanias. These statuettes—no doubt votive—have been found at Cyzicus, at Olympia, and in Boeotia. They represent two

little muffled figures (fig. 32) wearing the pointed cap or pilos, and either lying or seated on a bed. It seems likely enough that from very primitive days the birth of twins was looked upon as an event needing the special intervention of the gods. A woman safely delivered might offer such terra-cottas as a thank-offering, and it is likely enough that a cult of Dioscuri (διὸς κόροι) would arise. Why the divine twins bore the name of Anakes, or lords, is not clear; that they were worshipped specially with this title at Athens is certain. Plutarch [322] was much put to for an explanation, both for the name and for the fact that a cult he associated specially with Sparta should have found a home at Athens. The Dioscuri were the enemies of Theseus, and they had to be worked in by an intricate ætiological legend. Theseus began the quarrel by carrying off Helen to Aphidna, and Menestheus persuaded the people to admit the Tyndaridae as benefactors. Their behaviour, though they were conquerors, was most exemplary; they might have formed their style on the Roman emperors. Nothing they desired so much as to be initiated into the mysteries, and they claimed to have equal right with Herakles. This initiation of the Dioscuri and Herakles was used as a commonplace for rhetoricians on the peace side, who desired to emphasise the brotherhood of Greece. Callias,[323] in his oration to the Lacedaemonians, says— "In truth it were right for us not to bear arms against each other, since your leader Herakles and your citizens the Dioscuri were the first strangers to whom our ancestor Triptolemos showed the sacred mysteries of Kore and Demeter." The scene of the initiation of the two Dioscuri and Herakles is illustrated with striking exactness on a late red-figured vase in the British Museum (fig. 33). The initiation takes place in a temple, indicated by a succession of Doric columns at the top of the picture. Triptolemos, in his winged car, is seated to the right talking to the two goddesses Demeter and Persephone. To the right and left of the upper portion of the picture the two Dioscuri approach at a rapid pace, each carrying a mystic thyrsus and conducted by a woman with a torch. To the left, lower down, is Herakles, characterised by his club. Divine honours (Plutarch goes on) are paid to the Dioscuri under the title of Anakes, either on account of the truce (ἀνόχη), or because they took such care no one should be injured (ἀνακῶς ἔχειν), or because their stars shone upon high (ἀνεκάς). Plutarch is a fine instance of the perils of the *numina nomina* method.

All this ætiological myth-making is tolerably transparent. At Athens there was, as in many other places, from very early

times a cult of the Anakes, the lords or rulers, twin brethren, on the north side of the Acropolis; what precisely it meant they may themselves have forgotten. When later they came into contact with Sparta they found there a cult with some analogies to their own, possibly by this time half extinct. They borrowed much of its ritual and incorporated its legends, and then had to make up a local Theseus-Menestheus myth to make all this foreign borrowed material indigenous. It was convenient for them that the Dioscuri had sons; they dare not alter the archaic form of the ancient reverent Anakes themselves, but the sons

FIG. 33.—VASE: INITIATION OF DIOSCURI (BRITISH MUSEUM).

might be the vehicle for newer and gayer conceptions; they were the horsemen, the typical young brother-knights of Athens. The vague title of Anakes is like the "great gods" (*μεγάλοι θεοί*) of Cephalae, and "the god" and "the goddess" of the Eleusis reliefs.

As horsemen they appear in a relief (fig. 34) found in Rome, but evidently Attic work. The twins are seated each on a rock, which may possibly, though I do not think certainly, represent the Acropolis. Each brother holds his horse by a rein, and a family of worshippers approach.

It remains to single out from the diverse functions of the Tyndarid

Dioscuri of Sparta that special capacity in which they were worshipped in the Anakeion at Athens—a capacity, it may safely be supposed, which was bound up with their nature as Anakes. The Dioscuri at Athens were above all things the stranger guests who came and partook of a meal in the Prytaneion close at hand, and hence were "of the hearth" (ἐφέστιοι); they were among the regular guests (ἀειπαράσιτοι). Athenaeus,[324] quoting from the supposed author of the comedy of the *Ploughmen*, says that the Athenians, when they place a meal for the Dioscuri in the Prytaneion, put upon the tables cheese and a barley-cake and fallen olives and pears, in remembrance of their ancient mode of life. The meal, though simple, was first-rate of its kind; the Dioscuri rightly preferred the fallen olive for its perfect maturity. Oil made of such

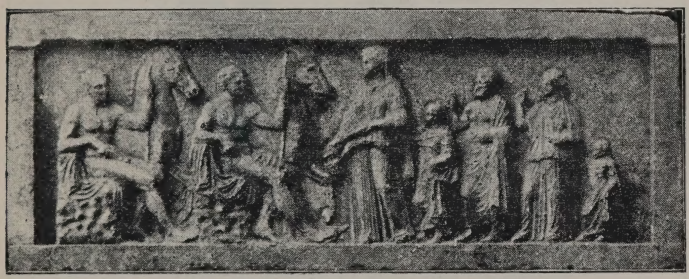


FIG. 34.—RELIEF: DIOSCURI (ROME).

fruit is reserved to this day for the use of the Church. Bacchylides remembers this touch of austere daintiness about the Dioscuri; when, in his hymn to them, he bids them to a feast he says—

> "Not carcases of bulls, nor gold, nor spread
> Of purple carpets at my feast you'll find,
> But the sweet Muse, and in Boeotian cups
> The mellow wine; these and a friendly mind."

This aspect of the Dioscuri as stranger guests was known at Sparta too. Near the sanctuary of the Leukippidae at Sparta Pausanias[325] saw a house which the Tyndaridae, according to tradition, had originally lived in; but in later days it had come into the possession of a man called Phormio. The Dioscuri came to him in the likeness of strangers, and they said they had come from Cyrene (a Laconian colony), they asked if they might put up with him, and they demanded a certain chamber, with

which they had been greatly pleased when they dwelt with mortals. "But he bade them choose another part of the house; only, he said, he could not give them that chamber, for his daughter, who was a maiden, chanced to live in it. And the next day the maiden and all her attendants had vanished, and the images of the Dioscuri were found in the chamber, with a table and silphion upon it. So the story goes." The silphion was of course simply the token of the Laconian colony of Cyrene, the table the sign

FIG. 35.—LEKYTHOS: THEOXENIA (BRITISH MUSEUM).

of the sacred feast; in fact, the Dioscuri substituted for the maiden the whole apparatus of their cult. On a lekythos (fig. 35) found at Camirus, and now in the British Museum,[326] we have a representation—the only one known on vase-paintings—of the Theoxenia, the divine feast of the Dioscuri. A couch is prepared with a cushion at either end: it alone represents the feast about to take place; the spread table is not depicted. From the upper air the twins descend on horseback. The design is executed in poly-

chrome on a white ground. The technique and the branches of silphion suggest that the vase may have come from Naukratis, where the Dioscuri had a temenos.

If there could be any doubt as to the identification of the twins it is set at rest by a bas-relief (fig. 36), with a similar scene, found in Thessaly and now in the Louvre. The bas-

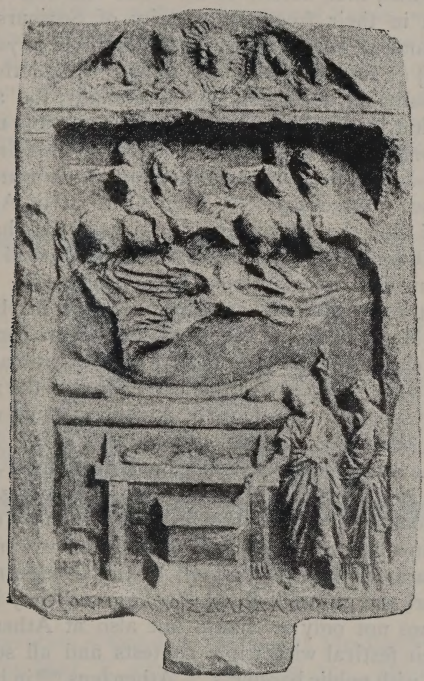


FIG. 36.—BAS-RELIEF: THEOXENIA (LOUVRE).

relief represents the inside of a temple, in the pediment of which is sculptured the rising of Helios with his four horses. It was a fashion of the fourth century to represent the sunrise as the cosmical or topographical setting to all mythological events of importance, and it may be that by this time the Dioscuri had become, as many fashionable heroes did, *lucida sidera*. Anyhow, the pediment composition is of little importance. Within is the

same scene as on the lekythos, only amplified and, happily for us, inscribed. The couch is there on which the heroes are to repose, and also by its side a table with flat and pyramidal cakes; in front of it an altar. Two worshippers are present: a man lays some uncertain object on the altar, the woman raises her hand to welcome the Epiphany of the Dioscuri. Victory, with outstretched wreaths, flies before them. The thanksgiving is probably to them in their frequent capacity of Saviours (Σωτῆρες), whether by land or sea. Below is [τοῖ]ς Θεοῖς μεγάλοις Δανάα Ἀτθονειτει[α] ("To the great gods, Danaa" . . .); the reading of the second name is uncertain, but, fortunately, the ascription is clear. An altar-inscription, also in the Louvre, runs more fully as follows:—Σωτῆροις ἀνάκοις τε Διοσκούροις ὅδε βωμός—("To the Saviours and Lords, the Dioscuri, this altar is dedicated"). This title of Saviour roused a protest from Clement of Alexandria.[327] "Ignorant of God the Benefactor," he says, "they have made to themselves Dioscuri who are Saviours forsooth, and a Herakles Preserver from Evil, and Asklepios the Physician."

The great feast of the Anakeia took place in the month of Thargelion (May-June) and seems to have been connected with ceremonies celebrating the foundation of the gymnasium in the Academy. In the calendar already noted (fig. 31) the month Thargelion is represented by the figure of a youth running with torches, a magistrate, the twins, and a youth with a strigil. It is safe to conclude that there were athletic games, and from an Ephebic inscription it is also certain that there was a procession in which the Ephebi took part. The most explicit summary of the whole ceremony is in a passage by Theodoretos.[328] He writes—"And the Tyndaridae are also held to be gods by the Greeks, and they call them Dioscuri and Ephesbioi and Anakes, and they honour them with a temenos not only at Sparta but also at Athens, and they celebrate their festival with triple contests and all sorts of other contests, and with public banquets." Athenaeus,[329] in his discussion of the early honourable use of the word "parasite," mentions a stele set up in the Anakeion. On it was the following inscription:—"Of the two bulls (*i.e.*, the two leaders) which are chosen out, the third part is to go to the festival, and the other two parts—one to the priest, and the other to the parasites (*i.e.*, to the chosen guests)."

Of the two paintings seen in the Anakeion by Pausanias, one (the Rape of the Leukippidae) deals with an adventure peculiar to the Dioscuri; the other, by Mikon (the Argonauts), represents

one which they shared in common with most heroes. Concerning the first, Pausanias says the painting by Polygnotus represents the marriage (*γάμον*), but there can be little doubt he means the rape. It is as a rape, not as a marriage, that the story of the Leukippidae is uniformly represented in ancient art. The number of vase-paintings that relate to it are few, but sufficient to show a well-marked type. In the earliest vase known, the scene is represented very much after the type of the ambuscade of Peleus, with, however, the well-marked distinction, that a sacred image is present and that two chariots wait for the heroes.[330] The presence of the image, probably Artemis Limnatis, and the chariots, may be said to be the distinguishing note of the Leukippidae rape; the scattered maidens flying affrighted, it shares with the Peleus and Thetis scene. The

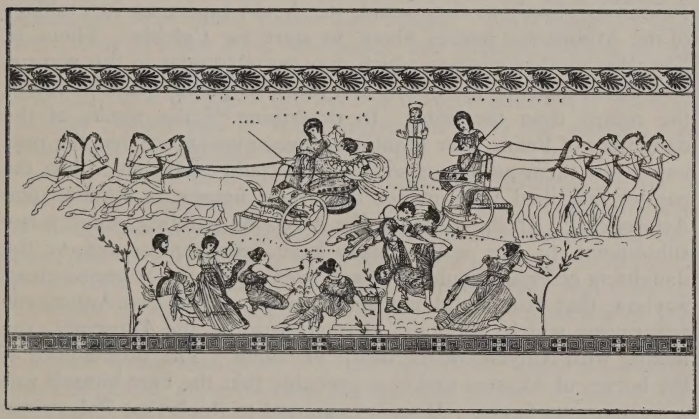


FIG. 37.—MEIDIAS VASE: RAPE OF LEUKIPPIDAE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

fullest representation is found on the famous Meidias[331] vase in the British Museum (Cat., E. 230) given in fig. 37. The centre of the composition is occupied by the xoanon of the goddess Artemis. To the left, Polydeuctes (ΠΟΛΥΔΕΥΚΤΗΣ) has already seized Hilaira (ΕΛΕΡΑ) and is carrying her off in his chariot. To the right, Castor (ΚΑΣΣΤΩΡ) is in the act of seizing Eriphyle (ΕΡΙΦΥΛΗ) in the very presence of the goddess; his charioteer Chrysippos (ΧΡΥΣΙΠΠΟΣ) waits above. Below, Aphrodite (ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ) is seated near an altar; by her side is Chryseis (ΧΡΥΣΕΙΣ) plucking a flower. They watch attentively the capture of Eriphyle. Peitho (ΠΕΙΘΩ), the attendant of Aphrodite,

flies affrighted, for this is the rape of violence. A maiden, Agave (ΑΓΑΥΕ), flies to the left towards the seated Zeus (ΙΕΥΣ), in whose presence and by whose sanction his divine sons commit their lawless act. Above is the painter's signature—"Meidias made" (ΜΕΙΔΙΑΣ : ΕΠΟΙΗΣΗΝ). This design forms only the upper, though the principal, portion of the decoration of the vase. The inscriptions date it as of the fourth century B.C. It of course in no way reflects the manner of Polygnotus, which must have been much nearer that of the early vase, but it is pure Attic work, and it seems probable that a vase-maker of that date must have seen the great fresco in the Anakeion. No more can be said.

It is not so easy to decide what precise scene of the Argonautic expedition was chosen by Polygnotus. Taking the words of Pausanias simply as they stand, we should expect an assemblage of the Argonautic heroes about to start for Colchis. There is, however, another passage which may possibly refer to this picture, and which leads to the conclusion that Polygnotus painted rather the return than the start. In describing[332] the tombs of the daughters of Pelias near Mantinea, Pausanias says "that the poet has given them no names so far as he could read, but Mikon the painter inscribed their names over their figures as Antiope and Asteropeia." If this refers to the Anakeion painting, some scene subsequent to the return must have been represented, or the daughters of Pelias could not have been present. It seems clear, anyhow, that Mikon did not select either of the two Argonautic adventures which are most characteristic of the Dioscuri—the boxing with Amykos or the death of Talos. The prominence of the horses of Akastos makes it probable that the hero himself was a conspicuous figure. If so, it is natural to think that Polygnotus painted the funeral games of Pelias instituted by his son Akastos. This subject was represented with epic detail on the chest of Cypselus,[333] much of which is preserved for us in a curious vase from Caere,[334] where Castor appears, inscribed. Pausanias mentions neither of the brothers on the chest of Cypselus, but Akastos was represented as "holding out the crown to Iphikles." Also on the throne of Apollo at Amyclae Pausanias[335] saw "the games established by Akastos in memory of his father."

Among the honorary seats of the Dionysiac theatre is one that bears the inscription :—

Ἱερέως Ἀνάκων καὶ ἥρωος Ἐπιτεγίου

—("Of the priest of the Anakes and of the hero Epitegios.") This

hero Epitegios who shared a priest with the Anakes is known from no other source. His name may mean "on the roof," and Vischer has conjectured that his worship might be connected with that of Adonis, for whom lamentation was made on the roofs (ὅ τ' Ἀδωνιασμὸς οὗτος οὑπὶ τῶν τεγῶν—Ar., *Eccles.* 389). But Adonis and the Anakes seem to have nothing in common, and the inscription remains an unsolved problem. It is worth noting, however, that Cicero, in his *De Natura Deorum* (iii. 21), says of the Dioscuri—"The Dioscuri are called by many names among the Greeks. At first they were three and were called Anakes at Athens, and were said to be born of Jupiter, the most ancient king, and of Proserpina: their names were Tritopatreus, Eubuleus, and Dionysos. The second set were born of the third Jupiter by Leda, and were called Castor and Pollux. Then there is a third set, called by some Alco, Melampus, and Emolus, sons of Atreus, and born of Pelops." This seems a marvellous mythological muddle, but it points to two matters of importance—(1) the term Anakes (lords) was of wide application; (2) the number was sometimes and perhaps originally three.

It is a relief to come to the precinct of Agraulos, the site of which can be approximately determined. About sixty metres west of the northern porch of the Erechtheion there are remains of a staircase, undoubtedly ancient, which must have led from the Acropolis to the plain below, and which can scarcely be other than the staircase used by the Arrephoroi for the descent. It must not be confused with some Turkish steps a little farther east. This ancient staircase would lead down into the Agrauleion, which accordingly must be placed, as on the map, immediately below. Pausanias only says ὑπέρ, which in general may be called "above" or "beyond." In this case, as Pausanias was standing at the Anakeion, it means both. It must have been somewhere near here that the Persians crept up. Herodotus [336] says—"Right in front of the citadel, but behind the gate and the common ascent, where no watch was kept and no one would have thought it possible any foot of man could climb, a few soldiers mounted from the sanctuary of Agraulos, Cecrops' daughter, notwithstanding the steepness of the precipice." They can scarcely have come by the secret stair, the entrance to which would be known only to the initiated. The chorus in the *Ion* of Euripides [337] speak of the cave of Pan, and the long rocks where was the temenos of Agraulos, and the shrines of Pallas as all near together. The most important ceremony known to take place within the precinct of Agraulos was the oath of the Ephebi

to defend their country. Demosthenes refers to it [338] as "the oath of the Ephebi taken in the precinct of Agraulos"; and Plutarch,[339] in his *Life of Alcibiades*, gives full particulars. He says Alcibiades "urged the Athenians to assert their supremacy both by land as well as sea, and was, moreover, exhorting the young warriors (the ἐφήβοι) to show by their actions that they were mindful of the oath taken in the temenos of Agraulos." This oath is that they will account wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive to be the boundaries of Athens. "By which," Plutarch adds, "it is implied that they should seek to possess themselves of all lands that are tilled and bear fruit."

On the face of things it seems improbable that the young warriors should take oath by the faithless Agraulos, to whom Pausanias evidently thinks the precinct he saw was sacred. This difficulty was evidently felt, for a story was invented by which Agraulos was said to be, not the daughter of Cecrops, but another Agraulos, daughter of Erechtheus. This maiden is reported to have devoted herself to death for her country by casting herself down from the Acropolis. The Ephebi no doubt were supposed to be ready to emulate her example. This is of course a form of the commonly current story of the "maiden sacrifice" which reappears so persistently in Greek mythology, the particular form of the death being suggested by the legend of the daughters of Cecrops. It has all the air of an ætiological myth invented to get out of the difficulty as to the ephebic oath in the name of the faithless sister. The real truth seems to be further back. As has been already noted briefly, the three sisters were originally only three forms of the goddess Athene in her aspect as protectress of the young of fields and flocks. It was perfectly natural that the Ephebi should take their oath by the goddess as Athene Agraulos. The list of the gods sworn by is preserved for us by Pollux,[340] and it is noticeable that unless we suppose Athene to appear under the form of Agraulos, she (the goddess of war in her own citadel) is omitted. The gods are as follows:—"Agraulos, Enyalios, Ares, Zeus, Thallo, Auxo, and Hegemone." Supposing Agraulos to be Athene, she comes in very appositely as the woman god of war before the male god Enyalios. Late lexicographers, indeed, distinctly state the identity. Harpocration [341] says—"Agraulos, the daughter of Cecrops. It is a surname of Athene." On this supposition it is easy to understand that, as attested by an inscription,[342] Agraulos had a regular priestess, and, further, that she in some fashion presided over the Plynteria, the feast of the

cleansing of the xoanon of Athene. Hesychius[343] says—"Plynteria, a feast at Athens which they celebrate in honour of Agraulos, daughter of Cecrops." This very simple connection had, of course, when the identity of Athene and Agraulos was forgotten, to be elaborately explained. One lexicographer[344] says—"They say that the Plynteria was instituted because the garments were not washed within a year of the death of Agraulos."

The Prytaneion stood near to the Agrauleion, and as Pausanias is moving regularly eastward, probably a little to the east. There is little doubt that Pausanias here sees the original Prytaneion, the centre and hearth-place of the city, of which the Tholos was merely a convenient offshoot. All the surroundings—the temple of the Dioscuri, the cave of Agraulos, and, as will be seen later, the Boukoleion, near at hand—show it to have been a site of ancient foundations. The Prytaneion stood, no doubt, somewhat high up the slope, as when Pausanias leaves it to go to the Serapeion he speaks of descending to the lower parts of the city.

Within the Prytaneion Pausanias saw—

The laws of Solon written up.
An image of Peace.
An image of Hestia.
A statue of Autolykos the pancratiast, and statues of Miltiades and Themistocles re-inscribed as a Roman and a Thracian.

Pausanias mentions, without naming them, certain other statues. Of these we know that one represented Democharès, nephew to Demosthenes. It stood at the entrance, on the right hand. Democharès was accustomed to harangue the people, wearing the himation and girt with a sword, and he was represented thus attired.[345] Near to the Prytaneion there was a statue of Good Fortune of such exceeding beauty that—Ælian[346] tells us—a young man of good birth fell violently in love with it. He used to cast his arms about it, and in his mad desire to possess it he presented himself before the Boulè and offered to pay any extravagant price. The Boulè very properly refused, so he went to pay his last service to the statue; he crowned her with garlands and decked her with taeniae; he offered sacrifice, and cast round about her costly gear, and after shedding infinite tears, he slew himself.

Plutarch[347] says that in his day some small remains of the original wooden kyrbeis or tablets on which the laws of Solon

were written were to be seen in the Prytaneion. He adds that Cratinus, the comic poet, thus speaks of them—

> "By Solon and by Draco, mighty names,
> Whose kyrbeis now we use to cook our pulse."

Some say, he adds, that strictly the tables on which the laws appertaining to ritual and sacrifice were written should be called kyrbeis, the others axones. As regards the statues of Miltiades and Themistocles, nothing is known except the fact recorded by Pausanias of the re-inscription. This sort of palimpsest was far from uncommon in Roman days ; it is well, indeed, if the Roman artist did not commit the worse offence of a sculptural palimpsest, altering face, features, or attributes of some ancient statue to suit his new subject.

The general type of the goddess Eirene (Peace) has been already noted (p. 65). The beautiful Torlonia statue gives us perhaps the most adequate representation of the goddess Hestia, but we have no evidence on which to associate it with the Prytaneion statue.

The statue of the pancratiast Autolykos Pausanias again mentions in his account of Haliartus in Boeotia.[348] Speaking of Lysander, he says that he "exhibited his justice in the following matter :— Autolykos the pancratiast (whose statue I saw in the Prytaneion at Athens) had a dispute about some property with a Spartan, Eteonikos." They came to blows, and Lysander decided against the Spartan for Autolykos. Autolykos was a figure of no small note at Athens. If his statue was as beautiful as the young man himself, it must have been a thing to gaze at long. The "Banquet" described by Xenophon[349] was given, it will be remembered, in honour of this Autolykos. Autolykos had just won the pancratium (424 B.C.), and Callias, a wealthy Athenian, his patron, wished to celebrate the victory with becoming splendour. When Autolykos entered, all eyes were turned upon him, for "as a bright light when it appears on the darkness of the night attracts the eyes of all, so did the beauty of Autolykos draw the gaze of all beholders—for beauty has in it by nature something kingly, especially if there be with it a natural bashfulness and modesty."[350]

Somewhere near to the Prytaneion was the place called the Boukoleion, where, till Solon forbade the archons to sit together, the archon basileus held his court. In close connection with the Boukoleion was the Bouzygion, the field of the sacred ox-ploughing, the third held by the Athenians. Plutarch, in his

Marriage Precepts,[351] makes a statement of great mythological importance. Of the three sacred ploughings he says—"The first was at (ἐπί) Skiron, in remembrance of the most ancient seed-sowing; the second in Raria; the third below the Acropolis, the one called the Bouzygion." It is surprising to find the Acropolis ceremony mentioned last, and as consequently least significant; and even the Eleusinian ceremony only comes second; the comparatively unimportant place, Skiron, takes the foremost rank. This looks like a compromise. The real state of the case, I would conjecture, is just the reverse. Most ancient of all was the ploughing below the Acropolis. Ploughing marked a distinct advance in civilisation; the first ploughman became the eponym of all the sacred order of the Bouzygae. The ceremony of ploughing was to the Greek mind not merely the token of the fruitfulness of the earth, it became the sacred symbol of marriage and the begetting of children, as Plutarch himself expressly states further on in the passage above quoted. The ploughing would take place under the sanction of Athene; her priests, the Bouzygae, would live on or close to the Acropolis. The ceremony would be in close connection, though by way of seeming antagonism, with the early cult of the Bouphonia, which will be noted later. So far all was simple. But the Eleusinians, too, had a ploughing at Raria, quite independent of the ceremony at Athens. There came a time when the agrarian cults of Eleusis, early developed because of the fertility of this very Rarian plain, grew to such magnitude that they overshadowed those of Athens. Then Athene had to yield many an agrarian function to Demeter; then an Eleusinion was consecrated as near as might be to the Acropolis; then Triptolemos got hold of functions belonging to the Bouzyges, and bit by bit became what he never was at Eleusis, the plougher, instead of, or rather as well as, the corn-carrier—a *contamination* of functions completed and further complicated, as has been seen, in Alexandria. Triptolemos stole from the Bouzyges, no doubt, those rudimentary practical saws which, as has been seen, were attributed to him, and which seem so out of place in the young hero of the poetry and mystery of Eleusis, but which sound in keeping from the mouth of the ancient ploughman. It is a wonder that Triptolemos did not also steal the ploughman's curses, which will be noted when the Bouphonia on the Acropolis is reached. All the real old ploughing ceremonies had their home, I believe, as far as Athens was concerned, just at the point Pausanias has reached, close underneath the

sacred hill, and of this there was a strong sub-consciousness even in the curious, catholic Athenian mind. Eleusis might say what she liked, but the Rarian ploughing should not be the oldest—let it be Skiron, half-way, nobody minded about Skiron.

There is a representation of this sacred ploughing on the Attic festival calendar of the Metropolitan Church (fig. 38).

FIG. 38.—ATTIC FESTIVAL CALENDAR: BOUZYGOS.

The Bouzyges drives two oxen, the sower is by his side. This is, so far as I know, the only representation in art: the ancient ceremony never got embroidered with picturesque legend. The Bouzyges was eponymous rather than personal to the end. Behind the Prytaneion was a field known as the "field of hunger"—a title given, it may be, in contrast to the fertile sacred land of the Bouzygion.

NOTES TO DIVISION A

1. Lucian, Πλοῖον ἢ Εὐχαί, 17.
2. Mitt. iii., Taf. 3 and 4.
3. Mitt. iv. 288.
4. Plutarch, Pericles, xxx.
5. Livy, xxxi. 24.
6. Dem., Phorm. 918.
7. Diog. Laert., ii. 43.
8. Vit. X. Orat. ix. 338.
9. Plut., Arist. xxvii. 30.
10. Clem. Alex., Protrept. 62.
11. Soph., Œd. Col. 1600 ; and P., i. 30, 4.
12. P., i. 37, 2.
13. Strabo, x. p. 489.
14. Apollod., i. 6, 2.
15. Phavorinus *v.* Polybotes.
16. Himerius, Or. iii. 12. *διὰ μέσου τοῦ Δρόμου δὲ εὐθυτενής τε καὶ λεῖος καταβαίνων ἄνωθεν σχίζει τὰς ἑκατέρωθεν αὐτῷ παρατεταγμένας στοὰς ἐφ' ὧν ἀγοράζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοί τε καὶ οἱ λοιποί.*
17. Thucydides, vi. 28.
18. Plutarch, Alc. xix.
19. Andok. de Myst. 12.
20. Plato, Eryx. 400 B.
21. A. S. Murray, Journal of Hell. Studies, vii. 1, 1886, p. 55, plate lxii.
22. Aristoph., Ach. 1229—*καὶ πρὸς γ' Ἄκρατον ἐγχέας ἄμυστιν ἐξέλαψα.*
23. P. Worters, Mitt. xii. 4, p. 390.
24. A summary of the whole controversy will be best found in Loevy's Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer, 1885 (228), where all the previous writers on the subject are cited. To this must be added a notice by Dr. Lölling, which seems to me conclusive, in Mittheilungen (Athens), xii. 4, p. 366.
25. Aristoph., Aves, 395.
26. Aristot., Polit. 1331—*ἐλευθέρα ἀγορὰ, ἣν δεῖ καθαρὸν εἶναι τῶν ὠνίων.*
27. Theophr., Characters *passim.*
28. Æsch., iii. 187.
29. Vit. X. Orat., Lyc. p. 386.
30. Die Stoa des Königs Attalos zu Athen. F. Adler (Berlin, 1874).
31. For Ephebic inscriptions, A. Dumont, L'Ephèbe Attique.
32. Athen., v. 212—*ἀναβὰς οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ βῆμα τὸ πρὸς τῇ Ἀττάλου στοᾷ ᾠκοδομημένον τοῖς Ῥωμαίων στρατηγοῖς, κ.τ.λ.*
33. Ælian, Var. Hist. vi. 1—*Ἀθηναῖοι κρατήσαντες Χαλκιδέων κατεκληρούχησαν τὴν γῆν εἰς δισχιλίους κλήρους τὴν Ἱππόβοτον καλουμένην χώραν. Τεμένη δὲ ἀνῆκαν τῇ Ἀθήνᾳ ἐν τῷ Ληλάντῳ ὀνομαζομένῳ τοπῷ, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν ἐμίσθωσαν κατὰ τὰς στηλὰς τὰς πρὸς τῷ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ ἑστηκυίας, αἵπερ οὖν τὰ τῶν μισθώσεων ὑπομνήματα εἶχον.* For the whole question of the two conquests of Euboea, see Herod., v. 77; Thucydides, i. 114; Plutarch, Pericles, 23; Diodorus Sic., xii. 7 and 22; and on these passages, Zestermann, Die antiken

und christlichen Basiliken, 1847, and Lange, Haus und Halle, 75.
34. Dem. c. Naer. 1370.
35. Plato, Euthyphro, 2.
36. Plato, Theaetetus, *sub fin.*
37. Dem. in Aristog. 776.
38. Andok., Myst. 84.
39. Pollux, viii. 86 — *ἐπηρώτα δ' ἡ βουλὴ, ὤμυον δ' οὗτοι πρὸς τῇ βασιλείῳ στοᾷ ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου ὑφ' ᾧ τὰ ταμιεῖα, συμφυλάξειν τοὺς νόμους* (Bergk, *ἐφ' οὗ τὰ τόμια συὸς φυλάξειν*) *καὶ μὴ δωροδοκήσειν ἢ χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα ἀποτῖσαι.*
40. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 45-46.
41. Arch. Zeit., 1875, 15, i., Taf. 15.
42. Hesiod, Theog. 986-991. See Köhlert, Rätseln und Gesellschaftspielen der alten Griechen, p. 159; on Anthol., Pal. xiv. 53.
43. Isocrates, Evagoras, §§ 1-72; Jebb, Attic Orators, ii. 108.
44. Newton, Travels in the Levant, ii. 227.
45. Diodorus, xiv. 85.
46. Dem., *πρ. Λεπτ.* 477.
47. Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 43.
48. For Timotheos, see Corn. Nepos; Jebb, Attic Orators, ii. 34; and Philostrat., i. 17—*ἀνάκειται δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι εἰκὼν χαλκὴ ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ προστῴου ὑπὸ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Κόνωνος καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται—*

Τιμόθεος φιλίας τε χάριν
ξενίην τε προτιμῶν
Ἰσοκράτους εἰκὼ τήνδε
ἀνέθηκε θεαῖς.
Λευχάρους ἔργον.

49. Plut., Arist. xix.
50. P., x. 21, 3.
51. P., i. 26.
52. Xen., Oecon. ad init.
53. Harpocrat., *sub voc.*—*εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἀλλήλαις ἥ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ βασιλείου.* Eust., Od. i. 395, says *πλήσιον.*
54. Eustathius ad Il. i. 529.
55. Valer. Maxim., viii. 11, ext. 5.
56. Lucian, Imag. 7.
57. Xen., Hell. vii.
58. P., viii. 11, 5.
59. P., viii. 9, 8.
60. Plutarch, De Glor. Athen. 2. On the whole subject and the discussion as to whether Gryllus was actually present at Mantinea, see A. Schäfer, Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, V. Heft, i. pp. 58, 59, 63.
61. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 128.
62. Dem., de Cor. p. 274.
63. Lucian, Jup. Trag. 8.
64. Daremberg et Saglio, p. 320; Stuart, Ant. Athens, i. p. 25. I was unable to find the bas-relief in Athens.
65. Iliad, i. 42.
66. Eur., Alc. 220.
67. P., viii. 41, 8.
68. Vit. X. Orat. Vit. Lyc., *sub fin.* —*Ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ Νεοπτολέμου Ἀντικλέους στεφανῶσαι καὶ εἰκόνα ἀναθεῖναι ὅτι ἀπεγγείλατο χρυσώσειν τὸν βωμὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν ἀγορᾷ κατὰ τὴν μαντείαν τοῦ θεοῦ.*
69. Thucyd., ii. 54.
70. Vit. X. Orat. p. 842 E.
71. Æsch., iii. 187; Schol.—*μέρος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου ἐποίησαν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὸ μητρῷον.*
72. Arrian, Exped. Alex. iii. 16, 8—*καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνῃσιν ἐν Κεραμείκῳ αἱ εἴκονες ᾗ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρῴου, οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ· ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι οἶδε τὸν Εὐδανέμων βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα.*
73. The road to the Acropolis is rightly placed by Wordsworth in his plan "Attica" (facing p. 198), and the agora is represented lying between the Pnyx, Areopagus, and Acropolis; but as Wordsworth gave no arguments to support his views, it would seem to be merely a happy guess. Also by Weizäcker, Verhandlungen der 39ten Versammlung Deutsch. Phil. (Zürich, 1887).

But the conclusions deducible as to the lie of the agora were first noted by Dr. Dörpfeld, and are as yet unpublished, but he kindly gives me permission to use them.

74. Lucian, Bis. Ac. 8, 801 — *αὐτὴ μὲν ἐνταῦθά που ἐπὶ τοῦ πάγου κάθησο ἐς τὴν πνύκα ὁρῶσα.* Later, 806—Dike and Pan, see *ὡς δὲ καὶ σπουδῇ ξυνθέουσιν ἕλκοντες ἀλλήλους πρὸς τὸ ἄνω τοῦ Ἀρείου πάγου.*
75. Æsch. c. Timarch. p. 84.
76. Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 17.
77. Arrian, Peripl. Pont. Eux. 9.
78. For these reliefs and whole subject, see Arch. Zeit., 1880, pl. 1 and 2, and Conze's article; also A. Furtwängler, La Collection Sabouroff, plate cxxxvii. and text.
79. *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ.*, 1860, 4097.
80. Pindar, Pyth., iii. 77.
81. Eur., Bacchae, 72-81, and 58. This and most of the other verse translations throughout the book were made for me by Mr. D. S. MacColl.
82. Plutarch, Amat. 15.
83. Soph., Philoct. 391.
84. Diod., ii. 9, 5.
85. Pliny, N. H. xxxv. 109.
86. Catull., Attis, 76.
87. The first author who recorded the story of Attis seems to have been Hermesianax. Pausanias, in his account of Dyme in Achaia, gives in full both the Phrygian and local legend (P., vii. 17, 5-14).
88. Diod., iii. 57.
89. See throughout, Loeschke, DorpaterProgramm, 1884—*βασιλεία.*
90. Aristoph., Aves, 1537.
91. Harpocrat., *ὁ κάτωθεν νόμος—ἐπεὶ φησί, τοὺς ἄξονας καὶ τοὺς κύρβεις ἄνωθεν τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν μετέστησεν Ἐφιάλτης . . .*
92. The numerous passages relating to the Metröon as a storehouse for documents will be found quoted, C. Curtius, Das Metröon in Athen als Staatsarchiv, 1868, pp. 18, 19.
93. Cic., de Leg. iii. 20.
94. Æsch., iii. 75.
95. Hypoth. 2 to Dem. cor. 22 A—*μηδέποτε ψευδῆ γράμματα εἰς τὸ μητρῶον εἰσάγειν.* Athen., p. 422 D. It is said of the philosopher Stilpon—*καταφαγὼν σκόροδα καὶ κατακοιμηθεὶς ἐν τῷ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν ἱερῷ. Ἀπείρητο δὲ τῷ τούτων τι φάγοντι μηδὲ εἰσιέναι.*
96. Æsch. c. Tim., *loc. cit.*
97. Diog. Laert., vi. 16.
98. W. Köhler, Hermes, v. 342; vi. 98.
99. P., x. 20, 5.
100. Proem. Demosth., p. 1460.
101. Antiph. Chor. 45.
102. Xen., Hell. ii. iii. 52, 55.
103. Harpocrat., Dindorf, 1853—*θόλος Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατ' Αἰσχίνου. ὁ τόπος ἔνθα ἐδείπνουν οἱ πρυτάνεις οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις. Ἀμμώνιος γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ βωμῶν γράφει ταυτί. ὁ δὲ τόπος ὅπου ἐστιῶνται οἱ πρυτάνεις καλεῖται θόλος, ὑπ' ἔνιων δὲ σκιάς, διὰ τὸ οὕτως ᾠκοδομῆσθαι αὐτὸν στρογγύλον παρόμοιον θολίᾳ.*
104. *Πρακτικά*, 1884, for Dörpfeld's plan and restoration of this building.
105. Schol. Dem., xx. 94.
106. Schol. Aristoph., Pax 1183 — *τόπος Ἀθήνησιν παρὰ πρυτανεῖον ἐν ᾧ ἑστήκασιν ἀνδρίαντες οὓς ἐπωνύμους καλοῦσιν*, where Prytaneion is no doubt put for Tholos. The two buildings got much confused.
107. Dem. c. Lept. 485; Dem. c. Timok. 706.
108. Lucian, Anacharsis, 897.
109. Herodot., v. 66.
110. For tesserae of tribes, see Dumont, De Plumbeis Atticis.
111. Iliad, ii. 557, 558.
112. Soph., Ajax, 201, 202; Ajax, 1217.
113. Plut., Solon, i. 2, 3.

114. Plut., Alc. i.
115. Plut., Solon, x. 30.
116. Pindar, Nem. v. 8; Nem. vi. 75; Nem. vii. 9; Nem. viii. 9. Pyth. viii. 21; Ol. viii. 20.
117. Soph., Ajax, 574.
118. Odyssey, xv. 243; xx. 352.
119. Æsch., Septem, 590; trans. A. W. Verrall, p. 605.
120. Æsch., Septem, 587.
121. Eur., Supp. 925.
122. Apoll., iii. 6, 8.
123. P., ix. 8, 3; i. 34.
124. Plut., De Aud. Poet. p. 32.
125. Köhler, Hermes, vi. p. 92, conjectures that the statue of Amphiaraos stood near the precinct of the under-world gods.
126. P., ix. 16, 12; ix. 16, 1.
127. Pliny, N. H. xxx. 87.
128. Cornel. Nepos, Tim. xiii. 2.
129. Plut., Cimon, xiii. 487.
130. Hesiod, Theog. 902.
131. Bacchyl., Paian, 13, 12. Trans. by D. S. MacColl.
132. Aristoph., Pax 1127; tr. Rogers.
133. Ps. Plut., Vit. X. Orat. 852.
134. For the fragments and restoration see Curtius, Philologos, xxiv. 1, 1866, pp. 83, 99. Köhler, Hermes, vi. p. 92, conjectures that the statue of Lycurgus was set up near that of Amphiaraos, because he restored (Ol. 110. 3) the sanctuary at Oropos.
135. Plut., Dem. 30.
136. Visconti, Iconogr. Gr., for list of portraits of Demosthenes; and Ueber die Abbildungen des Demosthenes: H. Schröder (Brunswick, 1842).
137. Iliad, v. 592.
138. P., iv. 30, 3.
139. Quintus Smyrn., v. 29.
140. *ἱερεὺς Ἄρεως Ἐνυαλίου καὶ Ἐννοῦς καὶ Διὸς Γελέοντος.* See Arch. Zeit., 1844, pp. 246, 247.
141. Head, Hist. Num. p. 426.
142. Brunn, Gr. Künstler, i. 392.
143. Ps.-Æsch., Ep. iv. § 3. For this passage—*καὶ ἦν αὐτὴ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς ἔτι πρὸ τῆς βασίλειον στοᾶς καθήμενος ἐν ἐνδύματι καὶ λύρᾳ ὁ Πίνδαρος*—see Dyer, p. 206. Loeschke thinks that the Ps.-Æschines mistook the *ἱερὸν βασιλείας* (*i.e.*, the Metröon) for the *στοὰ βασίλειος*. See Dorpater Programm, 1884, p. 20.
144. Arrian, Exped. Alex. iii. 16, 8—*καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες ᾗ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρῴου οὐ μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ· ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι οἶδε τὸν Εὐδανέμων βωμὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα* (the emendation *ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ*, meaning the temple at Athens, has been suggested).
145. Tim., Lex Plat.—*Ὀρχήστρα· τόπος ἐπιφάνης εἰς πανήγυριν, ἔνθα Ἁρμοδίου καὶ Ἀριστογείτονος εἰκόνες.*
146. Hesych.—*Ἴκρια, τὰ ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀφ' ὧν ἐθεῶντο τοῦς Διονυσιακοὺς ἀγῶνας πρὶν ἢ κατασκευασθῆναι τὸ ἐν Διονύσου θέατρον.*
147. Hesych., *sub* *Ἀπ' αἰγείρων—ἐκ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἀγείρου τὰ πινάκια ἐξῆπτον οἱ ἔσχατοι. εὐτελὴς δὲ ἐδόκει ἡ ἐντεῦθεν θεωρία.*
148. Wordsworth, Athens, p. 91. Rhangabè, ii. p. 565—*εἰκόνα στῆναι . . . ἐν ἀγορᾷ πλὴν παρ' Ἁρμόδιον καὶ Ἀριστογείτονα.*
149. Ps.-Plut., Vit. X. Orat., Lyc.
150. Dio Cass., xlvii. 20.
151. Thucyd., vi. 54.
152. Scol. (Callistratos). Bergk, Poet. Lyr. Trans. by D. S. MacColl.
153. Aristoph., Vespae, 1225.
154. For the coins, see Hell. Jour. viii. p. 44; the statues, Friedrich Wolters, Gipsabgüsse, 121-124; the Würzburg stamnos, A. Z., 1883, Taf. 12, Böhlau, A. Z., 1883, p. 206; the chair, Michaelis, Hell. Jour. v. 146.
155. Bursian, De foro Athen, p. 9; Curtius, Erläutender Text, s. 49; Hirschfeld, A. Z., 1882, s. 122; Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, s. 281; and Rhein. Mus. xxiii. 35.

On the other side—Unger, Enneakrounos u. Pelasgikon, Sitz. Ber., Münich; Akad. Philos. Philog. Cl. 1884, i. s. 263 ff.; Dyer, Athens, Appendix I., where the ancient texts are examined; Loeschke, Dorpater Progr. 1883.

156. Thucyd., ii. 15—*τὸ δὲ πρὸ τούτου ἡ ἀκρόπολις ἡ μὲν νῦν οὖσα πόλις ἦν, καὶ τὸ ὑπ' αὐτὴν πρὸς νότον μάλιστα τετραμμένον — τεκμήριον δέ· τὰ γὰρ ἱερὰ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ ἀκροπόλει καὶ ἄλλων θεῶν ἐστί, καὶ τὰ ἔξω πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς πόλεως μᾶλλον ἵδρυται τό τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τὸ Πύθιον καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς καὶ τὸ ἐν Λίμναις Διονύσου ᾧ . . . ἵδρυται δὲ καὶ ἄλλα ἱερὰ ταύτῃ ἀρχαῖα. καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτω σκευασάντων Ἐννεακρούνῳ καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν Καλλιρρόῃ ὠνοναζομένῃ, ἐκείνῃ τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι. κάλειται δὲ διὰ τὴν παλαιὰν ταύτῃ κατοίκησιν καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις μέχρι τοῦδε ἔτι ὑπ' Ἀθηναίων πόλις.*

157. Since writing the above, I find that a third and middle position is taken by Dr. I. Müller in his Handbuch der Klassischen Alterthums, wissenschaftliche Topographie von Athen, Halbband ix. p. 325. He thinks that the Enneakrounos was certainly on the Ilissus; but he does not dislocate the text of Pausanias, as he holds that Pausanias saw a fountain in the market-place and mistook it for the Enneakrounos. I mention his view, but abide by that given in the text.

158. E. Ziller, Wasserleitungen von Athen. Mitt. (Athens), ii., 1877, p. 113, gives a plan of the watercourse and drawings of all the remains.

159. Herodot., vi. 137.

160. Plato, Phaedr. 229 *b*.

161. G. A. V. 307. See also Rayet, Histoire de la Céramique Grecque, p. 116; and Studniczska, Jahrbuch, ii., 1887, p. 161.

162. Head, Hist. Num. pp. 711-718. B. M. Catalogue, Ptolemies, 1883. R. S. Poole.

163. Six, Mitt. (Athens), 1887, xii. 3, p. 212.

164. Demades, *ὑπὲρ τῆς δωδεκαετίας*, t. iv. p. 268; Reiske, *cf.* Apsines, De Arte Rhet., *περὶ προοιμίου*. Cited by Dyer, Athens, 219.

165. Ælian, Var. Hist. v. 12.

166. Athenaeus, vi. 58.

167. Clem., Protrept. p. 13 — *οὐχὶ ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῇ ἀκροπόλει.*

168. Philostr., Vit. Soph. ii. 1, 5—*ἐκ Κεραμεικοῦ δὲ ἅρασαν τὴν ναῦν) χιλίᾳ κώπῃ ἀφιεῖναι ἐπὶ τὸ Ἐλευσίνιον καὶ περιβαλοῦσαν αὐτὸ παραμεῖψαι τὸ πελασγικόν.* The passage goes on — *κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον ἐλθεῖν οἱ νῦν ὥρμισται.* There has long been great difficulty about the word *Πύθιον*, as the situation does not suit the well-known Pythion near the Olympieion. All difficulty disappears if we adopt Dr. Dörpfeld's suggestion that *τὸ Πύθιον* is the ancient hieron of Apollo's cave.

169. Xen., Hipp. iii. 2 — *ἐπειδὰν δὲ πάλιν πρὸς τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς γένωνται περιεληλακότες ἐντεῦθεν, καλόν μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι κατὰ φυλὰς εἰς τάχος ἀνιέναι τοὺς ἵππους μέχρι τοῦ Ἐλευσινίου . . . ἐπειδὰν δὲ εἰς τάχος διελασέως λήξωσι τὴν ἄλλην ἤδη καλὸν σχέδην εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἧπερ καὶ πρόσθεν διελαύνειν.*

170. Xen., De Re Eq. i. 1.

171. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 76.

172. Plut., De Exil. viii. p. 394.

173. Thucyd., ii. 17.

174. Arist., Mirab. 131—*φασὶν οἰκοδομούντων Ἀθηναίων τὸ τῆς Δήμητρος ἱερὸν τῆς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι περιεχομένην στήλην πέτραις εὑρεθῆναι χαλκῆν, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπὶ ἐγέγραπτο "Δηιόπης τόδε σῆμα" ἦν οἱ μὲν λέγουσι Μουσαίου εἶναι γυναῖκα τινὲς δὲ Τριπτολέμου μητέρα γένεσθαι.*
175. Athenaeus, xiii. 71.
176. Arrian, Epict. Diss. i. 4, 30—*Τριπτολέμῳ ἱερὰ καὶ βωμοὺς πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἀνεστήκασιν ὅτι τὰς ἡμέρους τροφὰς ἡμῖν ἔδωκε.*
177. Porph., Abst. iv. 22—*γονεῖς τιμᾶν θεοὺς καρποῖς ἀγάλλειν.*
178. Plut., Conj. Praec. xlii.
179. P., ii. 14, 2.
180. Homeric Hymn to Demeter, 448.
181. P., i. 38, 6.
182. For the Homeric Hymn, see Cornhill Mag., 1876, vol. 33—"A Greek Hymn," by S. Colvin, whose translation is here quoted.
183. Stephani, Compte Rendu, 1859, pl. ii.; but his explanation is not wholly adopted.
184. Soph., Œd. Col. 1052.
185. Head, Hist. Num. p. 328; Blumer and Gardner, Hell. Journal, 1887, p. 37.
186. Loeschke, Dorpater Prog., 1883, p. 23.
187. Hesych., *sub voc.* *βουζύγης—ἥρως Ἀττικὸς ὁ πρῶτος βοῦς ὑπὸ ἀροτρον ζεύξας καλεῖτο δὲ Ἐπιμενίδης, καθίστατο δὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ τοὺς ἱεροὺς ἀρότους ἐπιτελῶν βουζύγης.*
188. Dittenberger, 13, 37; and Bulletin Hell., 1880, 226—*τρίτοιαν δὲ βόαρχον χρυσόκερουν τοῖν Θεοῖν ἑκά[τεραι ἀ]πὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τοῖ Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τοῖ Θεοὶ καὶ τεῖ Θεαῖ καὶ τοῖ Εὐβόλοι ἱερεῖον ἑκάστοι τέλεον.*
189. Weil, Mitt. i. 334.
190. Schol. Luc., Dial. Meretr. 2, 1.
191. *μέγαρα κατάγεια οἰκήματά φησι ταῖν θεαῖν ἤγουν Δήμητρος καὶ Περσέφονης.*—Phavorinus.
192. P., i. 39, 5—*τότε πρῶτον λέγουσιν ἱερὰ γένεσθαι Δήμητρος αὐτοῖς, καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀνομάσαι Μέγαρα.*
193. P., ix. 8, 1—*ἐν χρόνῳ δὲ εἰρημένῳ δρῶσι καὶ ἄλλα ὅποσα καθέστηκέ σφισι, καὶ ἐς τὰ μέγαρα καλούμενα ἀφιᾶσιν ὃς τῶν νεογνῶν. τοὺς δὲ ὃς τούτους ἐς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τοῦ ἔτους ὥραν ἐν Δωδώνῃ φασὶν ἐπὶ . . . λόγῳ τῷδε ἄλλος πού τις πεισθήσεται.* It is unfortunate that there is a lacuna just where Pausanias is about to describe the to him incredible sequel. There might be something wrong about Dodona. Referring to the scholiast on Lucian one is tempted to read—*ἐπὶ βώμων ἢ φασὶν ἐπιτιθέασιν.*
194. Newton, Halicarnassus, plate iv. pp. 331, 371-391.
195. Clement, Protrept. 14, 15 P (17).
196. Lobeck, Aglaophemus, p. 827, cap. vii., "De Raptu Proserpinae," after quoting the present passage of Pausanias, quotes Clem., Protrep. 14, 15 P (17), and proposes to emend *μεγαρίζοντες χοίρους ἐκβάλλουσιν* to *μεγάροις ζῶντας χοίρους ἐμβάλλουσιν*, but there seems no necessity. Farther on, he quotes Epiphanius adv. H. L. iii. 1092—*παρ' Ἕλλησι δὲ πόσα μυστήρια καὶ τελεταὶ ὡς αἱ μεγαρίζουσαι γυναῖκες καὶ θεσμοφοριάζουσαι πρὸς ἀλλήλας διαφέρονται, ὅσα δὲ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι μυστήρια.* Considering the strict exclusion of men, it seems tolerably certain that the *θεσμοφόρια* were near akin to, if not identical with, the rites of *θέμις*, of which Clement says (86)—*καὶ πρόσεστι τῆς θέμιδος τὰ ἀπόρρητα, κ.τ.λ.*
197. A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, vol. ii.
198. Dreizehntes Hallisches, Winckelmann's Programm, Marmorkopf,

Riccardi, 1888, p. 14; Ἐφ. Ἀρχ., 1886, pl. 10; Benndorf, Anz. Ph. Hist., 16th Nov. 1887, no. xxv.

199. Aristoph., Thesm. 658, 879.
200. Aristoph., Thesm. 278, 880.
201. Plato, Critias, 112.
202. Æsch. c. Tim., p. 106.
203. Nymph Inscription, C. I. A. 503.
204. *ὅρος Δώς*, C. I. A. 504.
205. For details as to the Pnyx discussion, see Dyer, Appendix III., where the literature of the subject is cited. The view I have adopted is that of Dr. Dörpfeld, and is identical with that given by I. Müller, Handbuch, Topographie von Athen, p. 331.
206. Aristoph., Eccl. 86.
207. Poll., viii. 132 — *Πνὺξ δὲ ἦν χωρίον πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει κατεσκευασμένην κατὰ τὴν παλαίαν ἁπλότητα οὐκ εἰς θεάτρου πολυπραγμοσύνην.*
208. Thucydides, viii. 93, for occasional use; C. I. A. ii. 173, for regular use.
209. Plut., Arist. xx. 10.
210. P., ix. 17, 1.
211. Soph., Œd. Rex., 161
212. C. I. A., iii. 277—*Ἱερέως Εὐκλείας καὶ Εὐνομίας.*
213. Xen., Hell. iv. 4, 2.
214. Plut., Them. 22, 15.
215. Aristoph., Thesm. 291.
216. The current opinion is that the so-called Theseion, still almost intact, is the temple of Theseus seen by Pausanias. Other views are—(1) that the existing temple is the Hephaisteion, see Pervanoglu, Philol. xxvii. p. 660; (2) that it is the Amazoneion, Dyer, Athens, p. 229; (3) that it is the Herakleion in Melite, Baumeister, Denkmäler, p. 169. Lange's view is given in "Haus und Halle," p. 67. For the controversy—A. Schutz, De Theseo, Breslau, 1874; Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, p. 357.
217. For the architecture of the "Theseion" and its analogies to the Parthenon, see Penrose, Principles of Athenian Architecture, 1853; for the metopes, Mon. d. Just. x. Taf. 43, 44, 58, 59; for the friezes, but with incorrect order of the eastern frieze, Stuart, Antiquities of Athens, iii. pl. 4, 18, 19.
218. Andok., de Mysteriis, 40—*ἰδὼν δὲ Εὔφημον τὸν Καλλίου τοῦ Τηλεκλέους ἀδελφὸν ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ καθήμενον, ἀναγάγων αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον λέγειν . . .*
219. Harpocrat., *s.v.* Κολωνέτας—*τοὺς μισθωτοὺς Κολωνέτας ὠνόμαζον, ἐπειδὴ παρὰ τῷ Κολωνῷ εἱστήκεσαν ὅς ἐστι πλησίον τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἔνθα τὸ Ἡφαιστεῖον καὶ Εὐρυσακεῖον ἐστίν· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ὁ Κολωνὸς οὗτος ἀγοραῖος.*
220. Plato, Critias, 109 c.
221. Suidas, *sub voc.* Chalkeia — *ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ μόνων ἤγετο τῶν τεχνιτῶν.* Harpocrat. *sub. voc.* Chalkeia—*ἑορτὴ . . . χειρώναξι κοίνη, μαλίστα δὲ χαλκεῦσιν.* Mommsen, Heortologie, p. 313. Daremberg et Saglio, *s. v.* Chalkeia.
222. Cic., de Nat. Deor. i. 30; Valer. Maxim., viii. 11, ext. 3; Hephaistos Inscription, C. I. A., vol. iv., 1887, p. 64, no. 356.
223. Head, Hist. Num. pp. 370, 502.
224. Iliad, iv. 515; viii. 39; xxii. 183. Odyssey, iii. 378. Odyssey, Butcher and Lang Edd., 2, p. 415.
225. A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, vol. ii. p. 245.
226. Herodot., iv. 180.
227. P., ix. 33, 5; viii. 26, 6.
228. Hom. Hymn to Athene, 4—*Τριτογενῆ, τὴν αὐτὸς ἐγείνατο μητιέτα Ζεύς.* Hesiod, Theog. 924. Aristoph., Eq. 1189. Eur., Ion, 87.
229. Herodot., i. 105.
230. P., iii. 23, 1.
231. Æsch. c. Ctesiph., p. 575.
232. Schol. ad Lucian, Zeus Trag.

33—*ὡς ἐν τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἱδρυμένος.* Schol. ad Aristoph., Eq. 267—*ἐν μέσῃ γὰρ τῇ ἀγορᾷ ἵδρυται Ἑρμοῦ Ἀγοραίου ἄγαλμα.*

233. Ælian, Var. Hist. xiii. 12; Aristoph., Aves, 997, and schol.

234. Plut., De Exilio, xiv.

235. Athen., viii. 35—*Ζήνων ὁ Κιττιεὺς ὁ τῆς στοᾶς κτίστης.*

236. Persius, iii. 53.

237. Lucian, Zeus Trag. 682.

238. Diog. Laert., vii. 1-6; and Æsch., de Fals. Leg. 628.

239. Odyssey, x. 277.

240. Herodot., ii. 51.

241. P., iv. 26, 3; vii. 22, 2.

242. Hymn to Hermes, 528—

αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
ὄλβου καὶ πλούτου δώσω περικαλλέα ῥάβδον
χρησείην, τριπέτηλου, ἀκήριου ἥ σε φυλάξει.

243. See *κλῆρος Ἑρμοῦ*, Photius, 169, 7—*συνήθεια ἀρχεία ἔβαλλον οἱ κληροῦντες εἰς ὑδρίαν ἐλαίας φύλλον ὃ προσηγόρευον Ἑρμῆν. καὶ πρῶτον ἐξῄρουν τοῦτο τιμὴν τῷ θεῷ ταύτην ἀπονέμοντες ἐλάγχανεν δὲ ὁ μετὰ τὸν θεόν. Εὑριπίδης ἐν Αἰόλῳ μνημονεύει τοῦ ἔθους τούτου.* For *κοινὸς Ἑρμῆς*, see Jebb, Theophrastus, p. 257.

244. P., v. 14, 7.

245. For Kairos (Opportunity), and altar and statue at Olympia, O. Benndorf, Ueber ein Werk des älteren Polyklet, Separatabdruck aus gesammelten Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, eine Festgabe zum 4ten Mai 1885, für Anton Springer.

246. For the conception of Hermes as god of luck, see A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, vol. ii. p. 255.

247. Aristoph., Eq. 297; Lucian, Zeus Trag. 681.

248. Vit. X. Orat. 844 B—*ὡς δὲ Ἡγήσιας ὁ Μάγνης φησὶν ἐδέηθη τοῦ παιδαγωγοῦ, ἵνα Καλλιστράτου, Ἐμπαίδου Ἀφιδναίου ῥήτορος δοκίμου καὶ ὑπαρχησάντος καὶ ἀναθέντος τὸν βωμὸν τῷ Ἑρμῇ τῷ ἀγοραιῷ, μέλλοντος ἐν τῷ δήμῳ λέγειν ἀκούσῃ.*

249. Hesychius, *ἀγοραῖος Ἑρμῆς—οὕτως ἐλέγετο οὗτος (αὐτοῦ ἐν ἀγορᾷ ἀγαλμάτος) καὶ ἀφίδρυτο Κέβριδος ἄρξαντος ὡς Φιλόχορος μαρτυρεῖ ἐν τρίτῳ.*

250. For the whole subject of the confusion between the Hermes Agoraios and the Hermes near the door of Demosthenes, see Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, 209. For the discussion of the date of the Hermes Agoraios, see Michaelis, Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie, vol. ii. p. 494.

251. P., viii. 48, 4.

252. Thucyd., vi. 27.

253. P., iv. 33, 4.

254. See Gerhard, Ges. Abh., Taf. 63, 4 (ii. 126); reproduced in Baumeister's Denkmäler, Sup. Abb. 3.

255. Harpocrat., Hermae—*Μενεκλῆς ἢ Καλλίστρατος, ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀθηναίων γράφει ταυτί· ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς Ποικίλης καὶ τῆς τοῦ βασιλείος στοᾶς εἰσιν οἱ Ἑρμαῖ καλούμενοι. διὰ γὰρ τὸ πολλοὺς κεῖσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἰδιωτῶν καὶ ἀρχόντων ταύτην τὴν προσηγορίαν εἰλῆφεναι συμβέβηκεν.*

256. Mnesimachos, Hippotrophos fragment—

στεῖχ' εἰς ἀγορὰν
πρὸς τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς,
οὐ προσφοιτῶσι οἱ φύλαρχοι
τούς τε μαθητὰς τοὺς ὡραίους
οὓς ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους
μελετᾷ Φείδων καὶ καταβαίνειν.

257. Xen., de Off. Mag. Eq. iii. 2.

258. Athen., iv. 64.

259. Lysias c. Pank., 731.

260. Porphyr. ap. Theodoret., Therap. xii.—*εἰς τοὺς ὄχλους εἰσωθεῖτο καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐποιεῖτο πρὸς ταῖς τραπέζαις καὶ πρὸς τοὺς Ἑρμαῖς.*

261. See Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, 204.
262. Æsch. c. Ctesiph. 572.
263. Diodorus Siculus, xix. 77, 6; xx. 112, 2.
264. Plutarch, Cimon, 4. Diog. Laert., vii. 1, 5. Suidas, *sub voc.* Zenon — ἐπεκλήθη δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς (Ζήνων) Στωικός, διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ Στοᾷ τῇ ἐν Ἀθήναις διδάξαι αὐτὸν ἡ καὶ πρώην μὲν Πεισιανάκτειος ὕστερον δὲ ζωγραφηθεῖσα Ποικίλη ἐκλήθη.
265. P., x. 10, 4.
266. Aristoph., Plutus, 385; and scholiast — *τὰ οὖν συμβάντα αὐτοῖς (i.e., τοῖς Ἡρακλείδαις) ζωγράφος τις Πάμφιλος Ἀθηναῖος εἰς τὴν στοὰν τῶν Ἀθηναίων ἔγραψε καὶ αὐτοὺς ἱκετεύοντας.*
267. Arrian, Anab. vii. 13, 10—*καὶ γέγραπται ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Ἀμαζόνων μάχη πρὸς Κίμωνος οὐ μεῖον ἢπερ ἡ Ἀθηναίων καὶ Περσῶν.* For *Κίμωνος* Kuhn reads *Μίκωνος* (ad P., viii. 11, 2), and the emendation is certain.
268. Aristoph., Lysistr. 678 *seq.*
269. For general account of Amazons in art, see Klugmann, Amazonen, and S. Colvin, Amazon Sarcophagos in Corneto, Journal Hell. Studies, iv. 354, 1883; for paintings in Poikile, Brunn, Gr. Künstler, ii. 18.
270. Plut., Cimon, 4.
271. Schol. ad Lycoph. Alex. 495—*τόν ποτ' εἰς λέχος λαθραῖον Διομήδης καὶ Ἀκάμας ὁ Θησέως υἱὸς ἐπρέσβευσαν πρὸς τοὺς Τρῶας καὶ συνέβη Λαοδίκῃ τῇ Πριάμου μιγῆναι Ἀκάμαντα καὶ τεκεῖν υἱὸν Μούνιτον κληθέντα· φοβουμένη δὲ δέδωκε τὸ βρέφος Αἴθρᾳ τῇ τοῦ Θησέως μητρὶ ἀνατρέφειν. ἡ δὲ γνοῦσα τὸν υἱωνὸν αὐτὴ τὸ παιδίον ἐκόμισε καὶ ἀνέθρεψεν. ἁλούσης δὲ τῆς Τροίας ἀναγνωρισθεῖσα τῷ Ἀκάμαντι ἀπῆρε μετ' αὐτοῦ κομίζουσα καὶ τὸν Μούνιτον· παραγενομένων δὲ αὐτῶν εἰς Θρᾴκην καὶ ἐξελθόντων ἐν κυνηγεσίᾳ ὅφις τὸν Μούνιτον ἔτρωσε καὶ οὕτως ἐτελευτεύσεν.*
272. P., v. 11, 6.
273. Ælian, Nat. Anim. vii. 38—*Συστρατιώτην δέ τις Ἀθηναῖος ἐν τῇ μάχῃ τῇ ἐν Μαραθῶνι ἐπήγετο κύνα, καὶ γραφῇ εἴκασται ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ ἑκάτερος, μὴ ἀτιμασθέντος τοῦ κύνος, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ τοῦ κινδύνου μισθὸν εἰληφότος, ὁρᾶσθαι σὺν τοῖς ἀμφὶ τὸν Κυνέγειρον καὶ Ἐπίζηλόν τε καὶ Καλλίμαχον, εἴσι δὲ καὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὁ κύων Μίκωνος γράμμα· οἱ δὲ οὐ τούτου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ Θασίου Πολυγνώτου φασίν.*
274. Herodot., vi. 108. See Rawlinson's note *ad loc.*
275. Æsch. c. Ctesiph. 186.
276. Corn. Nep., Milt. 6, 3—namque huic Miltiadi qui Athenas totamque Graeciam liberavit talis honos tributus est in porticu qui Poicile vocatur quum pugna expingeretur Marathonia, ut in decem Praetorum numero prima ejus imago poneretur, isque hortaretur milites praeliumque committeret.
277. Schol. Aristid. vol. iii. 566—*τὴν χεῖρα ἐντετακώς*, Schol. *ad. loc.*— *ἦν γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ποικίλῃ τὸ πρῶτον γεγραμμένος ὁ Μιλτίαδης ἐκτείνων τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ὑποδεικνὺς τοῖς Ἕλλησι τοὺς Βαρβάρους, λέγων ὁρμᾶν κατ' αὐτῶν.*
278. Herodot., vi. 113, 114.
279. Aristid., Panath. p. 216. Just., ii. 9. Pseud. Plut., pro Nobil. x—*Μὴ σύ γε νομίζῃς ὅτι Ξέρξης εὐγενέστερος ἦν Κυναιγείρου; καίτοι ὁ μέν, ὑπὲρ τῆς ἰδίας πατρίδος ἀπεκόπη τὴν χεῖρα ὅδε, κ.τ.λ.*
280. Ælian, Nat. Anim. vii. 38.
281. Synesius, Epp. 54 and 135—*καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ζήνων ἐφιλοσόφει Ποικίλην, νῦν οὐκέτ' οὖσαν Ποικίλην. Ὁ γὰρ ἀνθύπατος τὰς σανίδας ἀφείλετο. ἔπειτα ἐκώλυσεν αὐτοὺς (φιλοσόφους) ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ μεῖζον φρονεῖν. ὁ γὰρ ἀνθύπατος τὰς σανίδας ἀφεί-*

λετο αἷς ἐγκατέθετο τὴν τέχνην ὁ ἐκ Θάσου Πολύγνωτος: and Brunn, Gr. K. ii. 61.

282. Scione, Thucyd., iv. 120 *seq.*; Sphacteria, Thucyd., iv. 8 *seq.*
283. Lucian, Demonax, 53.
284. Dem. contra Aristogeit., B 807.
285. Ælian, Var. Hist. viii. 16.
286. Statius, Theb. xii. 481 *seq.*
287. Aristoph., Lysistr. 1138; Schol. *ad loc.* Soph., Œd. Col. 261; Schol. *ad loc.*
288. Aus Kydathen, Wilamowitz, p. 201, note.
289. Thucyd., vi. 54.
290. Herodot., ii. 7.
291. Boeck, C. I., no. 525.
292. Æsch. c. Timarch., 140; Æsch., de Fals. Leg. 145.
293. Plut., Thes. 36.
294. Dittenberger, de Epheb. 51—ἔδοσαν καὶ βιβλία εἰς τὴν ἐν Πτολεμαΐῳ βιβλιοθήκην.
295. For the report of these excavations, see Kumanudis, δύω γεν. συνελ. τ. ἀρχ. ἑταιρ., 1862, p. 7.
296. Brunn, Annali, 1861, p. 412, sees in one of the heads found near the Attalus Stoa the head of Juba, but the identification lacks proof.
297. Cic., de Fin. i. 11, 39—Athenis statua est in Cerameico Chrysippi sedentis, porrecta manu.
298. Diog. Laert. *loc. cit.*—ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ σωμάτιον εὐτελὴς ὡς δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδριάντος τοῦ ἐν Κεραμείκῳ ὃς σχεδόν τι ὑποκέκρυπται τῷ πλησίον ἱππεῖ. ὅθεν αὐτὸν Καρνέαδης Κρύσιππον ἔλεγεν.
299. Juvenal, i. 2, 5—

quamquam plena omnia gypso
Chrysippi invenias.

300. Lucian, Βιῶν πρᾶσις; Baumeister, Denkmäler, Chrysippus; Head, Hist. Num. 612.
301. Plut., Thes. xxxvi. 5.
302. C. I. A. iii. 292; Treasures, C. I. A. i. 213, 210.
303. Plut., De Exil. xviii.
304. Aristoph., Eq. 1311.
305. Thucyd., vi. 61.
306. Hygin., Poet. Astron. ii. 5.
307. Klein, Euphronios, 182.
308. Winter, Die jüngeren Attischen Vasen, p. 41, draws attention to the resemblance.
309. For the Bibliothèque krater, Mon., i. 52, 53. The Bologna krater is to be published in the Museo Italiano d'Antichità Classica, vol. iii. punt. 1.
310. Lucian, Pisc. 42, 610.
311. Dem., Phorm. xlv. 80—πονηρὸς οὗτος ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀνακείου. Bekker, An. Gr. i. p. 212, 12—Ἀνακεῖον. Διοσκούρων ἱερὸν οὗ νῦν οἱ μισθοφοροῦντες δοῦλοι ἑστᾶσιν.
312. Polyaen., Strat. i. 21, 2—Πεισίστρατος Ἀθηναίων τὰ ὅπλα βουλόμενος παρελέσθαι παρήγγειλεν ἥκειν ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ Ἀνάκειον μετὰ τῶν ὅπλων οἱ μὲν ἧκον . . . οἱ ἐπίκουροι προέλθοντες ἀράμενοι τὰ ὅπλα κατήνεγκαν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Ἀγραύλου.
313. Thucyd., viii. 93; Andok., de Myst. i. 45.
314. P., ii. 22, 5.
315. P., iii. 18, 8.
316. Plin., N. H. xxxiv. 78.
317. Iliad, iii. 243.
318. P., iii. 24, 5.
319. P., x. 38, 7.
320. P., x. 33, 6.
321. Mitt., 1885, Taf. iv.; and Mitt. x. 194.
322. Plut., Thes. 33.
323. Xen., Hell. vi. 3, 6.
324. Athenaeus, iv. 137; Athenaeus, xi. p. 500—Μνημονεύει δὲ τῶν Βοιωτικῶν σκύφων Βακχυλίδης ἐν τούτοις ποιούμενος τὸν λόγον πρὸς τοὺς Διοσκόρους καλῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξενίᾳ.

οὐ βοῶν παρέστι σώματ' οὔτε χρυσός
οὔτε πορφύρεοι τάπητες ἀλλὰ θυμὸς εὐμενής
Μοῦσα τε γλυκεῖα καὶ βοιωτιοίσιν
ἐν σκύφοισιν οἶνος ἡδύς.

For the Theoxenia generally, see Deneken, De Theoxeniis, Berlin, 1881.

325. P., iii. 16, 3.

326. Deux peintures de Vases Grecs, W. Fröhner, 1871, plates i. and ii. Naukratis, C. Smith, p. 51.

327. Clem., Protrept. 16, ed. Pott.

328. Theodoret, de Therap. 8, p. 115 — *καὶ μέντοι καὶ τοὺς Τυνδάριδας Θεοὺς ἐκάλεσαν Ἕλληνες καὶ Διοσκούρους ὠνόμασαν, καὶ Ἐφεστίους καὶ Ἀνακας, καὶ τεμένων οὐκ ἐν Σπαρτῇ μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ Ἀθήναις τούτους ἠξίωσαν καὶ ἄλλους δὲ παμπόλλους ἀθλιοὺς καὶ τρισαθλιοὺς ἐποίησαν ἀνθρωπικοῖς καὶ δημοθοινίαις ἐτίμησαν.*

329. Athenaeus, p. 137 E.

330. Kuhnert, Eine neue Leukippiden Vase, Jahrbuch. ii. p. 171.

331. Meidias Vase—Klein, Meistersignaturen, p. 203; Gerhard, Notice sur le Vase de Meidias, Berlin, 1840. Other vases and representations, A. Z., 1852, pl. 40 and 41.

332. P., viii. 11, 2.

333. P., v. 17, 9.

334. For Caere vase, Mon. Just. x. 4, 5; Annali, 1874, p. 92 ff.

335. P., iii. 18, 6.

336. Herodot., *loc. cit.*

337. Eur., Ion, 492.

338. Dem., de Fals. Leg. 438—*καὶ τὸν ἐν τῷ τῆς Ἀγλαύρου τῶν ἐφήβων ὅρκον.* Schol. ad Dem., *loc. cit.* Ἀγραύλειον — *τὸ τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἱερὸν Ἐρεχθέως κόρης*; and Schol. ad Dem. xix. 363—*εἶτα ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τούτου* (*i.e.*, her sacrifice) *ἐστήσαντο αὐτῇ περὶ τὰ προπύλαια τῆς πόλεως.*

339. Plut., Alc. 15.

340. Pollux, viii. 106 — *ἵστορες θεοὶ Ἄγραυλος, Ἐνυάλιος, Ἄρης, Ζεύς, Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἡγεμόνη.*

341. Harpocrat., p. 4—Ἄγλαυρος *ἡ θυγατὴρ Κέκροπός ἐστι δὲ καὶ ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηνᾶς.*

342. Rhangabè, Inscr., 1111 — *Ἀγλαύρου ἱερεία Φειδοστράτη, κ.τ.λ.*

343. Hesychius, Πλυντήρια — *ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγλαύρῳ τῇ Κέκροπος θυγατρὶ ἄγουσιν.*

344. Phot., Lex. p. 127 — *τὰ μὲν Πλυντήρια φασι διὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυνθῆναι ἐσθῆτας. εἶθ' οὕτω πλύνθεισας τὴν ὀνομασίαν λαβεῖν ταύτην.*

345. Plut., Vit. X. Orat., Dem.—*ἔστι δ' αὐτὸν εἰκὼν ἐν τῷ πρυτανείῳ εἰσίοντων πρὸς τὴν ἑστίαν δεξιᾷ, ὁ πρῶτος περιεζωσμένος ἅμα τῷ ἱματίῳ καὶ ξίφος. οὕτω γὰρ δημηγορῆσαι λέγεται ἡνίκα Ἀντίπατρος ἐζήτει τοὺς ῥήτορας*; but a little later it is said—*εἰς τὴν τῆς εἴκονος στάσιν ἐν ἀγορᾷ, κ.τ.λ.*

346. Ælian, Var. Hist. ix. 39.

347. Plut., Solon, 25.

348. P., ix. 32.

349. Xen., Symp. i.

350. For the Prytaneion generally, see G. Hagemann, De Prytaneo, Breslau, 1880; and Schol. Hermes vi., Die Speisung um Prytaneum zu Athen.

351. Plut,. Conj. Praec. xlii.—*Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι. πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα, δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ· τρίτον ὑπὸ Πόλιν τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον. Τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει.*

352. Bekker, An. Gr. p. 449, 19—*ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καθῆστο παρὰ τῷ καλουμένῳ Βουκολείῳ, τὸ δὲ ἦν πλησίον τοῦ Πρυτανείου.* Zenob., iv. 93—*τὸ ὄπισθεν τοῦ πρυτανείου πεδίον.* Hesych., *in voc.* And for question of Bouzyges, see Stephani, Compte Rendu, 1859, p. 75.

DIVISION B

THE CITY OF HADRIAN AND THE DISTRICT OF THE ILISSUS, FROM THE SERAPEION TO THE STADION (C. XVIII. 4 TO C. XIX. 6).

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SECTION X*

SERAPEION—OLYMPIEION AND PYTHION

(Including Stoa of Hadrian, Tower of the Winds, and Gate of Athene Archegetis)

TEXT, i. 18, §§ 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; 19, § 1.

i. 18, 4. ON the way from the Prytaneion to the lower part of the city is the sanctuary of Serapis, a divinity whose worship the Athenians imported from the country of Ptolemy. The most famous of the Egyptian sanctuaries of Serapis is the one at Alexandria, while the most ancient is at Memphis; into this temple no strangers are permitted to enter, nor even the priests themselves until after the burial of Apis. Not far from the sanctuary of Serapis is the place where Theseus and Peirithöos are said to have agreed to make their two expeditions, first to Lacedaemon, and after that to Thesprotia.

i. 18, 5. Near there is a temple of Eileithyia, who came from the Hyperboreans to Delos to help Leto in her travail. The Delians are said to have taught the other nations the name of Eileithyia, and the Delians sacrifice to Eileithyia and sing the hymn of Olen. But the Cretans believe that Eileithyia was born at Amnisos in the Gnossian district, and that she was the child of Hera. It is only the Athenians whose wooden images of Eileithyia are completely draped to the tips of the toes. The women told me that two of these images were Cretan and were dedicated by Phaedra. The third and most ancient was brought by Erysichthon from Delos.

i. 18, 6. The temple of Zeus Olympios was dedicated by Hadrian, the Roman emperor, who also set up the image of the god, which is worth seeing. Leaving out of account the colossal figures at Rhodes and Rome, it exceeds in size all other

* For the conjectural position of monuments in this section, see the map of Athens at the beginning of Division A.

images. The material is gold and ivory, and the workmanship is good considering the size. Outside this sanctuary are two statues of Hadrian in Thasian marble and two in Egyptian marble; in front of the pillars bronze statues are set up, called by the Athenians "the colonies." The whole enclosed space round the temple is about four stades in circuit, and is completely filled with statues. For every city has presented a portrait statue of the Emperor Hadrian, and the Athenians have overtopped all the rest by setting up the remarkable colossus behind the temple.

i. 18, 7. The antiquities in the enclosure are a bronze Zeus, a shrine of Kronos and Rhea, and a precinct dedicated to Earth, surnamed "the Olympian." Here there is an opening in the ground about a cubit wide, where they say that after the flood in the time of Deucalion the water ran away, and every year there is thrown into it a cake made of meal mixed with

i. 18, 8. honey. On a pillar is a statue of Isocrates, a man who left behind him a threefold reputation—for industry, in that after he had attained his ninety-eighth year he continued to take pupils; for prudence, inasmuch as he always abstained from politics and did not meddle in public matters; for nobleness of spirit, because the news of the battle at Chaeronea so grieved him that he died a voluntary death.

There is also a group, in Phrygian marble, of some Persians holding up a bronze tripod; the figures and the tripod are both worth inspection. They say that Deucalion built the old sanctuary of Zeus Olympios, and as a proof of the sojourn of Deucalion at Athens point to his tomb, which is not far from the present temple.

i. 18, 9. Hadrian also adorned Athens with a temple of Hera and Zeus Panhellenios and a sanctuary dedicated to all the gods. Most striking among his works are the Hundred Pillars; these are of Phrygian marble, and the walls are arranged like those of colonnades. There is a building there, with a gilded roof and alabaster stone, also decorated with images and paintings; this building contains books. There is moreover a gymnasium, called after Hadrian; this also has a hundred pillars of marble from the Libyan quarries.

i. 19, 1. After the temple of Zeus Olympios is an image of Apollo Pythios. There is another sanctuary of Apollo where he is worshipped as Delphinios. Legend says that when this temple was finished all but the roofing, Theseus, who was not yet known to any one, came to Athens. As he wore a long robe and had his hair carefully plaited, when he reached the temple of Apollo Delphinios, the men who were working on the roof jeered at him and asked what marriageable maid was this walking all alone. Theseus answered them not a word, but unyoking—so runs the story—the oxen from their

cart, which was standing near, hurled them up on the roof, higher than the point at which they had finished covering in the temple.

COMMENTARY ON i. 18, §§ 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; 19, § 1.

From the Prytaneion, it appears, two roads branched: one, which Pausanius now follows, led by way of the Olympieion to the "lower parts of the city"—*i.e.*, the part round about the Ilissus; and the other, which he later follows (xx. 1), keeping close round the eastern and south-eastern foot of the Acropolis.

On his way to the Olympieion, the site of which is happily known beyond a doubt and gives us a fixed point, Pausanias saw—

1. The temple of Serapis.
2. The place where Theseus and Peirithöos made their pact.
3. The temple of Eileithyia.

The worship of Serapis was brought in by Ptolemy, and the temple Pausanias saw was probably built by the Athenians to his honour. Long before, however, Aristophanes[1] had raised his protest, and complained that "Athens was turned into Egypt by the host of strange gods."

The only clue we have to the whereabouts of the Serapeion, beyond the fact that it is on the way between the Prytaneion and the Olympieion, is given by some remains—a basis and inscriptions—found near the Metropolitan Church and presumably not far from their original place; further, in the ruins of a chapel at the northern foot of the Acropolis a relief was found, representing a bull, and an inscription[2] "to Serapis and Isis." Presumably, then, the Serapeion is to seek between the north-eastern extremity of the Acropolis and the Metropolitan Church.

For the site of the temple of Eileithyia we have no more certain data. A stele[3] inscribed "When Pamphile was priestess, Cherion dedicated his daughter Chrysippe to Eileithyia," was found in this neighbourhood, but whether close to the Metropolis or not is uncertain. A similar uncertainty prevails about the finding of another inscription; so here again we get little from the monuments except the general confirmation of the statement of Pausanias that the Eileithyia temple lay between the Prytaneion and the Olympieion. Plato[4] mentions the temple of Eileithyia as a place where women were

likely to be congregated, but he gives no clue to its whereabouts.

Of the Eileithyian legends, Pausanias gives the Delian form, which, owing to the spread of Apollo worship, obtained in literature. The writer of the Homeric hymns tells in full how, by the promise of a golden necklace bright with amber, Iris prevailed on Eileithyia to relieve Leto from her nine days' labour on the barren island of Delos. The whole legend was doubtless ætiological, to account for the worship of Apollo in a remote and desolate spot. The hymn by Olen, Pausanias[6] mentions once again, when at Cleitor, in Arcadia, he saw a "notable" temple to Eileithyia, and remarks—"Homer says there are several Eileithyias, but does not say how many; but Olen, the Lycian, who was earlier than Homer, and wrote for the Delians a hymn to Eileithyia, says she was the same as Fate and older than Kronos, and he calls her Eulinos." Again,[7] speaking of the Eros at Thespiae in Boeotia, he says—"Olen, the Lycian, the writer of the most ancient Greek hymns, says in his hymn to Eileithyia that she was mother of Eros." A somewhat strange reversal of natural genealogy, and only intelligible on the supposition that in some local cults Eileithyia was a form of Aphrodite.

The Cretan legend is as early as Homer, and probably much earlier than the Delian form. Odysseus,[8] when he was forced by stress of weather to put in at Crete, "stayed his ships at Amnisos, whereby is the cave of Eileithyia."

The myth of Erysichthon is very obscure. At Prasiae, a seat of Apollo worship, Pausanias[9] saw a monument over his tomb, for he was reported to have died there on his way home from Delos. Elsewhere[10] Pausanias mentions him as the son of Cecrops, and says he died in his father's lifetime. Plutarch[11] says that he dedicated the oldest xoanon of Apollo at Delos. Plato[12] mentions him after Erechtheus and Erichthonios, but can give no particulars of him. He is one of those "ancient names that are preserved without their deeds." He must not be confused with the Thessalian Erysichthon, son of Triops, who violated the grave of Demeter, and was by her cursed with perpetual hunger.[13] The chief point about the Athenian Erysichthon is that he seems a shadowy figure invented or utilised to link the cults of Delos with the early traditions of Athens. The theoria to Delphi was in like manner, as has been already seen, associated with the myth of Theseus. In general, as regards Eileithyia, she seems to have been a goddess whose worship, springing up, as it naturally

would, in widely sundered places, took the form of, and by genealogy linked itself with, whatever local cult was predominant. She was associated with Hera naturally as goddess of marriage, and reputed at Crete her daughter; she was there, no doubt, simply an aspect of Hera. The temenos of Hera Eileithyia at Athens is attested by an inscription. Again, in Boeotia, she was a sub-form of Artemis; it was natural to connect her with any moon-goddess.

As to the types of the goddess in art, she will later be noted on vase-paintings, where the two Eileithyias preside over the birth of Athene. The double number shows the impersonal and purely functional character of her early aspects. Pausanias expressly states that the Athenians alone represented her as draped to the feet, but in his account of Ægium,[14] in Achaia, he no less expressly states that in her ancient temple there her statue "was veiled from her head to her toes with a fine woven veil. It was made of wood, with the exception of the face and the toes, which are of Pentelic marble. One of her hands is stretched straight out, and the other holds a torch." Of this torch Pausanias offers two facile explanations. The torches of Eileithyia may mean, he thinks, that the throes of travail are to women like fire, or that Eileithyia brings children forth into the light. If at Ægium Eileithyia was akin to Artemis, the torches need no further comment. The comment of Pausanias on the completely draped type suggests that the current types were either (1) with short drapery, like Artemis, or (2) nude. The short drapery is so natural that we may safely suppose it existed; but as to the nude type, it may be conjectured that it was a statue of this type that was preserved in the temple at Hermione. Here, Pausanias says, "they worship the goddess daily in various ways, with sacrifice and incense, and to her most of the votive offerings were given; but on her statue no one may look except the priestesses only." The votive offering of women after childbirth may probably have taken the form of the curious votive group now in the museum at Sparta.

The veiled type of the goddess is well seen in a coin of Argos (fig. 1). Eileithyia holds one torch raised, the other depressed; a worshipper approaches. But from the account that Herodotus[15] gives of the Hyperborean legend as known in Delos, it seems that even the Delos form had a less august origin. After telling of the two maidens, Hyperoche and Laodike, who brought the first offerings from the Hyperboreans to Delos and died there,

he adds—"They say, moreover, that once before there came to Delos, by the same road as Hyperoche and Laodike, two other virgins from the Hyperboreans, whose names were Arge and Opis. Hyperoche and Laodike came to bring to Eileithyia the offering which they had laid upon themselves in acknowledgment of their quick labours. But Arge and Opis came at the same time as the gods of Delos and are honoured in the same way. For the Delian women make collections in these maidens' names, and invoke them in the hymn which Olen, a Lycian, composed for them, and the rest of the islanders and even the Ionians have been taught by the Delians to do the like. This Olen, who came from Lycia, made the other old hymns also which are sung in Delos. The Delians add that the ashes from the thigh-bones burnt upon the altar are scattered over the tomb of Opis and Arge. Their tomb lies behind the temple of Artemis, facing the east, near the banqueting hall of the Ceians." In honour of the stranger damsels various ceremonies were performed. "All the Delian girls and youths" were wont, Herodotus says, "to cut off their hair to do them service. The girls before their marriage-day cut off a curl, and, twining it round a distaff, lay it upon the grave of the strangers. This grave is on the left as one enters the precinct of Artemis, and has an olive tree growing on it. The youths wind some of their hair round a kind of grass, and, like the girls, place it upon the tomb." Here clearly Eileithyia was worshipped originally as having succoured a pair of maidens whose names were variously given; then, when the Apollo cult prevailed, the figure of Leto to a certain extent obscured that of the maidens.

FIG. 1.—COIN: EILEITHYIA.

In passing from the temple of Eileithyia to the Olympieion, Pausanias leaves the "city of Theseus" for the city of Hadrian. In this new city traces of ancient cults, memories of old associations, still survive, but they are for the most part obscured by the glory of the beneficent emperor. The Olympieion is exactly a case in point; its foundation was attributed to Deucalion, but its completion was reserved for Hadrian. The somewhat confused and scrappy account of Pausanias will have to be taken under three headings—

1. Extant remains of the temple.
2. Literary tradition as to its building.
3. Monuments set up within the temple and peribolos.

Happily, as to the site of the Olympieion there is no shadow of a doubt. It was identified in 1673 by a Prussian archæologist, Transfeldt; but as his MS. was never published for two centuries, it was left for Stuart to re-make the discovery in the last century. The plan, as made out now, is shown in fig. 2—a cella surrounded by a double peristyle, with twenty columns to the side, eight to the front. Till quite recently the temple had been regarded as decastyle; Dr. Dörpfeld's conjecture, that it was octostyle, was confirmed by excavations made by the Dilettanti

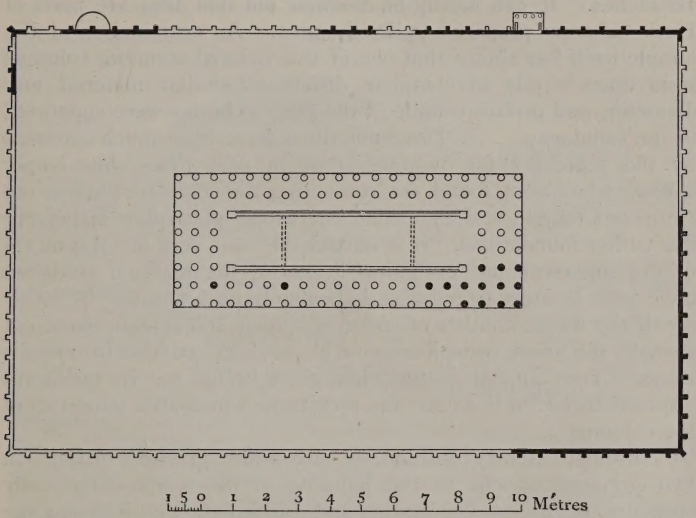


FIG. 2.—PLAN OF OLYMPIEION.
Portions printed black still extant; portions printed in outline conjecturally restored.

Society, under the superintendence of Mr. Penrose, then director of the British School of Archæology at Athens.[16] Mr. Penrose writes as follows—"At and around the temple of Jupiter Olympius a good deal has been done. An accidental cutting to improve the road on the north side of the peribolos disclosed a portico of which the plan can be perfectly recovered, as well as the pedestal and base of its columns and antae, which formed a sort of Propylaea ranging with the east end of the temple. There was probably a similar portico westwards, but whatever existed there has been entirely cleared away. From the style of the architecture of this

portico it may, with the greatest probability, be assigned to the time of the Emperor Hadrian. It was never completely finished. Near it are the foundations of pedestals of statues, and parts of the pedestals themselves, with inscriptions upon them, were found near them.

"Near to this portico, as shown on the plan, are the foundations of a building evidently of an earlier epoch, which are formed of segments of the drums of large columns, influted and of poros stone. The diameter of one of them is not less than 7 feet 10 inches. It can hardly be doubted but that they are parts of Doric columns prepared by Peisistratos. An examination of the temple itself has shown that one of the isolated standing columns rests upon a pile of complete drums of similar material and diameter, and probably some of the other columns were supported in the same way. . . . The foundations have been much uprooted by the searchers for building stone in past times, but amply sufficient has been found for recovering the complete plan of the Antiochus temple, and also some interesting particulars respecting the earlier foundations. It is remarkable how very few fragments of the superstructure, excepting drums of the external columns, have been brought to light, and absolutely no sculpture."

Of the whole number of columns fifteen still remain standing, perhaps the most conspicuous of all ancient remains in modern times. They appear in the view given in fig. 3. In mediæval days an anchorite lived on the architrave which still joins two of the columns.

Turning to literary tradition, we can, in the same way, distinguish two principal epochs in the building of the temple—the early structure, begun by Peisistratos and carried on by his sons; the later, begun after a lapse of four hundred years by Antiochus Epiphanes (*circ.* 174 B.C.) and completed by Hadrian. Vitruvius [17] preserves for us the names of the four architects employed by Peisistratos—Antistates, Callaeschrus, Antimachides, and Porinus. It seems strange that a temple of a plan so magnificent should have escaped the general havoc of the Persians, but it may be that it was not far enough advanced to tempt their rage. Enough, however, was certainly above ground to excite constant admiration. Aristotle [18] speaks of it as one of the vast undertakings which, like the pyramids of Egypt, were the outcome of despotism, and his disciple Dicearchus [19] says—"Though half finished, it created wonder by the design of its building, which would have been admirable if completed." Probably Aristotle's remark touches the

true reason of a work so splendid being left incomplete. It was a monument of tyranny, and so best let alone by the democracy. It was reserved for a foreign king, the Syrian Antiochus Epiphanes, to take up the task left incomplete by a tyrant's sons. We are told that he employed the Roman architect Cossutius, and that he left it half finished (ἡμιτελές); but how he found it, and whether "half finished" is to be taken literally, there is no means of deciding. Cossutius "chose the Corinthian," which from that time on obtained in the temple. When Epiphanes died (164 B.C.), the work stopped, and we hear no more till Sulla carries off some

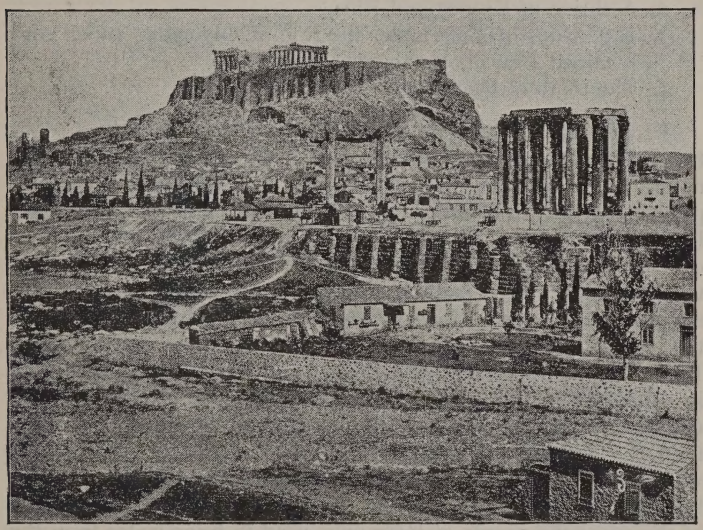


FIG. 3.—VIEW OF OLYMPIEION, SHOWING EXTANT COLUMNS AND FOUNDATIONS.

of the columns to build into the Capitoline temple at Rome (*circ.* 84 B.C.). In the time of Arignotus a project for completing the temple seems to have been formed but not carried out, as the building long after is still spoken of as unfinished. Plutarch, in his *Life of Solon*,[20] says—"As the temple of Zeus Olympios at Athens is the only one left without the last touch, so the wisdom of Plato among all his admirable works has only left the *Atlantis* unfinished." In the *Icaro Menippus*[21] of Lucian one of the questions that Zeus eagerly asks, as he takes Menippus home to supper, is, "Do the Athenians think of building up my temple?" Zeus had

to wait till 130 A.D., when the vast structure was completed; the "great struggle of time" (*χρόνου μέγα ἀγώνισμα*) was ended at last,[22] and the occasion celebrated by a discourse or hymn in honour of the god, and, we may well believe, of the emperor.

Passing to the various monuments, sacred enclosures, etc., which Pausanias saw in and about the temple, it is convenient to take them in an order roughly chronological.

Associated with the primeval traditions of the place, we have the following group—

1. An ancient bronze statue of Zeus.
2. A shrine of Kronos and Rhea.
3. A temenos of Gaia under the title of Olympeia, which contained Deucalion's chasm.
4. The tomb of Deucalion.

Kronos, Rhea, and Gaia all belong to an early stratum of tradition. When the dynasty of Olympian Zeus was established, it was natural to incorporate these older gods into the later cycle, and probably by way of connecting-link they took on as sub-title—*e.g.*, in the case of Gaia Olympeia—the name of the new ruler. Deucalion also is a name of primeval associations. His cult was apt to arise wherever a suitable chasm or an underground spring suggested his legend. Lucian,[23] in his description of the temple of the Syrian goddess, says its foundation also was attributed to Deucalion, in whose time the great flood happened, and he tells in detail the current story. He adds—"Another fact of a most curious nature is related by the people of Hierapolis, who say that they have a large chasm or opening which received all the waters of the deluge, and that when this happened Deucalion built altars and a shrine to Hera near to the chasm." In memory of the event the people of Hierapolis used to bring water from the sea and pour it into the hole, which absorbed large quantities of it. The ritual of the Athenians consisted—no doubt among many other ceremonies—of the casting in of a honey-cake, an offering probably to the dead who had perished at the flood. A honey-cake was offered at Epidaurus to Asklepios, originally a god of the lower world. The offering of the honey-cake at Athens took place in the month Anthesterion (March). Plutarch[24] says that on the day when Sulla took Athens "the Athenians were performing many rites in memory of the destruction of their country by water, for the flood was supposed to have happened at this time of the year." There still exist beneath the peribolos of the temple deep vaults,

which are connected by a subterranean passage with the spring Kallirrhoe.

Following chronological order, next come two monuments—

1. Statues of Persians holding up a brazen tripod.
2. Statue of Isocrates on a pillar.

Of the Persian monument nothing further is known. The statue of Isocrates was dedicated to Zeus; otherwise, of course, it could not have stood within the precinct. The Plutarchic *Life*[25] states that it was erected by his adopted son Aphareus, and bore the following inscription (in elegiacs):—"Aphareus dedicated this statue of his father Isocrates to Zeus, in honour of the gods and the merit of his ancestors." The tomb of Isocrates was near the Kynosarges.

Last come the long series of Hadrian monuments as follows:—

1. The chryselephantine colossus of Zeus, inside the temple.
2. Two statues of Hadrian in Thasian, two in Egyptian stone, in front of the temple.
3. Colossus of Hadrian, at the back of the temple.
4. A bronze statue of each of the colonies.
5. A statue of Hadrian sent by each of the colonies.

It seems probable that the type of Zeus being once fixed by Pheidias at Olympia, the statue erected by Hadrian would be simply a copy, especially as the material was gold and ivory. Presumably we have a copy of it in the seated Zeus which appears on the Roman coinage of Athens (fig. 4). Each colony, it seems, dedicated a statue of itself personified, no doubt somewhat after the fashion of the well-known Antiocheia statue. These personified cities were set up close to the temple pillars. In addition, each city dedicated a portrait statue of the emperor. A large number of dedicatory inscriptions on bases have been found, which no doubt belonged to some of these statues. They all follow the same pattern. Hadrian usurps the titles of Zeus himself; he is the "Olympian," the "Saviour," the "Benefactor."

FIG. 4.—COIN, WITH SEATED ZEUS.

Pausanias makes no mention of the arch or landmark of Hadrian which stands to the north-west of the Olympieion, seen in fig. 5. Its appearance is sufficiently mean now, and must have been meaner still when the great temple close at hand stood complete; but we can scarcely suppose that it was on this account that Pausanias

passed it by. Its architecture is so inferior to that of the known buildings of Hadrian, that it seems likely it was not built by him at all, but by some successor or admirer. Formerly it was supposed that this arch served as gateway to the peribolos of the temple, but its orientation is quite independent, and moreover, as has been noted above, the true Propylaea has been discovered.

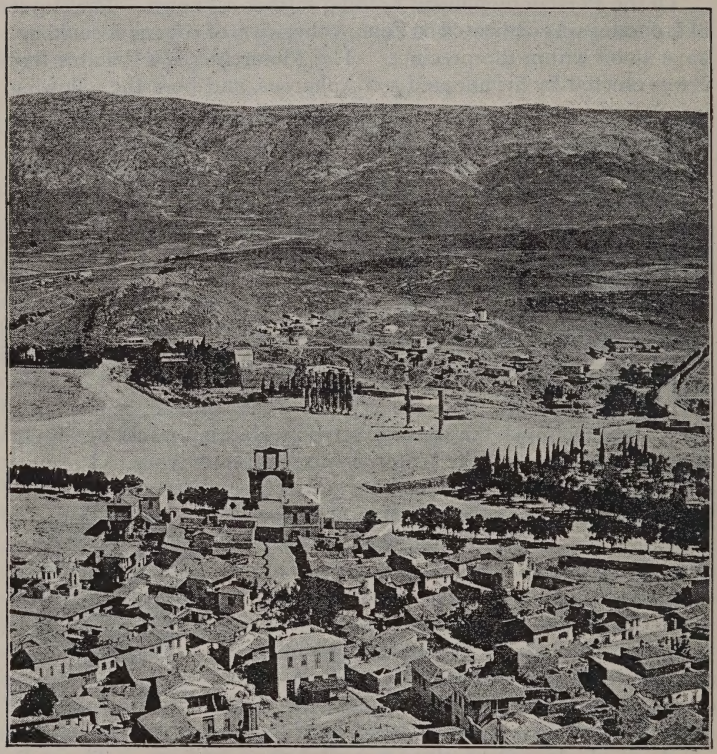


FIG. 5.—VIEW OF LANDMARK OF HADRIAN.

The building seems to have served no other purpose than that of a sort of triumphal landmark. The architrave on both sides is inscribed. On the side towards the Acropolis the inscription reads, "This is Athens, the former city of Theseus" (αἵδ' εἴσ' Ἀθῆναι Θησέως ἡ πρὶν πόλις); on the side towards the Olympieion, "This is the city of Hadrian and not of Theseus" (αἵδ' εἴσ'

Ἀδριανοῦ καὶ οὐχὶ Θησέως πόλις). Probably the arch served at once to mark some ancient traditional boundary, and at the same time it glorified the emperor. Strabo[26] describes a similar boundary pillar which stood at the Isthmus. On the one side was written, "This is Peloponnesus and not Ionia;" on the other, "This is not Peloponnesus but Ionia."

Pausanias next proceeds in a passage of the most tiresome vagueness to enumerate certain notable buildings in other parts of Athens. It would be beside my purpose to discuss in detail the

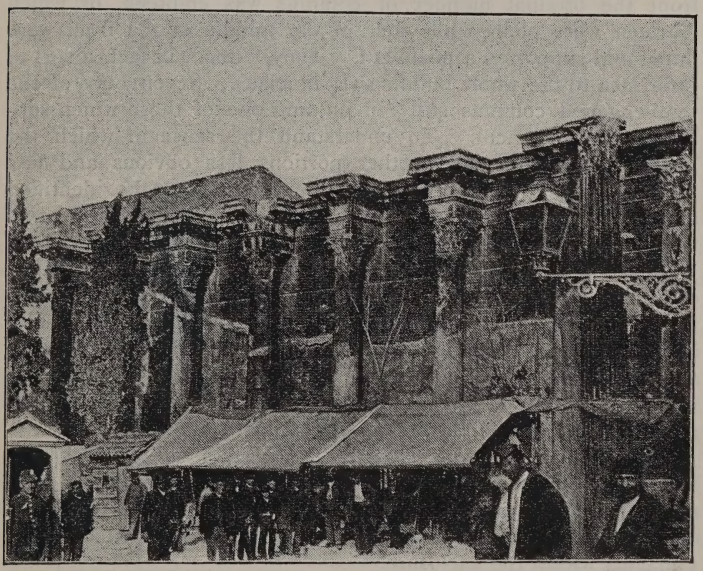


FIG. 6.—STOA OF HADRIAN.
Portion to the left (facing), N in the plan.

secular buildings of Hadrian, but a word must be said about certain extant remains which may with a high degree of probability be connected with this passage. Every tourist either goes to see, or in his search for the Athenian bazaar accidentally sees, the familiar wall and columns known as the "Stoa of Hadrian."[27] The high dark wall, faced by the row of Corinthian columns, the Turkish mosque (now used as a barrack), at the end the row of shoemakers' booths, make up, seen by the evening light, one of the most picturesque bits of modern Athens. A view of it is

given in fig 6. The name "stoa" is, perhaps, to those who only look at this outside wall, somewhat misleading. The wall faced by the columns is only a portion of an ornamental front, not in itself a stoa at all. This front is in itself, however, noticeable. The Corinthian columns are a little detached from the plain wall behind, and they support an entablature and cornice. These entablatures return over each column along the wall. It is possible that, as Dodwell suggested, they were intended to support statues. Along this north-western front the original number of columns was eighteen, of which fourteen were plain, while four in the middle of the front were fluted and supported a pediment. They formed, in fact, a sort of propylaea to the whole building (N in plan). Seven only of the semi-engaged columns still remain, and one of those which supported the pediment. To understand the sense in which the building is a stoa, some other portions less obvious and less picturesque, but topographically all-important, must be identified and fitted together by the help of the plan. To find the rest of the remains, the student must pass by way of the street of Hephaistos to the Æolus street. He will there see to the left a dark high wall of poros stone, which again serves as a shelter to workpeople's booths. A wooden door leads through the enclosure, and he will then find himself within the great complex structure shown on the plan. Up to 1886 this great enclosure was roofed in, used as the provision-market of Athens, and surmounted, first by the clock Lord Elgin gave in exchange for the Parthenon marbles, and later by a German substitute. The level of the floor had been raised to the height of about four metres by the accumulated débris of centuries. The true level could only be found in the semi-subterranean Church of the Megale Panageia within the enclosure.

All this (fully described in Murray's *Guide*, p. 250) is now changed. The Archæological Society of Athens[28] have fully excavated the eastern portion of the enclosure, and enough has been laid bare to make the general plan of the whole structure clear, though the precise intent of its particular parts, and unfortunately the name by which it should be called, remain uncertain. The ground plan cannot here be discussed in detail, but enough must be noted to bring out the probable connection with the account of Pausanias. In the plan (fig. 7) the strong black indicates walls still standing above ground; the cross-shading, walls or columns of which the foundations still

remain ; the single outline, walls or columns the existence of which

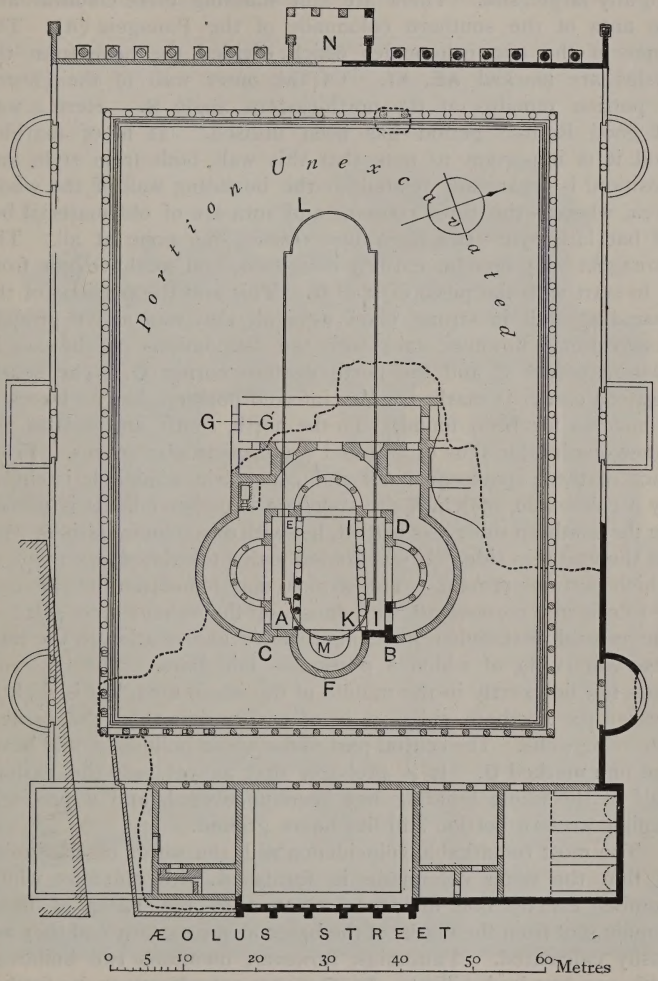


FIG. 7.—PLAN OF STOA OF HADRIAN.

is inferred. To begin with the building in the centre, which is a good deal complicated by the remains of the mediæval Church of

the Panageia. It is built itself on the site of an older church of slightly larger size. There are still standing three columns and an anta of the southern colonnade of the Panageia (A). The lines of the two colonnades which divided the nave from the aisles are marked AE, KI. Of the outer wall of the church a portion remains at the north-eastern angle B. Here a wall of good Roman period has been utilised. It is of marble; and it is important to note that this wall, both from style and position, is organically related to the bounding wall of the whole area, whereas the three columns and anta are of old material but of bad late style—two have Ionic bases, one none at all. The Panageia may now be entirely dismissed, and we have got from it to start with the piece of wall B. This and the portions of the bounding wall in strong black were all that was above ground. Excavations, however, laid bare the foundations of the south-eastern corner C and the north-western corner D. The south-western corner is marked in its inferred position, but no traces of it have so far been found. To the north, south, and west of the inner quadrangle thus established are semicircular spaces. From each of these spaces an inner and concentric semicircle is cut off by a colonnade, of which the stylobate is preserved. It is perfect on the southern side; less perfect, but with one column-basis *in situ*, on the northern side. It was floored with a tesselated pavement, of which portions remain. The semicircular foundation on the east (F) does not correspond with those on the other three sides of the central rectangle; it seems to have had relation to the long reservoir (LM), of which a portion is laid bare. The reservoir does not lie exactly in the middle of the whole area, but is slightly nearer the northern side; it is of earlier date than the earliest surviving walls. The central part of the whole building would be on the line marked G. It is probable that as yet only the eastern half of the whole building has been uncovered, and a precisely similar western portion still lies below ground.

The most remarkable coincidence with the words of Pausanias is that the outer colonnade is furnished with columns which number exactly one hundred. Not even the bases of these remain, but from the marks of the bases at the eastern end they are easily calculated. Pausanias, however, mentions two buildings with one hundred pillars. In the one case, however, he further adds that the walls are arranged like those of colonnades, and one building is certainly to all intents and purposes surrounded by a colonnade. It seems possible, though by no means certain,

that the centre quadrangular structure may be the building decorated with images and paintings, and containing books.

FIG. 8.—GATE OF ATHENE ARCHEGETIS.

A word must also be given to another building connected with the name of Hadrian. The gate of Athene Archegetis (fig. 8) stands

in the modern "Poikile" street. The four Doric columns which formed the front of the gate are still surmounted by architrave and plain pediment. When Stuart was in Athens, above this pediment was a basis which, according to the inscription,[29] supported a statue of Lucius Cæsar. He was grandson of Augustus, and could not be called Cæsar till the time of his adoption (12 A.D.), so the statue must have been set up subsequently to that date. On the architrave, still *in situ*, there is a second inscription which says that the building was dedicated by the people to Athene Archegetis (the Ruler) from money given by Julius Cæsar and Augustus his son in the archonship of Nikias.

About six feet to the east of these columns one of the antæ of the vestibule remains *in situ*, and about twenty-five feet to the west the jambs of the actual doorway can be seen, so that the direction of the whole structure is clear. It is on the northern jamb of the door that a third inscription is carved which brings the gateway into relation with Hadrian. It records an edict[30] of this emperor's regulating the sale of oil, and contains many interesting particulars, but is much too long for insertion here. Owing to this inscription it is generally thought that the monument in question was the gateway to the oil-market. Such a gateway would very naturally be dedicated to Athene, who indeed was the guardian of another public place with which her connection is less obvious—*i.e.*, the aqueduct of the Tower of the Winds.

On the western side of the square occupied by this Tower of the Winds are to be found some slight ancient remains which are usually supposed to give the eastern boundary of the oil-market. In the backyard of an old mosque—serving now, like the mosque near the Hadrian stoa, as a barrack—about three feet of an old column with Ionic capital may be seen above ground. It bears an architrave which can be traced through the wall southwards into a block of buildings across the next street.

It will be best, while we are concerned with this portion of Athens, to note a building of imperial Roman date but much earlier than Hadrian which, both from its mythological interest and its great impressiveness and beauty, has a strong claim to attention. The building, usually known now as the Tower of the Winds, stands in a sunken enclosure opposite the Medressè, once a Turkish college, now used as a jail. A view of it from the north, with the Acropolis behind, is given in fig. 9. It used to be called the "Tomb of Socrates," till in 1674 Spon identified it with the horologium or dial described by Vitruvius[31] and built by Andronicus of Cyrrhus.

Vitruvius describes it as an octagonal tower built of marble, with

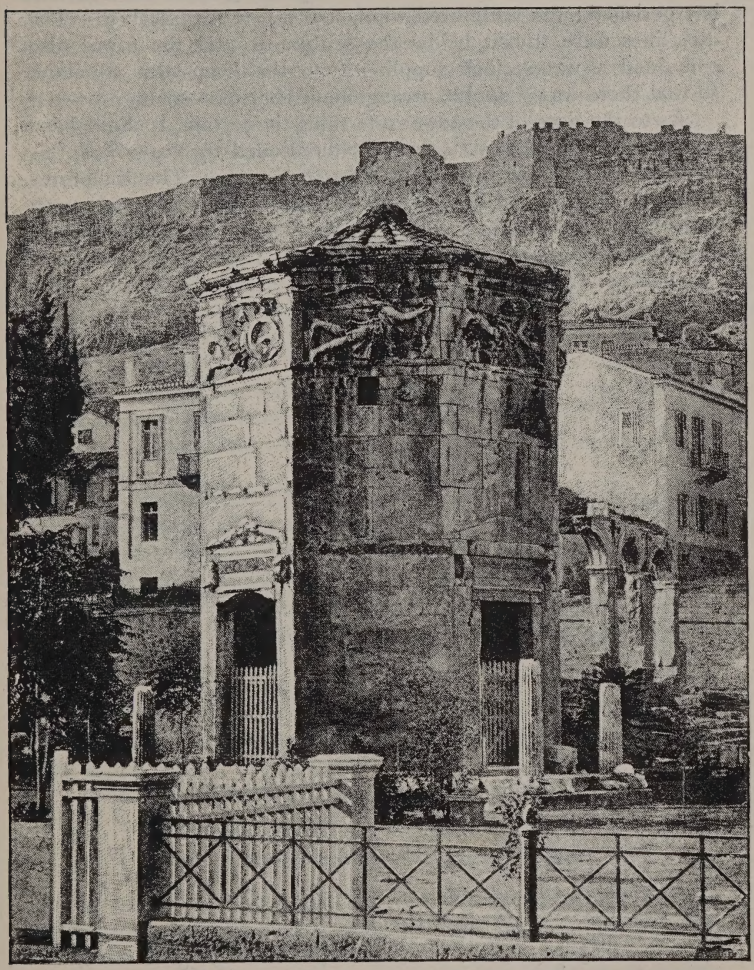


FIG. 9.—TOWER OF THE WINDS (NORTH SIDE).

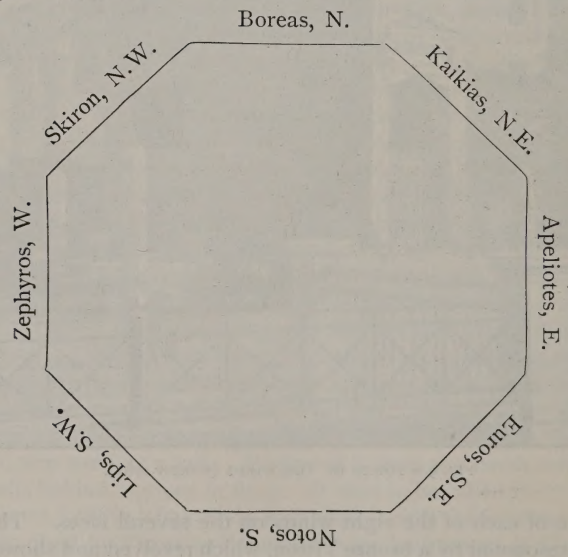
a figure of each of the eight winds on the several faces. The top was surmounted by a bronze Triton, which revolved and showed the

direction of the wind by a wand he held in his hand; the name of each wind was inscribed on the corresponding face. The Triton has perished; the sculptured winds are still well preserved. The dial lines were traced below the sculptures, and the tower also contained a water-clock supplied from the Klepsydra fountain, so that there was a double arrangement for time-keeping.

As to the date of the tower one thing is certain, it must have been built before 35 B.C., as it is mentioned by Varro [32] in his treatise *De Re Rustica*, published in that year. The sculptures are large in style and decoratively effective. They harmonise well with the strong plainness of the whole structure. Each wind is clearly characterised. They are as follows:—

1. Boreas, N.
2. Kaikias, N.E.
3. Apeliotes, E.
4. Euros, S.E.
5. Notos, S.
6. Lips, S.W.
7. Zephyros, W.
8. Skiron, N.W.

arranged thus—



Boreas, facing Æolus street, wears a thick chiton with sleeves and high buskins, and blows on a "wreathed horn." Kaikias, the north-east wind, holds a dish of olives—probably because the north-east wind shakes down the olive. Apeliotes, the east wind, shows his fruit and flowers—an association unfamiliar to us. In the woodcut Kaikias and Apeliotes are full in sight, and Euros is half in sight to the right hand. Euros, the south-east, is scowling, and has the right arm muffled in his drapery—portending a storm. The south wind, Notos, brings rain; he is about to pour it from the big jar he holds. Lips, the south-west wind, beloved of Greek sailors, drives on before him a ship; he and Notos, both gentle winds, have bare feet. Zephyros, the west wind, floats softly, showering flowers as he goes. The parching north-west, Skiron, holds a vessel of hot charcoal in his hands.

Within the tower was a water-clock, served from the Klepsydra on the Acropolis, and below the figures of the winds horary lines were traced and still remain. To the "journeying line" of that dial many a ravenous parasite must have looked as dinner-time drew near;[33] nor would there be wanting watchers who waited another hour.

When Stuart visited the tower last century, and still at the time of Gell's tour, it was used as a chapel for dancing dervishes. He has left a description of their dance called the "Sema." Stuart had to remove 2700 cubic feet of stones and dirt before he came to the original marble floor still *in situ*. To one side (the south) of the octagon a turret has been built, which, it is supposed, contained the cistern for the water-clock. A portion (two and a half inches) of the aqueduct which led from the Klepsydra to the turret still remains to the southern side of the tower, and on a piece of architrave the inscription was found with the dedication of the building to Athene Archegetis.[34]

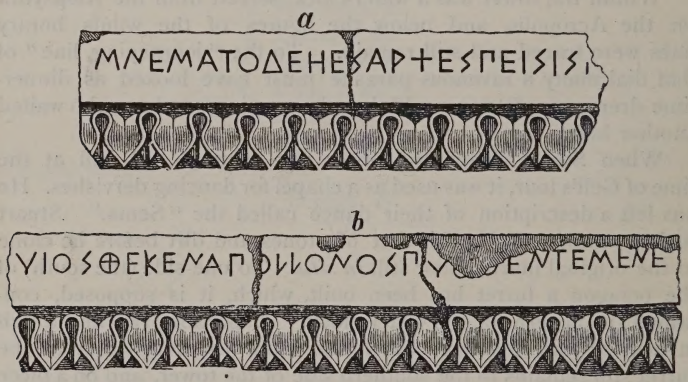
Leaving the Olympieion Pausanias next notes—

1. A statue of the Pythian Apollo.
2. A temple of the Delphinian Apollo.

Though he mentions nothing but the statue of the Pythian Apollo, from other sources it is certain that the god bearing that title had a precinct and temple.

The main archæological interest as to the precinct of Apollo Pythios centres round an altar built within its limits by Peisistratos, grandson of the tyrant. Thucydides says[35]—"Among others who thus held the annual archonship at Athens was Peisistratos,

a son of the tyrant Hippias. He was named after his grandfather Peisistratos, and during his term of office he dedicated the altar of the Twelve Gods in the Agora and another altar in the temple of the Pythian Apollo. The Athenian people afterwards added to one side of the altar in the Agora and so concealed the inscription upon it, but the other inscription on the altar of the Pythian Apollo may still be seen, although the letters are nearly effaced. It runs as follows:—'Peisistratos, son of Hippias, dedicated this memorial of his archonship in the sacred precinct of the Pythian Apollo.'" The altar must have been built between 527 and 510 B.C., and the precinct of course enclosed by that time. By great good fortune two fragments of the cymation of this very altar[36] have been discovered, and on it is inscribed the elegiac couplet reported by Thucydides, as follows:—



—*i.e.*, supplying from Thucydides the few missing letters,

Μνῆμα τόδ' ἧς ἀρχῆς Πεισίστ[ρατος Ἱππίου] υἱὸς
Θῆκεν Ἀπόλλωνος Πυ[θίου] ἐν τεμένει.

The two fragments were found in 1877 on the right bank of the Ilissus to the south-west of the Olympieion. They are now in the cellar of the Varvakion at Athens, and stand at present (1888) at the end of the long dark passage full of inscribed slabs. They can there only be examined by a very indifferent light, but the letters are cut with such beautiful sharpness that there is no difficulty in reading them. The inscription runs along the actual geison about three and a half inches deep, in letters a little under

an inch high; below is the cymation moulding, of which a squeeze is given in fig. 10. Oddly enough, Thucydides expressly notes that in his day the letters are indistinct (*ἀμυδροί*). The letters in their present state could not be so described; either they were originally painted and the colour had faded, or they must have been restored in Roman days. No one before Roman days would have troubled to restore a monument by Peisistratos; the colour theory is the more probable.

Hesychius[37] says that within the precinct was a temple built by Peisistratos. It is quite possible that it was only restored. That it was regarded as an early and venerable foundation may be considered certain from the fact that it is numbered with the

FIG. 10.—CYMATION MOULDING.

Olympieion in the passage of Thucydides already quoted (vi. 54), among the ancient temples that lay near the Acropolis. The two are mentioned together in an interesting passage from Strabo,[38] valuable because it helps to fix the site of both and makes it certain that the Olympieion was immediately *within*, the Pythion immediately *without*, the city walls. Speaking of Harma, in Attica, he says—"There the proverb took its rise.

"When the lightning has flashed through Harma."

The Pythiastai, as they are called, take note, by the order of the oracle, of any lightning that flashes when they are looking in the direction of Harma, and when they see it they dispatch the sacrifice to Delphi. They have to keep watch for three months, three days and nights in each month, at the altar of Zeus Astrapios,

the sender of lightning. This altar is on (or in) the wall between the Pythion and the Olympieion. This wall—which, mentioned so emphatically, can only be the city wall—ran then between the two precincts. Pausanias never mentions it, but this makes no difficulty, as he must have passed outside the walls to get to the suburb of Agrae, and yet nowhere says when he left the city proper. Probably the wall at this part was levelled when Hadrian's additions and improvements were made. The levelling would be no difficult matter, as Vitruvius [39] expressly tells us that a portion of the wall looking towards Hymettus and Pentelicus was built of brick. Had the altar of Zeus Astrapios still existed, it is just the sort of monument Pausanias would have been apt to mention. In his account of the mountains of Attica he speaks of a bronze statue of the Zeus of Parnes and an altar to him as sign-giver by lightning.

In the Pythion, or at least within the precinct, were set up the prize tripods won in the lyric contests that took place during the Apolline festival of the Thargelia. The contest took place between choirs who danced [40] round the altar of the god, probably the very altar of Peisistratos within the precinct. The custom of dedicating tripods to Dionysos for a tragic victory is well known. Possibly, as the tripod was more intimately associated with Apollo, the custom began with this god and was transferred to Dionysos; the two are often mentioned together. Isaeus [41] notes it as characteristic of the citizen of olden times that he offers tripods for choragic victory either in the temple of Dionysos or in the Pythion. Plato tells in the *Gorgias* [42] how Aristokrates, son of Skellios (one of the principal men among the Four Hundred), offered an offering of great beauty—no doubt a tripod—in the Pythion.

As to the site of the Delphinion, since Pausanias passes straight on to the low-lying region of the Gardens, we are perhaps justified in supposing that it lay to the east of the Olympieion, but we have no monumental evidence. It will be remembered that, according to tradition,[43] Theseus brought the Marathonian bull to the Delphinion and there sacrificed him; and also, before he started for Crete, he went to the Delphinion and there made an offering to Apollo of consecrated olive bound about with white wool, the regular suppliant bough. In memory of this, on the 6th day of Munychion, maidens were sent to the Delphinion to implore the mercy of the god. The service of the maidens points to Artemis Delphinia, and indeed we know from Pollux [44] that the sanctuary of the Delphinion was dedicated in the joint names,

and an inscription remains in which the name of Apollo Delphinios is followed—adopting a probable restoration—by that of Artemis Delphinia,[45] though the inscription is much mutilated.

According to Plutarch,[46] the palace of Ægeus was close to the Delphinion, and at the feast, when Medea plots to kill Theseus, the poison is spilt from the cup within the enclosure. The Hermes, which Plutarch says still stood on the eastern side of the temple, is called the Hermes of the gate of Ægeus. Pausanias says later on that the Delphinion was the regular court for the trial of those accused of justifiable homicide, of whom Theseus was the first instance when he slew the Pallantidae.

ADDENDA TO SECTION X

DR. DÖRPFELD writes to me :—

Page 194—"For a notice of some tombs that have been discovered near the Square of the Σύνταγμα, and their evidence for the limits of 'the city of Hadrian,' vide *Mitth. Athen*, 1888, p. 232."

Page 205—"According to Euripides (*Ion*, 285), the Pythian lightnings (ἀστραπαί τε Πύθιαι) were observed in the Pythion (p. 540) at the north-west corner of the Acropolis."

SECTION XI

DISTRICT OF THE GARDENS—THE STADION

TEXT, i. 19, §§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

i. 19, 2. THERE is no local tradition attached to the district called Kepoi (the "Gardens"), and the temple of Aphrodite, nor is there even to the Aphrodite which is set up close to the temple. This last is rectangular and similar in shape to the Hermae, and the inscription says that Aphrodite Ourania is the eldest of the deities called Moirai (Fates). The image of the Aphrodite of the Gardens is the work of Alcamenes, and quite one of the most remarkable things to be seen at Athens.

i. 19, 3. There is also a sanctuary of Herakles, called the Kynosarges; those who read the oracle can learn the story of the white dog. There are altars of Herakles and Hebe, the child of Zeus, who is believed to be the wife of Herakles. There is an altar to Alkmene and another to Iolaos, the companion of Herakles in most of his labours.

Another building, the Lykeion, takes its name from Lykos, the son of Pandion, but it has been considered sacred to Apollo from its very foundation down to the present day, and it was here that the god first received the name Lykeios. It is said that Lykos also gave his name to the Termilai, who are called Lykians after him because he took refuge with them when he fled from Ægeus.

i. 19, 4. Behind the Lykeion is the monument of Nisos, the king of the Megarians, who was killed by Minos, and whose body was conveyed here by the Athenians and buried. This Nisos is said to have had a crimson lock of hair on his head, and to have been doomed to die when this lock should be cut off. When the Cretans invaded his land they carried all the cities of Megara at the first attack, except Nisaea, where Nisos had taken refuge; to this town they laid siege. Then the daughter

of Nisos is said to have fallen in love with Minos, and to have cut off her father's lock of hair. So runs the tale.

i. 19, 5. The Athenians possess two rivers—the Ilissus, and a tributary of the Ilissus called by the same name as the Celtic Eridanus. The Ilissus is the river where Oreithyia is said to have been playing when she was carried off by Boreas, the north wind, who wedded her. It was on account of this connexion that Boreas protected the Athenians by destroying the greater part of the barbarian fleet. The Athenians, however, look upon the Ilissus as sacred to more than one god, and there is on its banks an altar in honour of the Muses of Ilissus. The place also is shown where the Peloponnesians slew the Athenian king Kodros, the son of Melanthos.

i. 19, 6. On the farther side of the Ilissus is a district called Agrae and the temple of Artemis Agrotera. It was here that Artemis is said to have hunted for the first time when she came from Delos, and this is why the image in the temple carries a bow. There is also a stadion in white marble, a wonderful thing to see, but not so interesting to describe. Its size may best be realised as follows :—At the upper end of the stadion the hill rising above the Ilissus is shaped like a crescent, and two parallel spurs run down to the river's bank. The stadion was built by Herodes, an Athenian, and the greater part of the marble from the Pentelican quarries was used in its construction.

COMMENTARY ON i. 19, §§ 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

After the Delphinion, with its Thesean associations and, as has been seen, its palace of Ægeus, Pausanias passes straight, though with no connecting link, to the district of the "Gardens," with its temple and statues of Aphrodite. He specially remarks that he could get no traditional information about this Aphrodite; whereas, as has been already noted in speaking of the temple of Aphrodite on the Kolonos Agoraios, he attributes the institution of her worship to Ægeus, and refers the whole origin of the Heavenly Aphrodite to the East. Now it seems highly probable that if Ægeus did institute the worship of Aphrodite he would build her temple and ordain her cult near to his palace—the centre of his government. What probably happened was that Pausanias, referring to some mythological handbook, learnt details about Ægeus and the Aphrodite worship which in reality belonged to the Aphrodite of the Gardens, and transferred them to the Heavenly Aphrodite of the Kolonos Agoraios.

The place known as the "Gardens"[47] can scarcely be other than

the low-lying district on the right bank of the Ilissus, between the stream and the city wall. Nature made this bit of the sterile surroundings of Athens to be a "garden of Aphrodite." We have no monumental remains, but the worship of Aphrodite of the Gardens is sufficiently attested both by an inscription and by incidental literary notices. In one of Lucian's dialogues[48] the mother whose daughter has a rich lover says, "We can do no less than sacrifice to Aphrodite Pandemos a white goat, and to Ourania—her of the Gardens—a heifer apiece;" and, as will be seen, the statue of Alcamenes representing the Aphrodite of the Gardens is several times mentioned. It was to some place near this precinct in the Gardens that the Arrephoroi descended by an underground passage from the Acropolis to fetch the holy unseen things given them by the priestess. The "Garden" worship of Aphrodite was not confined to Athens, and it is extremely likely that this as well as many other aspects of her cult arose in the East. There was an Aphrodite worshipped in Samos with the title "among the reeds," or, as some said, "in the marsh-meadows," which, Athenaeus[49] reports, was said to have been founded by courtesans from Attica; of course this may have been merely a revival of the cult of their own local goddess. The holy garden place (ἱεροκῆπος) of Paphos and the garden of Adonis are, however, unmistakably Oriental. It is not hard to see how the cult arose. Aphrodite was, no doubt, primarily the goddess of fertility, and, as such, the rank vegetation of the low-lying marsh land and the fertile garden were sacred to her. In such aspects she has much in common with Artemis; but Artemis reserves for herself the wild growths of the more barren places, Aphrodite the more licentious vegetation of the prolific swamp, Demeter the grain and fruit that are the offspring of man's strenuous and disciplined toil.

The early art-form of the goddess Aphrodite, like that of the kindred Dionysos, was that of a herm. Just such a statue was to be seen at Delos; and Pausanias, speaking of the work of Daedalus in Boeotia, tells the legend current about it,[50] a legend already discussed in relation to Theseus.

The notion of Aphrodite as one of the Fates is too widely human to need comment. She ruled, to Greek thinking, over gods and men. Her, in her full onset, none might withstand. In a fragment of Epimenides[51] her genealogy is thus given—"She is daughter of Kronos by Euonyme, and sister of the Fates and the Erinyes."

By the time of Alcamenes the rude notion of Aphrodite as goddess of the fertile teeming marsh had been no doubt softened

and beautified. She was the goddess of all soft and lovely garden things—of golden fruit and odorous flowers. Probably Alcamenes would represent her with an apple in her hand. It has been thought that in the statue known as the Genetrix in the Louvre and the other similar replicas we may recognise copies of the statue of Alcamenes, but the theory lacks proof. All that literature tells us is of the exceeding beauty of the statue, nothing of its pose or attributes. Pliny,[52] speaking of Alcamenes, says—"There are many of his works at Athens, and especially noted is the statue of Venus outside the walls, which is known as the Aphrodite ἐν κήποις, to which Pheidias himself is said to have put the finishing touch." Lucian,[53] in his dialogue on the *Perfect Image*, makes Lycinus ask, "Come, now, answer me this, Have you seen the Aphrodite in the Gardens at Athens by Alcamenes?" And Polystratos answers, "Well, I should be a fool if I had not seen the finest of all the statues of that sculptor." And later in the same dialogue [54] he takes, to make up the perfect image, from the statue of Alcamenes "the cheeks, and the full face, and the ends of the hand, the finely modelled wrist, and the delicate fingers tapering at the tips." But such descriptions are insufficient data on which to base an identification.

It has been previously noted that Pausanias and indeed the Greeks themselves generally were inclined to attribute to their Aphrodite an Oriental origin, but it is not to be supposed for a moment that the original inhabitants of Greece were without a goddess of love till they came in contact with the East, and it would be as false and as mistaken to reduce Aphrodite to the mere duplicate of the Oriental Astarte as it would be to explain her as a sun or a moon myth. The fact, however, remains that the worship of Aphrodite [55] is more strongly marked by Eastern influence than that of any other Hellenic deity. The special seats of her worship—Paphos, Cythera, Eryx—are all Phoenician settlements. Two Oriental goddesses seem to have left their mark—the armed goddess of love, who was also Astarte the moon, and Derceto the fish-goddess born of the sea. When they met with a new deity abroad, the Greeks, in their large-hearted hospitable way, were eager to incorporate her into their mythology, or, better still, to identify him or her with some deity already at home in their temples. They were often sorely puzzled, even in late and learned days, by the variety and multitude of attributes possessed by these foreign gods. Thus Lucian,[56] or whoever wrote the account of the "Syrian goddess," says—"The statue of Hera resembled in some

respects that of Athene, Aphrodite, the Moon, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Fates. In one hand she holds a sceptre, in the other a distaff; she has rays on her head, and a turret; she has likewise a girdle, with which they adorn Aphrodite Ourania only." It seems really mere chance and individual predilection with what Greek goddess a deity of such wide attribution was identified by the Greek traveller.

It is unnecessary to enter on the question of the precise character of these Eastern goddesses. It is enough to note that Astarte was certainly the moon, the female counterpart of the sun; that she was the goddess of all birth and generation in heaven and earth; and that Derceto the fish-goddess had a like supremacy in the sea and all watery places. Astarte was worshipped with rites revolting to the conventions of Western reserve and equally foreign to the ideals of an austere monotheism. Jeremiah (vii. 18) laments that in the cities of Judah, nay, even in the streets of Jerusalem, "the children gather wood, and the fathers kindle the fire, and the women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto other gods, that they may provoke me to anger;" and a perverse nation makes answer (xliv. 17), "We will certainly do whatsoever thing goeth forth out of our own mouth, to burn incense unto the queen of heaven, and to pour out drink-offerings unto her." Semites and sensualists at heart, whenever the stern control of Jehovah was relaxed but for an instant these Hebrews would return to the abominations of Astarte; but it was not so, at least in his best days, with the purer-hearted and more philosophic Hellene. For him Aphrodite Ourania was not merely the goddess of moon and sky—that aspect of her worship he soon forgot—but she was the goddess of the heavenly as opposed to the earthly love.[57] "For we all know that Love is inseparable from Aphrodite; and if there were only one Aphrodite there would be only one Love, but as there are two goddesses there must be two Loves. And am I not right in asserting that there are two goddesses? The elder one having no mother, who is called the Heavenly Aphrodite—she is the daughter of Ouranos; the younger, who is the daughter of Zeus and Dione—her we call common; and the Love who is her fellow-worker may and must also have the name of common, as the other Love is called heavenly." Not every love, says Plato, is noble, but only that which has a noble purpose; but the Love who is the offspring of that common Aphrodite is essentially common and has no discrimination, being such as the meaner

sort of men feel. The goddess who is his mother is far younger than the other. To the shrine in the garden of Aphrodite, the eldest of the Fates, would come, we may be sure, many of the "meaner sort of men;" and she of the people, Plato fancied, Pandemos, would give them gifts after their kind, but some, always a few, entering her precinct would pray

> "That most with the sweet soul
> Should love's espousals then be knit,"

and for them Aphrodite Ourania had a guerdon she gave to no Phoenician.

Such was the fair fancy of poet and philosopher; but sober fact, attested by inscriptions, compels us to own, as will be seen when we come later to the temple of Pandemos, that her worship was as well regulated and honourable as that of Ourania. The philosopher loved to discern and differentiate, nay, in those days he was not averse to a little erroneous etymology, but he was powerless to alter State ritual.

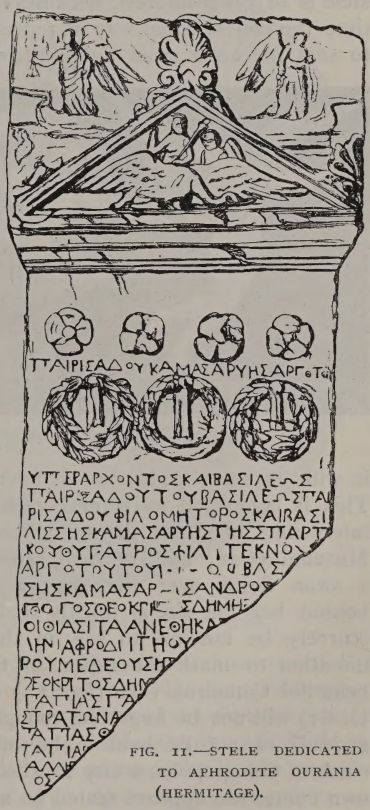


FIG. 11.—STELE DEDICATED TO APHRODITE OURANIA (HERMITAGE).

And if we are compelled to own that to some this aspect of the worship of Aphrodite Ourania is only the dream of poet and philosopher, there is another aspect more distinctly evidenced, and no doubt of wide popularity both in Athens and the colonies —her aspect as guide to the mariner, and queen of the sea. A very curious and interesting votive stele (fig. 11) has been found at Kertsch;

it is well worth attention in relation to Aphrodite Ourania. The inscription gives the names of the persons dedicating the stele, and then follow the words, "They dedicated the stele to Aphrodite Ourania, who rules over the Bosphorus."[58] In the pediment space that surmounts the stele is a design representing Aphrodite seated on a flying swan; she holds in the left her sceptre, and draws her robe over her shoulder with the right; above her is an attendant Eros. On either side of the pediment is the fore part of a ship, on which stand figures of winged Nikes bringing offerings to Aphrodite. The stele is of great interest, because it proves that certainly at one time the conventional way of representing Aphrodite Ourania was to seat her on a swan flying through the heavens, whereas, as

FIG. 12.—ARYBALLOS: APHRODITE OURANIA (BERLIN).

it will be seen, Aphrodite Pandemos was mounted on a goat. This is confirmed by several vase-paintings. Perhaps the most interesting of these is an aryballos (fig. 12) in the Berlin Museum (Cat., 2688) which represents the goddess seated on a swan flying over the sea; a winged Love precedes her; behind her the sky is thickly studded with *gold stars*. It can scarcely be fanciful to see in this the vase-painter's evident intention to mark the aspect of the goddess as Ourania. The beautiful Cameirus vase (fig. 13) of the British Museum (Cat., D. 61) will not be forgotten, though the stars on the robe of the goddess cannot be held to be otherwise than decorative. On coins of Ouranopolis, a city to which the goddess had given her own name, she appears seated on a globe.

Briefly to resume, we may suppose that the Greeks, worshipping

from the earliest times themselves a goddess of love, came in contact with the East. There, since love is common to all lands, they found a like goddess, whose ritual, however, was more complex and impressive than their own—a goddess of the moon, of generation, of all live things, of the principle of moisture sprung of the sea, to whom fishes were sacred, and doves and goats and every fecund animal. How much of her worship they borrowed, how much was their

FIG. 13.—CYLIX: APHRODITE OURANIA (BRITISH MUSEUM).

own, cannot well be disentangled. They themselves owned that they adopted her title of the Heavenly One. This her philosophers understood, not in the sense of the goddess of the physical heaven, but rather as meaning the spiritual form of love. Still, in the popular mind, as shown by the vase-painter, she is fitly regarded as the goddess of the spangled sky. As such, too, she guides and directs the mariner; she is Aphrodite of the Fair-sailing, Euploia.

Rejecting the licentious aspect of her worship, the Heavenly Aphrodite is goddess of marriage; but the lower aspects of her worship lived on in Aphrodite, patron of the Hetairae. The courtesan could offer her heifer, but the chaste wife might also set up the statue of Ourania, and dedicate it, as Theocritus[59] records, in this fashion:—

"This is Cypris—not she of the people; nay, venerate the goddess by her name, the Heavenly Aphrodite. The statue is the offering of chaste Chrysogone, even in the house of Amphicles, whose children and whose life were hers. And always, year by year went well with them who began each year with thy worship, Lady, for mortals who care for the immortals have themselves thereby the better fortune." Of such an Aphrodite we could have no fairer image than the lady on the swan, serious, lovely, sedate even in her swift transit.

Next in order of the monuments on the right bank of the Ilissus Pausanias mentions the Kynosarges or sanctuary of Herakles. Its site is disputed. Dyer (p. 285) places it about opposite the stadion, which is, as will be seen, a fixed point. Curtius places it a good deal farther on, at the foot of Mount Lycabettus, on the site of the present convent of the Asomaton. There is no monumental evidence to decide the point. I incline to Dyer's view, because Curtius is compelled to suppose that the Kynosarges, where he places it, is the farthest point to which Pausanias went in this direction, and that he therefore omitted the Lykeion on his way and returned to it. This is contrary to his usual consecutive method. The literary notices of its situation are so vague as to be useless; they would suit equally well for either site. Diogenes Laertius says the Kynosarges is "a short distance from the gate," the gate being presumably the Dioneisan Gate. Plutarch speaks of the gymnasium of Kynosarges as the one "outside the gate." The Kynosarges was primarily a shrine sacred to Herakles; with it was associated a large and famous gymnasium, of which Pausanias makes no mention. Its aspect as a shrine of Herakles will be first noted, and then its no doubt later aspect as a gymnasium.

As a shrine of Herakles it is sometimes spoken of as simply the Herakleion. The story of the white dog alluded to by Pausanias is told by the lexicographers, but unfortunately it has all the air of an ætiological myth, and helps little to our understanding of the origin of the cult. Dionus, we are told,[60] was

about to sacrifice to Herakles when a white bitch seized the victim's thigh and went off with it. The oracle commanded Dionus to build an altar to Herakles wherever the bitch deposited the thigh.[61] This was the origin of the Kynosarges, which may mean either "white dog" or "swift dog." This is obviously no help. All proof is wanting, but I cannot refrain from the conjecture that the real explanation will be found, as Wachsmuth suggests, in some obscure and remote dog-worship.[62] Kynosarges may quite well mean the dog-enclosure, Herakles Kynadas the dog-god, the Kynadae the dog-people. Dogs were sacrificed to Hecate. A dog was sacrificed to the wolf at the Lupercalia at Rome. The Greeks, Plutarch[63] says, were accustomed in their purifications to make use of dogs and to perform the ceremony known as "the carrying round of the puppy." There was a god worshipped in Sicily,[64] whose functions were fire and war (though the coincidence may only be casual), in whose sacred precinct a great number of sacred dogs were kept. When the worshippers of this god had well drunk in his honour, the sacred dogs saw them safe home. There is this further parallel, that the Kynosarges, we know from more than one passage, was the resort of revellers. As such it is twice mentioned by Athenaeus,[65] and Aristophanes[66] speaks of the braggarts of Diomeia (Διομειαλάζονες).

In the relief depicting the Attic calendar[67] there is a symbolic representation of the feast of Herakleia as celebrated in the Kynosarges (fig. 14). It was an autumn feast, taking place in the

FIG. 14.—ATTIC CALENDAR: HERAKLEIA.

month Boedromion (September-October). Herakles stands in the middle holding his club; by his side is Hebe, whom "he had to wife." On either side of them are two male figures wrapped in large cloaks, no doubt the guests (παρασῖτοι) of the god. To this group approaches a winged figure with a vessel full of autumn fruits. On the other side of the group is a youth

on horseback, who symbolises the horse races run in honour of the god.

Whatever obscure reminiscence of a dog-cult may lurk in the name Kynosarges, by the time of Pausanias its true meaning was as much matter of conjecture to him as to us. The altars he saw were all reared, not in honour of the dog-god, but of the modernised orthodox Greek Herakles, husband of Hebe, son of Alkmene, the hero of many labours, whose companion was Iolaos. Inscriptions in honour of all four have been found, and attest their common worship.

In addition to its religious import the Herakleion served two social purposes — (1) it was a gymnasium; (2) it was a philosophic school.

As serving the purpose of a gymnasium the precinct must have been of considerable size. Its size is also attested by the fact that the Athenians, according to Herodotus,[68] leaving their camp at Marathon, which in like manner had been pitched in a precinct of Herakles, encamped within the precinct of the Kynosarges. The place must have been used as a gymnasium as early as the days of Solon, for he made a law[69] that if any one stole anything, however small, from the Lykeion, or the Academy, or the Kynosarges (thus enumerating the three great gymnasia), whether it were a garment or a lekythos, or anything whatever of gymnastic apparatus, he should suffer the penalty of death.

The Kynosarges gymnasium was, it appears, set apart for the use of young men of illegitimate (*i.e.*, often half foreign) birth. Plutarch[70] relates how Themistocles, when "all the illegitimate youths used to assemble at Kynosarges, in the wrestling ground dedicated to Herakles without the gates, was able to persuade some of the well-born youths of Athens to practise gymnastics with him, an ingenious method of doing away with the distinction between legitimate and illegitimate birth." He further adds that the Kynosarges was chosen because Herakles himself was only a half-god with a mortal mother. The parasitoi, table guests of the god, were also chosen from the illegitimate.[71]

But the Kynosarges took perhaps its greatest fame from the fact that here the Cynic philosopher Antisthenes held his school. When in Lucian's *Sale of Philosophers*[72] the bidder asks Diogenes who he is a follower of, the philosopher answers, "Of Herakles," no doubt alluding to the school in the Kynosarges. There was much dispute as to whether the Cynics took their name direct

from the place where their school was held or from the name of Kyon (dog) applied to Antisthenes.

The road to the gymnasium at Kynosarges, being of course a much-frequented way, was, like the road to the Academy, a street of tombs. There might be seen the family tomb of the orator Isocrates, a rising ground to the left hand. On the tomb of Isocrates himself was a tall pillar thirty cubits high, surmounted by a siren, symbol of eloquence; the siren was seven cubits high. Near to it was a tablet, on which were carved (or painted) representations of poets and of the teachers of Isocrates, among them Gorgias looking at an astrological sphere, and also the figure of Isocrates himself. There were the tombs also of his father, his mother, his aunt, and his adopted son Aphareus, of whom mention has been already made, and others whom it would be tedious to enumerate. Plutarch, in his *Life of Isocrates*,[73] gives a detailed account. Isocrates was certainly a man much appreciated by his friends. In addition to this family tomb, he was commemorated, it will be remembered, by a bronze statue, the offering of his adopted son, in the Olympieion (p. 193), and by a statue in the temple at Eleusis, the tribute of his friend Timotheos.

Herodotus[74] mentions another tomb which must have been hereabouts. Anchiomolios, the general sent by the Lacedaemonians to drive out the Peisistratidae, fell at Phalerum. "The tomb of Anchiomolios may be seen to this day in Athens. It is at Alopekae, near the temple of Herakles, at Kynosarges."

Pausanias mentions none of these tombs, and Plutarch distinctly says the tombs of the family of Isocrates had perished by his time. Philip V. of Macedon pitched his camp[75] at the Kynosarges and committed wanton havoc in this outlying suburb. Livy expressly states that he destroyed whatever was sacred and pleasant round about the city, and not only pulled down houses but even sepulchres.

Pausanias, bent as usual on etymology, says the Lykeion took its name from the hero Lykos. This means little more than that the foundation was a very ancient one, and that therefore it was desirable somehow to connect it with early Attic mythology. The true meaning of Apollo Lykeios must be sought for elsewhere. Apollo Lykeios is the wolf-god. At first the god is the animal itself; then its protector; then, as civilisation advances, its slayer; and last, when the connection with the wolf becomes intolerable to the advanced and cultured mythologist,

Apollo Lykeios (Apollo the wolf) becomes by a false etymology Apollo the light god. The chorus of maidens in the *Seven against Thebes* call on Apollo as the wolf-god to strike with terror the oncoming foe—

καὶ σύ Λυκεῖ ἄναξ Λύκειος γενοῦ
στρατῷ δαΐῳ στόνων αὐτάς,

—("Thou, too, Lord of the Wolf, prove thy wolf-name with wail and howl upon the host of the foe").[76] In a cry so terror-stricken, the play upon the name would only be possible as the outcome of deep-rooted traditional belief.

It is impossible to avoid noting that just in this quarter of Athens we seem to be in a very nest of totemistic reminiscence. Herakles the dog is near at hand. A little farther is the deme of Alopekae, where the fox-men dwelt. It may be that at one time they all maintained themselves in equal rivalry, till the goat-man came and triumphed; and even the memory of their origin became extinct—Lykos and many another had to fly before Ægeus and the ægis-bearing Athene. Pausanias mentions no statue of the god, but Lucian is kinder. It will be remembered that the dialogue *Anacharsis*[77] takes place in the gymnasium of the Lykeion. It was there that the astonished Scythian saw the young men of Athens diverting themselves after a fashion that seemed so strange —"Some locked close together and tripping one another up by the heels, some writhing and twisting, rolling in the mire, and begriming themselves like so many hogs; and when we asked of Solon what manner of place this was, Solon made answer, 'This place is called the gymnasium, and is sacred to Apollo Lykeios.' Observe his statue, the head reclining on his right hand, with a bow in his left. It represents the god as rising from long labour." From this account of Lucian's, it seems probable that the type of Apollo with his hand to his head, which occurs on Athenian coins (fig. 15), is a copy of the statue in the Lykeion.

FIG. 15.—COIN: APOLLO LYKEIOS.

From this passage of Lucian it would seem that the statue of the god stood actually in the gymnasium, not in the temple. Apollo had by this time nothing of the wolf about him; he is simply the patron of gymnastic training, resting after his own athletic labours. Probably the gymnasium of the Kynosarges was but an appendage to that of the Lykeion, where the youths of

good birth were accustomed to assemble. Like all gymnasia, it had its shady grove. One plane tree is specially noted for its great height.[78] When the gymnasium was actually founded, it is not easy to say; tradition varies. The Plutarchic *Life*[79] states distinctly that the orator Lycurgus "made and planted it, and built the palaestra;" but this is manifestly not true, as it was in use, as has been seen, in the times of Socrates, and indeed, unless Lucian commits an anachronism, in the time of Solon. Probably Lycurgus only made extensive alterations. Apart from the Plutarchic *Life*, it is certain he did something, as an inscription records that he "set in order" (κατεσκεύαζεν) the gymnasium at the Lykeion.

To commemorate what he had done, Lycurgus set up a tablet engraved with an account of the work carried on under his administration. Like the Kynosarges, the Lykeion suffered severely from the devastations of Philip V. of Macedon (200 B.C.).

The Lykeion had its military as well as civil uses. The cavalry were exercised there. Xenophon,[80] in his *Master of the Horse*, describes certain showy evolutions to be performed when they ride in the Lykeion; and as the tribes are to ride free on each side with extended front, as if prepared for battle, there must have been considerable space at their command. The citizen in the *Peace*[81] of Aristophanes complains that one of the trials of war was that

> "Long enough have we been worn to shadows marching here,
> In and out of that Lykeion with our shield and with our spear,"

and the scholiast[82] on the passage says that certain military exercises took place there because it was close at hand to the city. When Solon forbade the archons to sit together, it was to the Lykeion, it will be remembered,[83] that the archon polemarch betook himself. Had the place been even then merely a precinct of Apollo, it is scarcely likely it would have been selected.

But gymnastic and military glories alike were at length overshadowed by a new and different association. When Aristotle came back from his embassy to Philip he found that his friend Xenocrates was no longer president of the Academy.[84] Aristotle forthwith deserted his old haunt and betook himself to the Lykeion, which henceforth is associated with his name and school. Plato himself and Xenocrates had both, it seems, been in their turn called peripatetics[85]—teachers who walked in the promenade (περίπατος)—but ultimately the name went over to the philosophers of the Lykeion, and those of the Academy were known as academics.

In the intervals of much walking and talking it is pleasant to know that they sometimes dined well. Athenaeus[86] tells us of a certain luckless cook who used up some salt fish and tried to pass it off as—presumably fresh—fish sauce, and they ordered him to be whipped, for that, they said, "was a poor bit of sophistry."

Behind the Lykeion Pausanias notes the tomb of Nisos, the Megarean brother of King Lykos. Nothing further is known of this monument. As the Lykeion, by false etymology, had got associated with Lykos, it is quite possible that the monument of Nisos was only so called by some equally accidental misnomer.

The Lykeion (Lyceum) had, as has been seen, many points in common with the Kynosarges: at first an ancient precinct in honour of a god whose exact nature is lost in obscurity, later it became a famous gymnasium and a school of philosophy. As to its exact site Pausanias himself gives us no precise information; he only leaves us to imply that he is continuing his walk along the left bank of the Ilissus. Fortunately Strabo[87] tells us more. In a passage respecting the river Eridanus, to be discussed later, he says that the springs of this river were even in his day drinkable, outside the Gate of Diochares, near the Lyceum. The Lyceum, then, was close to the Gate of Diochares and to the sources of the Eridanus. Its position as marked on the map may be provisionally accepted; the evidence for the position of the sources of the Eridanus, and hence for that of the Diochares gate and the Lykeion, must be stated in full. Its position just outside the walls is further to be inferred from Plato. In the opening words of the *Lysis*,[88] Socrates says, "I was going from the Academy to the Lykeion, intending to take the outer road, which is close under the wall," etc.

After his mention of the tomb of Nisos, Pausanias makes abrupt general statements respecting the two rivers of the Athenians. His chief interest is with the Ilissus and its mythological associations; the only fact he states about the Eridanus is that it flowed into the Ilissus. Until quite lately it was supposed that Pausanias meant that the Eridanus flowed into the Ilissus somewhere near the point at which he is now standing, and attempts were made to identify the Eridanus with one or other of the small tributary streams of the Ilissus at this point.

Dr. Dörpfeld[89] adopts and supports, I think beyond the possibility of a doubt, a new and startling view. He believes the Eridanus to be no small unimportant tributary, but the large

river marked on the map as rising in the south-western slopes of Lycabettus, flowing midway through the northern part of ancient and modern Athens, debouching through the so-called "Sacred Gate" (see p. 9) to the south-west of the Dipylon, and finally joining the Ilissus (as Pausanias states), but outside the walls some distance along the Peiraeus road. Dr. Dörpfeld was led to make this important discovery by his examination of the cloaca near the Dipylon, in connection with scattered traces of a watercourse through the city, and by a subsequent consideration of the whole lie of the land about Athens, which necessitates a stream in the valley between the Lycabettus on the one hand and the whole range of the Acropolis, Areopagus, Pnyx, and Nymph hills on the other. These investigations cannot be considered in detail here, but his argument, in connection with certain classical passages, is of the first importance for our purpose.

Those passages are three—

The first is in the *Kritias*,[90] in which Plato describes the ancient state of the Acropolis as he believed it to have existed before the Deucalion flood. He makes Socrates say—"Formerly, as regards its extent, the Acropolis reached to the Eridanus and the Ilissus, and included the Pnyx, and had the Lycabettus as a boundary on the opposite side to the Pnyx." Now when it was held that the Eridanus was a small tributary of the Ilissus, the expression "to the Eridanus and the Ilissus" had no meaning except as a repetition, and in this case it was, to say the least, remarkable that the unimportant tributary should be mentioned first. By the light of Dr. Dörpfeld's new view, all is clear. The old Acropolis was the complex of hills actually included, as seen on the map, by the two rivers; and of these the Eridanus is at least as important as a boundary as the Ilissus.

The second passage is from Strabo.[91] In speaking of the importance of accuracy as the times grew increasingly more critical, he says—"For example, in his *Collection of the Rivers*, Callimachus says he should laugh if any person were bold enough to write that the Athenian maidens drew off 'the pure dew of Eridanus,' from which even herds of cattle keep away. Even now, however, the sources (of the river) are of pure and drinkable water, they say, outside the gate called Diochares, near to the Lykeion." On the old supposition that the Eridanus was a small tributary of the Ilissus, this passage is hard to explain. Why should the outlying tributary of a stream so clear as the Ilissus have become so fouled that even cattle would not drink of it?

The new view makes all clear: the portion of the Eridanus that flowed through the populous city had come to be used as a sewer, the sources outside the gate still remained pure.

Last comes Pausanias himself. Why should he speak of the Ilissus and the Eridanus as the two rivers of the Athenians, if the Eridanus were some slight tributary? If it is the large important stream running through the city's midst, all is clear.

It will naturally be asked, If the Eridanus really took its course right through the city, why is its mention so rare in classical writers, and why has its track been so long lost sight of? The answer is simple. As soon as the city began to spread on both its banks, it was covered in; bridges were probably made only where the principal streets needed to cross it. Its bank would probably be protected by a wall, and hence it would be little in sight. Dr. Dörpfeld himself cites the parallel case of the "Panke" and the "Grüne Graben," which many an inhabitant of Berlin has never seen, though they flow through the city's midst.

Leaving all further mention of the Eridanus, no doubt by this time a dull and possibly invisible covered-in sewer, Pausanias notes what interested him about the Ilissus—

On the right bank,
- The scene of the rape of Oreithyia.
- An altar to the Muses of the Ilissus.
- The place of the slaying of Kodros.

On the left bank,
- Agrae, with the temple of Artemis Agrotera.
- The stadion.

This low-lying ground about the Ilissus must have been a continuation to the north of the "fair garden" of Aphrodite, a welcome oasis in the hard arid outskirts of Athens—a favourite resort, as we know, for the country walks of philosophers. The most beautiful of all the Platonic dialogues [92] was spoken under a plane tree by the banks of the Ilissus. Socrates was coming from the "Morychian house, that house which is near the temple of Olympian Zeus," when he meets Phaedrus, and begs that if they needs must go beyond the city walls it may be to the quiet river-side.

"*Soc.* Turn this way. Let us go to the Ilissus and sit down at some quiet spot.

"*Phaedr.* I am fortunate in not having my sandals; and as you

never have any, I think we may go along the brook and cool our feet in the water. This is the easiest way, and at mid-day and in the summer is far from being unpleasant.

"*Soc.* Lead on, and look out for a place on which we can sit down.

"*Phaedr.* Do you see that tallest plane tree in the distance?

"*Soc.* Yes.

"*Phaedr.* There are shade and gentle breezes, and grass on which we may either sit or lie down.

"*Soc.* Move on.

"*Phaedr.* I should like to know, Socrates, whether the place is not somewhere here at which Boreas is said to have carried off Oreithyia from the banks of the Ilissus?

"*Soc.* That is the tradition.

"*Phaedr.* And this is the exact spot. The little stream is delightfully clear and bright; I can fancy that there might be maidens playing near.

"*Soc.* I believe that the spot is not exactly here, but about a quarter of a mile lower down, where you cross to the temple of Artemis, and I think there is some sort of an altar of Boreas at the place.

"*Phaedr.* I do not recollect; but I beseech you to tell me, Socrates, do you believe this tale?

"*Soc.* The wise are doubtful, and I should not be singular if, like them, I also doubted. I might have a natural explanation that Oreithyia was playing with Pharmakia when a northern gust carried her over the neighbouring rocks, and this being the manner of her death, she is said to have been carried away by Boreas. There is a discrepancy, however, about the locality: according to another version of the story she was taken from the Areopagus and not from this place. . . . But let me ask you, friend, have we not reached the plane tree to which you were conducting us?

"*Phaedr.* Yes indeed, and a fair and shady resting-place, full of summer sounds and scents. There is the lofty and spreading plane tree, and the agnus castus, high and clustering in the fullest blossom and the greatest fragrance; and the stream which flows beneath the plane tree is deliciously cold to the feet. Judging from the ornaments and images, this must be a spot sacred to Achelöos and the Nymphs; moreover, there is a sweet breeze, and the grasshoppers chirrup, and the greatest charm of all is the grass like a pillow gently sloping to the head.

"*Soc.* My dear Phaedrus, you have been an admirable guide."

Socrates, starting from a house near the temple of Zeus Olympios, would miss the fountain Kallirrhoe, of which he naturally makes no mention. Its confusion with the Enneakrounos of the market-place has been discussed before. It is noticeable that the fountain to this day keeps its true name—Kallirrhoe—and no trace of the supposed Enneakrounos name remains. Its source is quite distinct from the Ilissus, though, when the river is full, the flow of spring and river cannot be distinguished. It is very remarkable, and topographically of the first importance, that Socrates notes the variant Areopagus legend. That wind-blown height was a fitter haunt for King Boreas than the quiet Ilissus valley. Oreithyia was playing, no doubt, before the ancient city gate.

Probably Pausanias crossed just where Socrates notes the customary place; whether by bridge or not, he does not say. A bridge there must have been for the throngs of worshippers to pass in winter, when the stream was swollen, to the temple of Artemis Agrotera. Among the "other gods" worshipped near the Ilissus whose shrines Pausanias did not think worth noting would be, no doubt, Achelöos and the Nymphs, and most of all the great god Pan, to whom Socrates,[93] before he left the river-side, prayed: "Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods that haunt this place, give me beauty in the inward soul, and may the outward and inward man be at one." To Pan and the Nymphs and the great water-god Achelöos came other and humbler worshippers, whom the god helped in toiling for their daily bread. A curious relief (fig. 16), known as the Nani relief,[94] and now in the Berlin Museum (Cat., 709), was found in 1759 in the stadion. It is divided into two parts; on the right hand are the two goddesses, Demeter and Kore, who, as will be seen, had a temple in Agrae. Demeter is seated; Kore stands, bearing two torches; a worshipper approaches, a male figure in chiton and chlamys leading a horse; between him and the goddesses is an altar. In the upper portion of the relief a cave is represented. Hermes leads three dancing Nymphs into the presence of Achelöos and Pan: Achelöos is, as usual, represented by a mask; Pan sits, as always in this class of relief, with his goat legs crossed, playing upon the syrinx. Between the two designs the following inscription may, on the original, be clearly read—"The washermen dedicated this, a thank-offering, to the Nymphs and to all the gods. Loagoras, the son of Xokypros," etc.; and then follows a long list of names, men and women. The style of the relief dates it as not earlier than the fourth century B.C. Such were the monuments and

votive offerings, no doubt, that Socrates saw. It was in such places as this Ilissus valley—

"With sudden green and herbage crowned"

—that the heart of the devout worshipper went out in gratitude to the gods of all green things and flowing water.

FIG. 16.—NANI RELIEF (BERLIN MUSEUM).

To follow the walk of Socrates along the modern banks of the Ilissus is to lose many an illusion. The place is given over to

coffee gardens and villas and new cemeteries. Pan and the Nymphs have lost their lofty plane trees and sweet clustering agnus castus. Oreithyia would have much ado to find a flower to pluck; only the washer-people (fig. 17) clamour still about Kallirrhoe's silent pool.

The place where Kodros was slain is shown, Pausanias says, but he does not necessarily imply that he went to see it; nor does he mention that there was a sanctuary there. In connection with Kodros an inscription found in the winter of 1884-85[95] to the south-east of the Acropolis is of considerable importance. It is

FIG. 17.—KALLIRRHOE (1888).

engraved on a stele of Pentelic marble finished with a pediment sculptured in relief, but the reliefs have been mutilated when the stones were dressed for wall-building. It is dated by the archonship of Antiphon at 418 B.C., and contains a decree and amendment concerning the letting of a temenos of Kodros, Neleus, and Basile. The lessee is to enclose the sanctuary and cultivate the temenos in the following way:—"He shall set out no less than two hundred young olive trees, and more if he chooses; and he shall have control over the trench and all the rain-water which flows between the Dionysion and the gate at which the mystae go forth to the sea, and within the *οἰκία τῆς δημοσίας* and the

gate which leads to the Bath of Isthmonikos." Topographically this last statement is important; it gives the boundaries of the sanctuary. North and south it must have lain between the Dionysiac precinct and the city wall; east and west we cannot determine. From its position so much south-west of the spot where Pausanias crosses to see the stadion, it seems improbable that Pausanias visited it. Probably his guide said, "There is the place, a little farther on, where Kodros was killed," and Pausanias said, as he wanted to see the stadion, he could not trouble. Indeed, it is quite possible that by his days there was no sanctuary at all.

The sanctuary is alluded to in the inscription variously as "the sanctuary of Kodros, and of Neleus, and of Basile," and as "the temenos of Neleus and of Basile," and also as the Neleion. It is remarkable, and a thing not unusual in inscriptions, that the person who seems to us unimportant is emphasized. Tradition said that Neleus, when the archonship was given to his lame brother, left Athens in disgust, taking a colony to Asia; and his grave, according to Pausanias,[96] was at Branchidae. This precinct of Neleus in so sacred a part of Athens tends to the conclusion that his work was held in great honour. It is alluded to in an epigram discovered near the monument of Lysikrates:— "Stranger, this is the place of the falling of Kodros the king, son of Melanthos, which gave walls to great Asia. The people of Athens preserved his body beneath the Acropolis, lifting his glory on high among the immortals."[97] But this also savours of late tradition-making.

The connection of Basile and Kodros is not very easy to determine. Mr. Wheeler, in his discussion of the inscription, takes her to be the personification of kingly power, as she is shown to Herakles under the name Basileia in the first oration of Chrysostom. I incline to think that Basileia, as kingly power, was not in the fifth century B.C. any such pure abstraction. It seems most likely that, thus associated with the sanctuary and doubtless the tomb of Kodros, she was Basile, the great mother (Megale Meter), the earth, to whom by his death Kodros had in special fashion devoted himself.[98] That there was a sort of by-play on her being "kingdom" also, I do not deny. Her general functions have been discussed in connection with the Metröon.

It seems most likely that the hotly-disputed passage at the beginning of the *Charmides* refers to this precinct—"And I went into the palaestra of Taureas, which is opposite the sanctuary of Basile."[99]

Pausanias now crosses to the left bank. The exact site of the temple of Artemis Agrotera, which he first mentions, is not known. No doubt the cult of the goddess in this particular aspect of the huntress had existed from very early times, but from the date of the battle of Marathon her great festival on the 6th of Boëdromion was kept as a day of special thanksgiving for the great victory. In fact she was worshipped less as Huntress (Agrotera) than as Bringer of Help (Boedromios), a frequent aspect of her brother Apollo. Tradition said that Miltiades had vowed to the goddess as many she-goats as he should kill enemies, but as the number slain was excessive, he compounded with her for a yearly sacrifice of five hundred.[100] The sacrifice was attended with a military pomp conducted by the polemarch. The number of goats sacrificed seems always to have been occasion for remark. Aristophanes alluded to it in the *Knights*.[101] When Cleon proposes a sacrifice of one hundred oxen to "the goddess," the sausage-seller outbids him—

> "And named two hundred, and proposed a vow
> Of a thousand goats to-morrow to Artemis."

Ælian mentions the number as three hundred. Not only is there abundant literary evidence, but the festival is mentioned in several inscriptions;[102] it was one of those in which the Ephebi took part. One inscription reads thus—"They conducted the procession to Artemis Agrotera, and offered the commemorative sacrifice in accordance with the decree." Another reads—"They conducted the procession under arms in honour of Artemis Agrotera."

On the bronze coinage of Athens a type of Artemis—which is presumably the Agrotera—appears. She wears a short chiton, holds a spear in her raised right hand, her left is outstretched, near her a hound.

Pausanias makes no mention of a temple of Demeter at Agrae, but it is known beyond a doubt that one existed. This is one, and perhaps the strongest, argument of the supporters of the "Enneakrounos episode" theory. They hold that the temple already described (p. 93) was the Eleusinion at Agrae. Reasons to the contrary have already been stated. It is certainly strange that Pausanias gives no account of the Agrae precinct, but then he was apt to shirk details about Eleusinian cults. A few of the passages proving the existence of the Agrae Eleusinion may be cited.[103] The term "Agrae" is thus defined:—"A district outside the city of Athens, where the lesser mysteries of Demeter are celebrated

which are known as those at Agrae." Another writer speaks of the "mystic banks of the Ilissus." A third says—"The rites of the lesser mysteries were accomplished near the Ilissus, where took place the ceremony of purification." Indeed "those at Agra" seem to have been the equivalents of the lesser mysteries. An inscription speaks of "the sacrifices which they made at the mysteries at Agra."

It will be seen from these passages that the districts went by two names, either Agrae or Agra. This Eustathius[104] expressly states:—"Artemis Agrotera—who is also called Agraia by Plato on Pausanias (the lexicographer)—from the district near the Ilissus whose name is Agrae and Agra, where they say the lesser mysteries of Demeter which they call 'those in Agrae' are celebrated." Probably at first the rising ground was called Agra, and the district generally Agrae.

It seems that the whole district was formerly known as Helicon, and an altar of Poseidon Heliconius crowned the hill.[105] It may be that this was the ancient seat of an Ionian colony from Helice in Ægialeia, and that they brought with them their god, Heliconian Poseidon, who fought with the Athene of the Acropolis for the lordship of the land.

The stadion is happily a fixed point. The site was identified as early as 1675, and it was thoroughly excavated by Ziller in 1869-70. It seems probable that this particular stadion did not exist till the time of the orator Lycurgus. According to the account of the Plutarchic *Life*,[106] he levelled the bed of the torrent and raised a low wall round the territory to be used for the race-course. Till his time it had been the property of a private individual of the name of Demias, who gave it up to the State as a favour to Lycurgus. This scarcely looks as if it had been in use as a stadion before. An honorary decree for Eudemos[107] of Plataea (330-329 B.C.) states that he gave a thousand yoke (ζεύγη) for the building of the stadion.

But the great glory of the stadion was not till the days of Herodes Atticus.[108] On one occasion when he was pondering over the Panathenaic festival in the stadion he promised the spectators assembled that next time they came together they should find it covered with marble. He kept his word; when the next festival came round, they beheld a "work beyond all others for wonder." As the stadion, it has been calculated, accommodated from forty to fifty thousand spectators, and the seats were all covered with white marble, it is not much wonder if he well-nigh exhausted the Pentelican quarries.

The stadion as now excavated corresponds to the site described by Pausanias. It is built on the ground sloping down to the Ilissus, and was never made completely level. The two horns of the crescent are towards the river; from this lower part the start was made. Between the actual stadion and the river there was a portico with propylaea and vestibule, vestiges of which, at the north-western corner, may still be seen. The third meta or goal has been discovered and removed to the Central Museum, where it stands in the entrance hall. It consisted of a double Herm (fig. 18), Apollo (or a young Dionysos) back to back with Hermes. Square holes remain in the shoulders, for the attachment, no doubt, of a support for holding wreaths. There is evidence also that the stadion was used (probably in Hadrian's time) for gladiatorial shows.

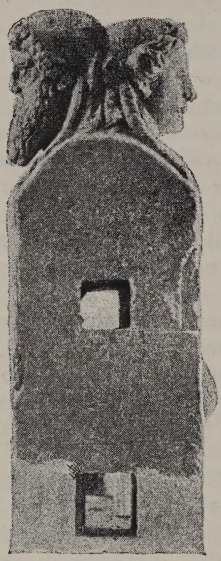


FIG. 18.—STADION HERM (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

Herodes Atticus built also a temple to Fortune (Tyche),[109] remains of which, it is thought, exist on the Ionic ruin on the hill close at hand, usually known as Ardellos. In it was once a chryselephantine statue of the goddess. To him also must probably be attributed the ancient bridge over the Ilissus, part of which still existed when Stuart first went to Athens (1751-55). By official order the last remains of this bridge were destroyed in 1861, and a brand new one built. Herodes himself was buried in the Panathenaic stadion,[110] though he had died at his villa at Marathon and had desired to be buried there.

ADDENDUM TO SECTION XI

DR. DÖRPFELD writes :—

Page 229—"The Neleion must have lain to the south, outside the city wall. The water with which the Neleion was supplied must otherwise have flowed up-hill!"

NOTES TO DIVISION B

1. Fragm., Horae ap. Athen. ix. 14.
2. Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ. N. 887.
3. Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ. N. 821.
4. Plato, Leg. vi. p. 784 A.
5. Hom. Hymn ap. Del. 98.
6. P., viii. 21, 2.
7. P., ix. 27, 2.
8. Odyssey 19, 188.
9. P., i. 31, 2.
10. P., i. 2, 6.
11. Plut. in Euseb., Praep. Ev. 3, 8, p. 88.
12. Plato, Critias, 110 A.
13. Call. Hymn, vi.
14. P., vii. 23, 5, 6.
15. Herodot., 4, 32-35.
16. Journal of Hell. Studies, viii. 1, p. 272. An account of a paper read by Mr. Penrose on the Olympieion question will be found in the Builder, 28th April 1888, and a letter on the subject of the disputed passage of Vitruvius, Builder, 24th March 1888. For more recent information (published since the text was written) on the temple of Jupiter Olympius, see the new edition of Mr. Penrose's "Principles of Athenian Architecture," and still more recently the Πρακτικά of the Athenian Archæol. Society, 1888, pl. 1, where full plan is given; also, monograph of L. Bevier, Papers of the American School at Athens, i. p. 183.
17. Vitruv., vii. Praef. p. 15. Dr. Dörpfeld shows that there is evidence, in the foundations laid bare, of four different periods of building—(1) the building of Peisistratos; (2) that begun probably by Pericles, and interrupted it may be by the Peloponnesian war; (3) that of Antiochus Epiphanes; (4) that of Hadrian. Dörpfeld, Sitzung. Arch. Inst. Athens, 28th March 1888.
18. Aristot., v. 11.
19. Müller, Frag. Hist. Gr. ii. p. 254.
20. Plut., Sol. 32.
21. Lucian, Icaro-Menipp. 24.
22. Philostr., Vit. Soph. 25, 3; Polemon, 533.
23. Lucian, De Syria Dea.
24. Plut., Sulla, 14.
25. Vit. X. Orat., Isocr. p. 337, Reiske.
26. Strabo, ix. p. 392.
27. Stuart, Antiquities, iv. plate 7; v. plate 6.
28. Πρακτικά, 1886, p. 13.
29. C. I. A., iii. 65; C. I. A., iii. 445.
30. C. I. A., iii. 38.
31. Vitruvius, i. c. 6, s. 4.
32. Varro, De Re Rust. iii. 5, 17.
33. Aristoph., Eccl. 652.
34. Mitt. vii. 398.
35. Thucydides, vi. 54.
36. C. I. A., iv. 373 E. The facsimile is perfectly correct; I have only

to add that when I examined (March 1888) the inscription, the stroke of the N in *τεμένει* had disappeared.

37. Hesych., *sub voc.*
38. Strabo, ix. p. 404.
39. Vitruv., ii. 8, 9.
40. Phot. Lex.—*Πύθιον ἱερὸν Ἀπόλλωνος . . . εἰς ὃ τοὺς τρίποδας ἐτίθεσαν οἱ τῷ κυκλίῳ χορῷ νικήσαντες τὰ Θαργήλια.*
41. Isaeus, 5-41.
42. Plato, Gorg. 472 A.
43. Plutarch, Theseus, c. iv. and 18.
44. Pollux, viii. 118—*τὸ ἐπὶ Δελφινίῳ ἱδρῦσθαι μὲν ἀπὸ Αἰγέως λέγεται Ἀπόλλωνι Δελφινίῳ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Δελφινίᾳ.*
45. C. I. I., 442—[Ἀπ]ό[λ]λω[ν]ι Δελφιν[ί]ῳ [καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι Δ]ελφινί[ᾳ] . . . κ.τ.λ.
46. Plut., Theseus, 12.
47. C. I. A., i. 273, f. line 12—[Ἀφροδίτ]ης ἐν κήποις.
48. Lucian, Meret. vii. 1.
49. Athenaeus, xiii. 572.
50. P., ix. 40, 3.
51. Epimenides in Tsetz. Lycophr. 406—*γήματο δ' Εὐνόμην θαλερὸν Κρόνος ἀγκυλομῆτις | ἐκ τοῦ καλλίκομος γένετο χρυσῆ Ἀφροδίτη | Μοῖραί τ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ Ἐρωνύες αἰολόδωροι*; and Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, p. 412.
52. Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 16.
53. Lucian, Imag. 4.
54. Lucian, Imag. 6.
55. Furtwängler, Roscher Lex., *sub voc.* Aphrodite.
56. Lucian, De Syria Dea, 32.
57. Plato, Symp. viii. D.
58. Stephani, Compte Rendu, 1877, p. 246, vignette in text; and for the whole subject of Aphrodite Ourania on the swan, Kalkmann, Jahrbuch des K. d. Archaeol. Instituts, 1886, i. Heft 4, p. 1.
59. Theok., Ep. 13.
60. Hesych., *sub voc.* Κυνόσαργες—*τόπος ἱερός· ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Διόμου φασὶ θύοντος Ἡρακλεῖ, κύων ἁρπάσας τὰ μηρία ἔφευγε διωκόμενος. ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ τόπος οὕτως ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς λευκότητος τοῦ κυνὸς ἢ τοῦ τάχους.*
61. More fully, Phot. Suid.—Κυνόσαργες *τόπος ἐστὶ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις καὶ ἱερὸν Ἡρακλέους κατ' αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Διόμος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔθυεν ἐν τῇ ἑστίᾳ εἶτα κύων λευκὸς παρὼν ἥρπασε τὸ ἱερεῖον καὶ ἀπέθετο εἴς τινα τόπον· ὁ δὲ περιδεὴς ἦν. ἔχρησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς ὅτι εἰς ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον οὗ τὸ ἱερεῖον ἀπέθετο, Ἡρακλέους βωμὸν ὀφείλει ἱδρύσασθαι ὅθεν ἐκλήθη Κυνόσαργες.*
62. A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, i. 279; and Wachsmuth, Athen, s. 461, Anm. 1.
63. Plut., Rom. Quaest. 51.
64. Ælian, Hist. Anim. xi. 20—*κύνες εἰσιν ἱεροὶ καὶ οἵδε θεραπευτῆρες αὐτοῦ (Ἀδρανοῦ) καὶ λατρεύοντες οἱ . . . χιλίων οὐ μείους τὸν ἀριθμόν.*
65. Athenaeus, xiv. 614; vi. 260.
66. Aristoph., Ach. 612.
67. C. Bötticher, Festkalender von Athen.
68. Herodot., vi. 116.
69. Dem. contra Tim. 736.
70. Plut., Alc. 1.
71. Athenaeus, vi. 234 E.
72. Lucian, *βίων πρᾶσις.*
73. Vit. X. Orat., Isocr. p. 333.
74. Herodot., v. 63.
75. Livy, xxxi. 24.
76. For the wolf Apollo, see throughout, A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, ii. 199; A. W. Verrall, Seven against Thebes, p. 13.
77. Lucian, Anacharsis, 1.
78. Theophr., Hist. Plant. i. 10; Max. Tyrius, Dissert. viii.
79. Vit. X. Orat., *pass.*
80. Xen., Hip. iii. 6.
81. Aristoph., Pax, 355.
82. Schol. *ad loc.*—*ἐξοπλίσεις τινες ἐγινόντο ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει*; and Suidas, *sub voc.* — *γυμνάσιον*

'Αθήνησιν ὅπου πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου ἐδόκει γυμνάζεσθαι; πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐξόδων ἐξοπλίσεις τινες ἐγινόντο ἐν τῷ Λυκείῳ διὰ τὸ παρακεῖσθαι τῇ πόλει, καὶ ἀποδείξεις τῶν μᾶλλον πολεμικῶν ἀνδρῶν.

83. Suidas in ἄρχων—ὁ δὲ πολέμαρχος ἐν Λυκείῳ.
84. Diog. Laert., Vit. Arist. v. 2.
85. Harpocrat. Phot. and Suid., *voc.* Λύκειον.
86. Athenaeus, iv. 14.
87. Strabo, ix. p. 397.
88. Plato, Lysis, i.
89. W. Dörpfeld, Der Eridanus, Mitt. xiii. p. 211.
90. Plato, Critias, 112 A.
91. Strabo, ix. 397.
92. Plato, Phaedr. 229 A.
93. Plato, Phaedr., *sub fin.*
94. Verzeichniss Antik. Sculpt., Berlin 1885, no. 709 — οἱ πλυνῆς Νυμφαῖς, εὐξάμενοι ἀνέθεσαν καὶ θεοῖς πᾶσιν Ζωαγόρας Ξωκύπρου, κ.τ.λ.
95. For the inscription and discussion of whole subject, see J. R. Wheeler, American Journal of Archæology, June 1887. He cites the previous publications.
96. P., vii. 3, 6.
97. C. I. A., iii. 943—

Κόδρον τοῦτο πέσημα Μελανθειδάο [ἄνακτος]
ξεῖνε, τὸ καὶ μεγάλην Ἄσίδα τειχίσατ[ο]
σῶμα δ' ὑπ' ἀκροπολῆι φέρων τάρχυνεν ['Αθήνης
λάος ἐς ἀθανάτους δόξαν ἀειραμένου.

I was not able to find this inscription at Athens.

98. For death of Codrus, see Bekk., Anek. Gr. i. p. 192, 32, and Lycurg., Leok. 86.
99. See Mr. Wheeler's article, p. 45, note 19. The passage is usually read "τὴν καταντικρὺ τοῦ τῆς βασιλικῆς ἱεροῦ εἰσῆλθον," and translators proceed to render it: opposite the "Stoa Basileios" or Kingly Portico; but Codd. A and B have βασιλικῆς and βασίλης. It is almost certain, after the finding of this inscription, that this last is right.
100. Xen., Exped. Cyri, iii. 2; Plut., De Malig. Herod. 26; Pollux, viii. 91; and Ælian, ii. 25.
101. Aristoph., Eq. 660—

τῇ δ' Ἀγροτέρᾳ κατὰ χιλιῶν παρῆνεσα
εὐχὴν ποιήσασθαι χιμάρων εἰσαύριον.

102. Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ. N. 4097, 1st insc. Philostor., line 7; Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ. N. 4104.
103. Bekk., Anek. Gr. 326; Him. ap. Phot. Bibl. p. 1120; Bekk., 369 A; Hesych., *sub voc.* Ἄγραι; Polyaen., Strat. v. 17; Dionys. Perieg., 424; Plut., Demet., τὰ πρὸς Ἄγραν; Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ. N. 3651.
104. Eustath., Iliad, ii. p. 361, 36 —ἀγροτέρα Ἄρτεμις . . . ἡ καὶ Ἀγραία παρὰ Πλάτωνι κατὰ Παυσανίαν ἀπὸ χώρας πρὸς τῷ Ἰλισσῷ ᾧ κλῆσις Ἄγραι καὶ Ἄγρα οὗ τὰ μικρὰ τῆς Δήμητρος ἤγετο φησὶ μυστήρια ἃ ἐλέγετο τὰ ἐν Ἄγραις.
105. Kleidemos, Bekk., Anek. Gr. i. p. 326, 30; i. p. 334, 12.
106. Vit. X. Orat., Lyc.; and C. I. A., ii. 240, Frag. II. line 7.
107. C. I. A., ii. 176.
108. Philostr., Vit. Soph. ii. 1, 7.
109. Philostr., Vit. Soph. ii. 1, 15.
110. Philostr., Vit. Soph. ii. 1, 15.

DIVISION C

THE ROAD IMMEDIATELY EAST AND SOUTH OF THE ACROPOLIS, FROM THE STREET OF TRIPODS TO THE SHRINE OF DEMETER CHLOE (C. XX. 1 TO C. XXII. 3).

SECT. PAGE
XII. Street of the Tripods—Temples and Theatre of Dionysos 239
XIII. The Asklepieion—The Shrine of Demeter Chloe 297

SECTION XII

STREET OF THE TRIPODS—TEMPLES AND THEATRE OF DIONYSOS

TEXT, i. 20, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4; 21, §§ 1, 2, 3.

i. 20, 1. THERE is a street leading from the Prytaneion, called the Tripods; the name of the district is due to the fact that upon some of the shrines there, which are large enough for the purpose, are tripods, of bronze merely, but containing interesting works of art. The Satyr is there of which Praxiteles is said to have been so proud. One day when Phryne asked him which was the finest of his works, he professed himself, as her lover, willing to give it to her, but would not declare which he himself thought the finest. Then a slave of Phryne's ran up with the news that the greater number of Praxiteles' works had perished in a fire which had attacked his house, but that some

i. 20, 2. had escaped. Praxiteles at once rushed from the house, saying that all his labour had left him nothing if the flames had reached the Satyr and the Eros. But Phryne bade him be of good courage and stay where he was, for no misfortune had happened to him; he had only been tricked into saying which were the finest of his works. So then Phryne chose the Eros.

In the neighbouring temple of Dionysos is a youthful Satyr offering a cup; the Eros set up there as well as the Dionysos is the work of Thymilos.

i. 20, 3. The oldest sanctuary of Dionysos adjoins the theatre. Within the precinct are two temples and two statues of Dionysos—the one called Eleuthereus, and the gold-and-ivory statue made by Alcamenes. Here also are paintings representing Dionysos bringing Hephaistos back to heaven. The Greek legend says that Hera cast Hephaistos out from heaven as soon as he was born, and that he bore malice against her and sent her for a gift a golden seat with invisible fetters. As

soon as Hera sat down upon this seat she was fast bound there, and Hephaistos would not listen to the entreaties of any of the gods. But Dionysos, being the most intimate with Hephaistos, made him drunk and so brought him to heaven.

These events then are represented here, and so are the punishments inflicted on Pentheus and Lycurgus for their insults to Dionysos, and also Ariadne sleeping while Theseus puts off to sea and Dionysos has arrived to carry her away.

i. 20, 4. Near the sanctuary of Dionysos and the theatre is an erection said to have been made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes. This has been rebuilt, for the old one was burnt when the Roman general Sulla took Athens.

. . . . . .

Digression about Sulla's expedition to Athens.

i. 21, 1. In the theatre at Athens there are statues of tragic and comic poets, for the most part of the less celebrated poets. With the exception of Menander there was there no comic poet who has won reputation. Among the illustrious tragedians were Euripides and Sophocles. It is said that when the Lacedaemonians invaded Attica immediately after the death of Sophocles, their general saw Dionysos stand before him, and the god bade him honour, with such ceremonies as are paid to the dead, the new Siren. This dream, he thought, referred to Sophocles and his poetry, and indeed at the present day it is usual to compare the charm of poetry or story to a Siren.

i. 21, 2. The figure of Æschylus must, I think, have been executed long after his death and much later than the painting of the action at Marathon. Æschylus said that when he was a youth he went to sleep in a field while he was watching the grapes, and that Dionysos appeared to him and bade him write tragedy. When it was day, being anxious to obey the god, he tried and found it very easy. Such is his own story.

i. 21, 3. On the southern wall of the Acropolis, as it is called, which is towards the theatre, there is an offering of a gilded head of Medusa the Gorgon, and round about the head is worked an ægis. At the top of the theatre is a cave in the rocks under the Acropolis, and over the entrance, as elsewhere, is a tripod. In it are figures of Apollo and Artemis slaying the children of Niobe. This Niobe I myself saw when I went up Mount Sipylos. When you are near, it is a rock and a cliff, not showing any resemblance to a woman, mourning or otherwise; but if you go to a little distance, you will think you are looking at a weeping woman with her head bent down.

COMMENTARY ON i. 20, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4; 21, §§ 1, 2, 3.

With the stadion Pausanias ends his wanderings about the Ilissus. He starts afresh from the Prytaneion, taking the road that lay to his right hand, which winds round the south-eastern foot of the Acropolis. He is just about to enter upon a district devoted in the main to the honour and worship of the god Dionysos. For convenience' sake his very meagre account of this district may be taken under three heads :—

1. The Street of the Tripods.
2. The precincts and temples of Dionysos, with the pictures and monuments generally, which they contained.
3. The Odeion and the great theatre of Dionysos, with the neighbouring monuments.

1. *The Street of the Tripods.*—As to the general direction of this street there is happily no doubt. The starting-point is the Prytaneion, and the end is now known to have led right up to the eastern entrance to the theatre. Further, the curve it takes is fixed about half-way by the still remaining choregic monument of Lysikrates. As the inscription on this monument faces south-east, it is certain that the street wound round its eastern side. The basis of a second tripod monument was also discovered in 1854, immediately to the south, in the cellar of a house at the north-western corner of the junction of the modern Thespis Street and the Street of the Tripods, so that we have only to join these two points with each other and the terminal theatre to get the line of a considerable portion of the street. Even in the days of Pausanias it must have presented a splendid appearance. To either hand were a series of small temples or shrines, but "large enough for the purpose," each surmounted by a bronze, or, if the dedicator were rich, a gilded tripod. Every self-respecting citizen who competed successfully for the choregia would dedicate such an offering to the god, and erect it in the very street that led up to the theatre which had been the scene of his triumph. Only the "mean man," as Theophrastus [1] says, "when he has gained the prize in a tragic contest, will dedicate a wooden scroll to Dionysos, having it inscribed with his own name." These tragic offerings to Dionysos seem to have grown from modest beginnings. The tripod, which was practically the kettle of antiquity, was a

common prize for many sorts of contests. Achilles[2] offers a tripod fit for the fire (τρίπους ἐμπυριβήτης) at the funeral games of Patroklos. Then from this simple and practical custom arose the later notion of tripods *de luxe*; such were called "fireless" (ἄπυροι), and were frequently offered as anathemata to the gods and as prizes. It was such a tripod, no doubt, that the victor in the choregia received from the tribe to which he belonged, and this he was expected to dedicate to the god.

The scene of the dedication of the tripod by a victor occurs on red-figured vase-paintings. On a beautiful amphora in the Copen-

FIG. 1.—AMPHORA: DEDICATION OF TRIPOD (COPENHAGEN).

hagen Cabinet of Antiquities[3] it is thus represented (fig. 1). In the centre is an elaborate basis surmounted by a Doric column; above flies a winged Victory, just about to place the tripod she holds on the column. To the right the victor takes some sacrificial objects from a boy, who presents them on a tray; to the left, two figures with curious head-dresses are talking together. The scene takes place in a grove, indicated by a tree.

At first, no doubt, the tripods were dedicated in the actual temple of Dionysos, or at least within the precinct, and the record was very simple. Themistocles[4] inscribed his victory on a plain slab thus:—"Themistocles the Phraearian was choregos, Phry-

nichus trained the chorus, Adeimantus was archon." The tripods dedicated by Aristides in the theatre were still to be seen in Plutarch's days. It is curious to note, in connection with the tripods of Aristides, that Plutarch[5] cites them as historical documents—*e.g.*, to prove whether a man was or was not rich, did or did not win such and such a suit. Heliodorus wrote a book about them, and it is quoted by Harpocration[6] to prove that Olnetor had been a choregos. One of the epigrams of Theocritus[7] is written for a tripod and statue of Dionysos consecrated by a victorious choregos.

As wealth and the love of display increased—and, it must be feared, as talent declined—the custom grew up of erecting a shrine and superimposing the tripod. The best preserved choregic monument that remains to us is of this late type. It is impossible to say precisely when the custom developed, but it was well established by 334 B.C., the date of this Lysikrates monument.

This Street of the Tripods, adorned with these shrines and gay with the glitter of bronze and gilt, seems to have been a sort of fashionable promenade. It was convenient for such a purpose, as it lies right down on the plain, avoiding the hill. Athenaeus[8] tells us that when Demetrius Phalereus was governor at Athens (318 B.C.), he once went a walk there after breakfast, and so great was the desire to be noticed by him that all the best-looking young men of the day made a practice of walking there to attract his attention.

The only work of art actually described by Pausanias among the many which he notes as worthy of interest is the Satyr by Praxiteles. We gather from his words that it actually stood on a tripod; three others he mentions later were *within* a shrine. Athenaeus[9] tells the story of the choice of Phryne, but without mention of the ruse she employed. He calls the Satyr the one on or at "the Tripods" (εἴτε τὸν ἐπὶ Τριπόδων σάτυρον). As the name of the street was, according to Pausanias, "the Tripods," I do not think this can fairly be translated otherwise than at the Tripod Street; it therefore cannot be used as evidence for the exact position of the Satyr.

The Satyr handing a cup and the Eros of Thymilos were, Pausanias states expressly, *in* a shrine near at hand, not, I think, in one of the regular temples in the precinct but in a small dedicatory shrine. Probably, as a rule, the more valuable works

of art were more usually put inside for protection's sake, as Pausanias notes specially there were many which, although outside, were of value. It has been conjectured that the boy Satyr offering a cup may have been the original of the well-known Dresden statue, of which there is a replica also at Berlin, of a boy Satyr pouring wine into a horn. Had this been the pose of the Satyr Pausanias saw, he would more simply have described it as the "Satyr pouring out wine."

The well-known and fairly preserved "monument of Lysikrates' makes it easy clearly to realise the general plan of the shrines seen by Pausanias (fig. 2). It stands about 140 yards from the eastern side of the Acropolis, and is now surrounded by an open space. It went by the name of the lantern of Demosthenes (*τὸ φανάρι τοῦ Δημοσθένους*), from the general resemblance of its shape to a Turkish hand-lantern, and from a legend current, and of course baseless, that Demosthenes used it as his study. The Jesuit Babin[10] thus writes:—"À la maison qu'ont achetée depuis peu les Pères Capucins il y a une antiquité bien remarquable et qui depuis le tems de Démosthène est demeurée en son entier: on l'appelle ordinairement la lanterne de Démosthène, et les plus habiles Athéniens m'ont dit que c'étoit le lieu où ce grand orateur se retira, s'étant fait raser la barbe et les cheveux pour se contraindre soy-même par ce moyen à garder la solitude, afin d'acquérir par la méditation et dans le silence les plus belles connoissances et les plus belles lumières de la philosophie comme aussi les traits les plus subtils de l'éloquence." It is interesting to know that some difficulties were being raised about a foreigner holding possession of one of the antiquities of the city. Even at this early date (1669) there was so much feeling about the conservation of ancient monuments that le père Simon was only allowed to conclude his bargain "à condition pourtant de ne point endommager le Phanari et ordre de le montrer aux curieux qui le voudraient voir." The Demosthenes legend is a curious example of mythopœic instinct. As a matter of fact, the Lysikrates monument, though not quite solid, was never intended to be opened, all the sides being securely closed in. The space within was, as the Jesuit Babin notes farther on, only just high enough for a man to stand upright in, and could at most only hold three people.

It seems still uncertain whether or not there once existed a second similar monument opposite to the so-called "lantern of Demosthenes," which bore the name of "lantern of Diogenes."

If it did exist, by the time of Spon and Wheler it had completely

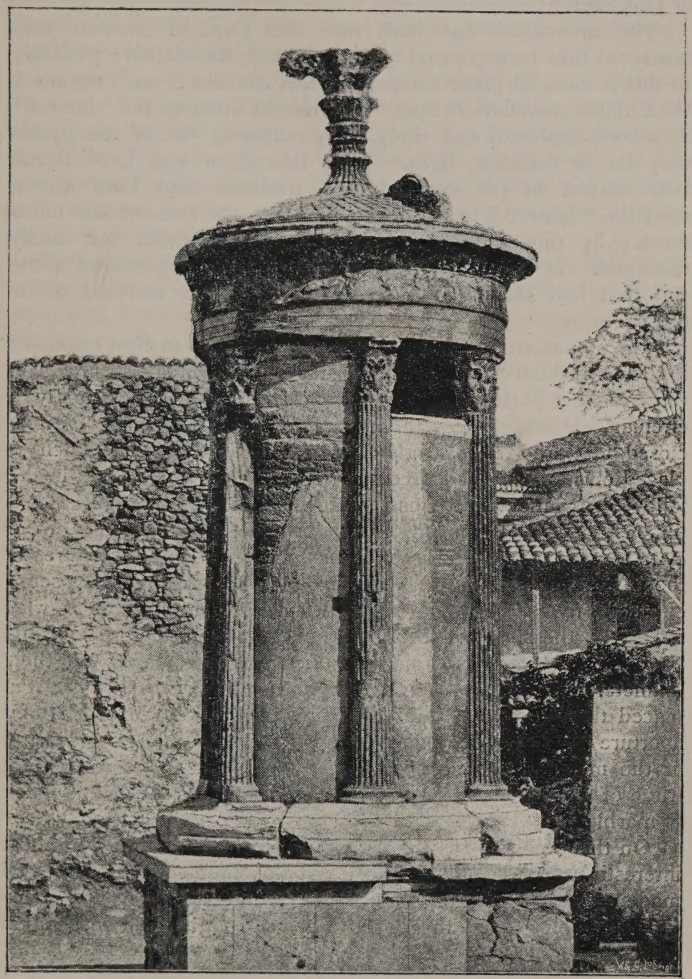


FIG. 2.—MONUMENT OF LYSIKRATES.

disappeared (1676). The tradition of its existence may have arisen from some confusion about the names. At present it is

the monument of Lysikrates that goes by the name of "the lantern of Diogenes."

The monument was built into the Capucin convent, and remained thus incorporated until the Greek Revolution; probably to this it owes its preservation. At this convent it was customary for English travellers to stay. The monks fitted up the "lantern" as a book-cupboard and study. By removing one of the panels they let in sufficient light. Lord Brougham and Lord Byron both stayed in the convent, and tradition says Lord Byron used the "lantern" to write in. In 1821 the convent was burnt down; by this fire the monument was liberated but badly damaged. It was finally, in Stuart's[11] time (1831), cleared of the soil that had accumulated round its base and restored to its present state.

The monument of Lysikrates is one of the two earliest examples of the Corinthian order. "It consists," to quote Stuart's words, "of three distinct parts—first, a quadrangular basement; secondly, a circular colonnade, the intercolumniations of which were entirely closed up; and thirdly, a cupola with the ornament which is placed on it. . . . The circular colonnade was constructed in the following manner: six equal panels of white marble placed contiguous to each other, on a circular plan, formed a continued cylindrical wall, divided into six equal parts by the junctures of the panels. On the whole length of each juncture was cut a semicircular groove, in which a Corinthian column was fitted with great exactness, and effectually concealed the junctures of the panels. The columns projected somewhat more than half their diameters from the surface of the cylindrical walls. Over this was placed the entablature and the cupola, in neither of which any aperture was made, so that there was no admission to the inside of the monument, and it was quite dark. The architrave and frieze of this circular colonnade are both formed of only one block of marble."

On this architrave is the inscription which is perhaps the most interesting feature of the whole. It was first scraped clean and made out by a Prussian, Transfeldt,[12] who took refuge at Athens (after escaping from the Tartars) about 1674. The inscription runs as follows:—

Λυσικράτης Λυσιθέου Κικύνευς ἐχορήγει
Ἀκάμαντις παίδων ἐνίκα Θέων ἠύλει
Λυσιάδης Ἀθήναιος ἐδίδασκε Εὐαίνετος ἦρχε

—("Lysikrates of Cicyna, son of Lysitheides, was choregos; the tribe Acamantis gained the victory with a chorus of boys; Theon played the flute; Lysiades, an Athenian, trained the chorus; Euainetos was archon").

Above this is a small frieze only ten inches high, representing the story of Dionysos and the pirates, a myth to be noted later. This frieze remains *in situ*; a cast of it is in the Elgin Room of the British Museum. It is of special value to the history of art as a monument the date of which, by the archonship of Euainetos (335 B.C.), is secure, and which therefore gives us a certain standard for fourth century decorative sculpture.

The monument, finally, is surmounted by a cupola, delicately wrought like a thatch of laurel leaves. Within this floral ornament the tripod was supported; the holes in which the feet were fixed are still visible.

The proportions of the whole structure are noticeable. The entire height is nearly 34 feet; the base, 14; the floral ornament, 4. There seems no doubt that the little temple was planned for no other purpose than to serve as a splendid pedestal for the tripod.

Returning to the sculptured frieze (fig. 3), which mythologically is of considerable importance, it may be noted that the original sculptures still at Athens have suffered severely, and the composition is now best studied from the cast in the Elgin Room of the British Museum. The several groups of which the frieze is composed are arrayed with a careful and somewhat anxious symmetry not at first very easily recognisable, and perhaps not wholly suited to the composition of a circular frieze. The centre group is bounded on either side by a huge krater, and the central point is Dionysos himself. He is seated on a rock, carelessly at ease, playing with his panther; on either side an attendant seated Satyr; and beyond each of these a second Satyr, fetching wine from either of the kraters. So far, all is peaceful; but in direct contrast with this central god-like calm, to right and left of the bounding kraters the scene of the punishment and final transformation takes place. Satyrs — young and old — are beating, binding, and burning the miscreants, and in despair those half-metamorphosed already leap into the sea.

The story has taken but slight hold upon art. Happily it is told in the Homeric hymn,[13] which must be quoted in full:— "Of Dionysos, the son of glorious Semele, will I sing, even how once he stood on a jutting foreland, on the shore of the salt sea

FIG. 3.—FRIEZE, FROM LYSIKRATES MONUMENT.

unharvested. In the likeness of a young man did he reveal himself, a young man in his earliest youth, with his beautiful dark locks shaken abroad, and on his strong shoulders a purple mantle. So straightway certain sea-robbers came swiftly by, in a trim ship, sailing over the sea that is dark as wine. Tyrrhenian men were they, and an ill-fate guided their ship, who, when they beheld Dionysos, nodded one to the other, and speedily leaped overboard, and swiftly seized the god, and hauled him back to their vessel, and were happy at heart. Yea, they deemed that he was a child of kings, the fosterling of Zeus, and their purpose was to bind him in a grievous bond. But him their bonds held not, and the withies fell far from his hands and feet, while he sat there smiling with his dark blue eyes. Thereon the pilot of the ship knew him, and straightway cried to his fellows, and uttered his voice, saying: 'Friends, wherefore have ye taken this god, and fain would bind him? A hard god is he to overcome, nor can any fair-wrought ship bear such a freight. Nay, surely he is Zeus, or Apollo of the silver bow, or Poseidon, for he is nowise like men that die, but like the gods that have mansions in Olympus. Nay, go to, let us presently set him free on the dark mainland, and let not your hands upon him, lest being somewhat angered he loose the fierce winds on you, and a mighty rushing tempest.' So he spake, but with a hateful vow did the ship's master make him answer: 'Friend, do thou watch for a fair wind, and up with the ship's sail and all the gear; but this is matter for men. Methinks the stranger will fare as far with us as Egypt, yea, or Cyprus, or to the men beyond the North Wind, or further far; but in the end he will tell us who his friends are, and of all his wealth, and his brethren, since God hath given him into our hands.'

"So spake he, and set up the mast and ran the tackling aloft, and the wind blew and bellied out the sail, and all the gear was made taut; and lo! there speedily came upon them matters marvellous.

"First sweet wine and fragrant welled forth musical through all the swift black ship, and there arose a wondrous sweet savour, and fear fell on all them that saw these things. Anon from the sailyard spread this way and that the branches of a vine laden with many a cluster, and round the mast went the black ivy winding, with wealth of ivy bloom, and fair was the fruit thereof, and all the tholes were ivy-crowned. Then they that saw it called on Mesteides, the pilot, to bring them ashore. But straightway the god took on him the likeness of a lion, leaping to

the poop of the ship, and he roared terribly, and in midships set he the appearance of a bristling she-bear displaying great signs and wonders. There stood the she-bear ravening, and the awful eyes of the lion glared from the half-deck; and they fled into the hindmost part of the ship, crouching round the pilot, that was wise and righteous of heart, and all in dread were they.

"Then leapt the god on them and seized the ship's master, and all they leaped overboard, avoiding the evil doom. All at once they leaped at the sight of him into the salt sea divine, and then were they changed into dolphins. But on the pilot he took pity, and kept him aboard, and made him blessed among men, and spake him, saying:

"'Take courage, good steersman, dear to my heart, and lo, I am Dionysos, the loud reveller, whom Semele bore, the daughter of Cadmus, the child of the embraces of Zeus.'

"'All hail, thou son of lovely Semele, whoso forgetteth thee can make no sweetest minstrelsy.'"

Obviously it is this beautiful tale that the sculptor has in his mind, but he treats it with the usual freedom of the artist. The scene takes place for him on the seashore, not in the (for his art) more difficult circumstances of the ship. He takes for his main subject, not, as the hymn-writer, the glory and terrible transformation of the god—a subject for him unmanageable—but the concluding episode of the punishment and metamorphosis of the pirates. He knows nothing of, or cares nothing for, the pious pilot. The story is told with unimportant variations by Apollodorus, Hyginus, Ovid, and Nonnus; and Philostratos has an elaborate description of a painting with a representation of the scene.[14]

These variations and elaborations are of little interest. It is more important to note what may possibly have been the cause of a myth so elaborate. At first sight Dionysos seems to have little natural connection with the "unharvested sea;" there is evidence, however, enough, apart from the Homeric hymn, that he was at home in ships, and that there were other aspects of his seafaring than the Tyrrhenian legend. The hymn, indeed, bears the stamp rather of poetical than cultus legend. It is the triumph of the god by sea as well as land; but Dionysos must have had some earlier, simpler, cultus connection with the sea before it could ever have arisen.

To explain this, some clue may be obtained from a black-figured vase-painting which has been much abused in connection

with this myth—the famous cylix of Exekias, now in the Munich vase collection at the old Pinakothek (fig. 4).

In the centre of the cylix is the ship of Dionysos; in it the god, bearded and crowned, is seated, holding a rhyton. From the mast rises a spreading vine with great clusters of grapes; about

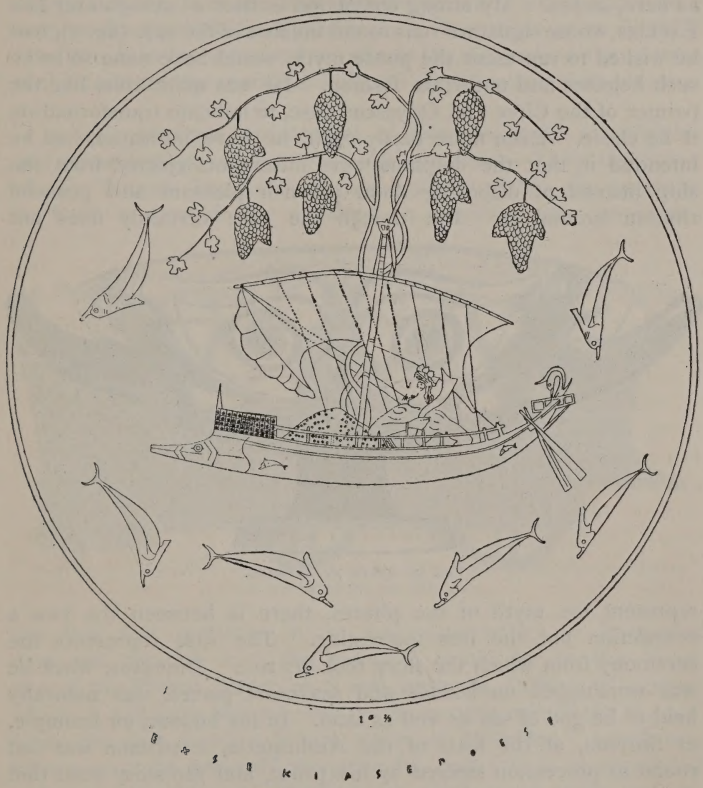


FIG. 4.—INTERIOR OF CYLIX: DIONYSOS IN SHIP.

the ship are playing seven beautiful curved dolphins. I do not hesitate to say that, spite of the vine, spite of the dolphins, the picture has nothing whatever to do directly with the story of the Tyrrhenians, and, I think, only a very elementary acquaintance with the manner of black-figured vase-painters of the time of

Exekias is necessary to feel this conviction. The dolphins indicate, not transformed pirates, but simply the element of the sea through which the ship is sailing. The vine growing from the mast simply indicates the sacred ship of Dionysos—a ship much more often represented as drawn on wheels by land than, as here, at sea. My strong conviction is that a vase-painter like Exekias, whose signature runs round the foot of the vase (fig. 5), had he wished to represent the pirate myth, would have done so in no such helpless and uncertain fashion. He was quite able, like the painter of the Circe and Odysseus vase, to indicate transformation if he chose. Even more easily could he have indicated, had he intended it, that the dolphins were miscreants ejected from the ship instead of disposing them in such pleasant and peaceful rhythm around it. But though the vase certainly does not

FIG. 5.—CYLIX BY EXEKIAS.

represent the myth of the pirates, there is between the two a connection not the less interesting. The vase represents the ceremony from which the story took its rise. Dionysos, when he was worshipped on islands and sea-coast places, was naturally held to be god of sea as well as land. In his honour, for example, at Smyrna, at the feast of the Anthesteria, a trireme was led round in procession steered by his priest, and the story went that the procession commemorated a triumph over the Chians, who had invaded the city when it was celebrating the sacred festival; the god himself had put to sea and fought for his people.[15] Such legends would be apt to arise everywhere by the sea; and among primitive coast tribes, when they saw the ship decked out and the vine about the mast, what more likely than that they should imagine the god himself had been, first the captive, then the

conqueror of the most dreaded of the sea-marauders? In fact, the story was ætiological. Dionysos had his ship, as Athene her Panathenaic trireme, and the ceremonies attending it gave rise to many a legend, of which, perhaps because a poet gave it lasting form, the Tyrrhenian story survived. Exekias, with something of a poet's fancy, puts the ship actually to sea. The painter of a skyphos in the British Museum (Cat., B. 278) is more literal.[16] Dionysos is in his actual car on wheels (fig. 6), and on the reverse of the vase are the sacrificial bull and the attendant flute-players.

2. *The precincts and temples of Dionysos, with the pictures and monuments generally, which they contained.*—From the Street of the Tripods Pausanias passes actually within the precinct. It had, as would be expected, a doorway or propylaea;

FIG. 6.—DIONYSOS IN SHIP CAR.

but this was probably in no way noteworthy, so Pausanias does not mention it. The entrance would be in the direct line of the Tripod Street, as it was near the Odeion, a building which, it will later be seen, was on the eastern side of the theatre. Near the gate stood a bronze statue of Miltiades,[17] which was known as "the general" (στρατηγός), and which corresponded with a similar statue of Themistocles which stood on the western side of the precinct; near each was represented a captive Persian.

The general limits of the precinct can be roughly defined, and the precise sites of the two temples seen by Pausanias are, fortunately, known beyond doubt. To the north the precinct was bounded by the Acropolis rock itself; on the south it extended to

nearly where the modern road passes; west, it was bounded by the Asklepieion; east, its exact limits cannot be determined.

The two temples are marked D and E on the plan (fig. 7). The earlier of the two (D) stands nearest to the stage buildings. Only small portions of the north side wall and of the west and dividing wall (marked dark on the plan) actually exist still, but, fortunately, these are sufficient to give the approximate size and plan of the temple. It must have been of very small size, probably only intended as a shrine of the archaic statue, and consisted of naos and pronaos. The style of its masonry, and the character of the clamps used (⌐—⌐), fix its date as before the Persian wars. This early temple was connected by tradition with the worship of the god at Eleutherae; the legend of his coming there has been already considered. Eleutherae was, Pausanias says in his account of the district,[18] a sort of border land claimed by both Boeotia and Attica. "The people of Eleutherae," he adds, "became Athenians, not by force, but because they hated the Thebans and liked the Athenian manner of government; and on this plain is a temple of Dionysos, and the ancient image was taken thence to Athens." No doubt this is the true account of the name "Eleuthereus." The Athenians borrowed some elements of their worship of Dionysos from the vine-clad district of Eleutherae, and on the occasion of some remote alliance the image of the god was solemnly transferred. It may have been some memory of this ancient journey that gave rise to the yearly procession when the old xoanon was solemnly taken to the small temple on the road to the Academy—*i.e.*, part of the way to its old home. Later mythologists, desiring a more poetical etymology, said that the god was called Eleuthereus (the Freer) because he loosed men from their cares:—

> "Him the dancing Rout goes after,
> Him the fluting and the laughter,
> But before him care is dead
> When in heaven the wine-cup gleams,
> Or about the mortal head,
> Feasting, ivy-garlanded,
> Builds a little hold of dreams."
>
> —(*Bacchae*, 377-384).

The title "Eleuthereus" was preserved down to quite late days. The central chair in the theatre belonged to the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus.

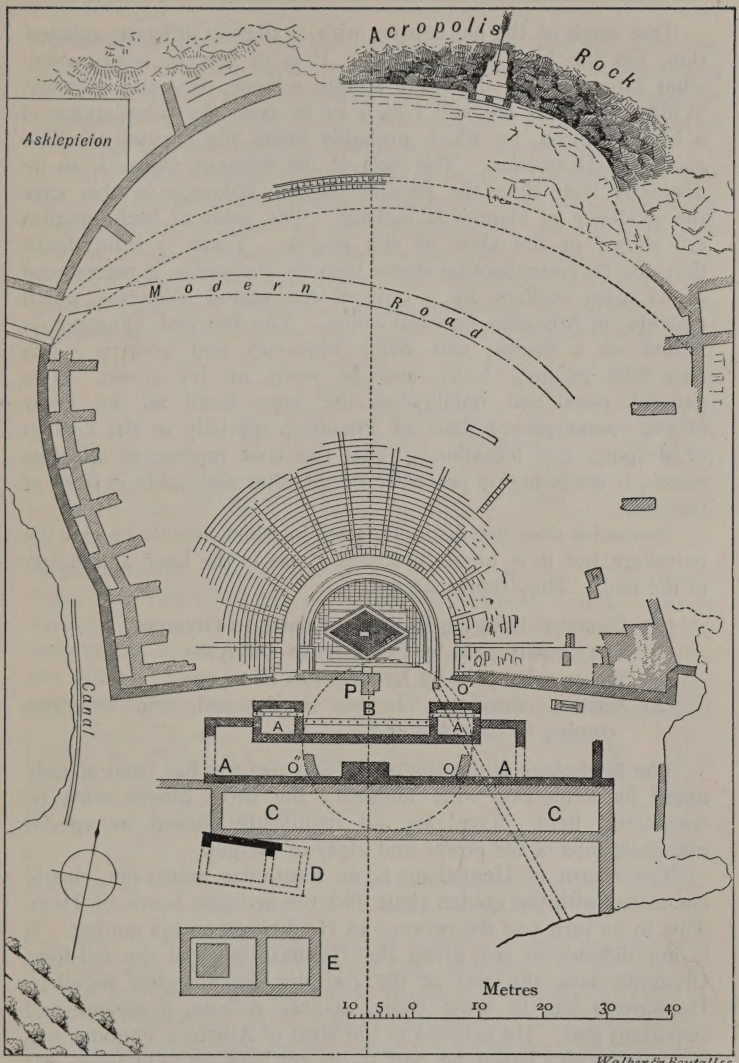


FIG. 7.—PLAN OF DIONYSIAC THEATRE AT ATHENS.

Due south of the old temple, with a slightly different orientation, lies the later building (E). It is of breccia stone, somewhat larger but of the same simple scheme, naos and pronaos. Within the naos are still clearly to be seen the foundations of a large bathron, on which probably stood the chryselephantine statue of Alcamenes. The style of the masonry shows it to be distinctly later than the smaller temple, although in this case the evidence of clamps is lacking. The ruins of both temples are shown in the view of the stages. There is little doubt that the chryselephantine statue seen by Pausanias is reproduced in its main outlines by a type of the seated Dionysos which appears on Athenian imperial coins. The bearded Dionysos is seated on a throne, and holds wine-cup and sceptre. His hair falls in long locks, and he wears an ivy crown. The general pose and nobility of the type recall all we know of the contemporary Zeus of Pheidias, specially in the fashion of draping the himation. That the coin represents a cultus statue, is made highly probable by the altar and table in front of the god.

Pausanias does not distinctly state in which temple he saw the paintings, but it is highly probable it was in the later and larger of the two. They represented—

(1) Dionysos bringing back Hephaistos to Olympus.
(2) The penalty paid by Pentheus to Dionysos.
(3) The penalty paid by Lycurgus to Dionysos.
(4) Ariadne sleeping, Theseus setting sail, and Dionysos coming to take Ariadne.

The mythology of the last of the four pictures has been already noted in connection with Theseus; the three others must be considered here. They are all manifestly chosen as special manifestations of the power and glory of the god.

The return of Hephaistos is, as Pausanias points out, clearly connected with the golden chair and the invisible bonds of Hera. This in its turn was the revenge of Hephaistos on his mother. It is not difficult to see, given the Homeric story of the fall from Olympus, how the rest of the complex legend grew together. Hephaistos was in some cities, notably Athens, a serious and important god. He assisted at the birth of Athene; Pandora was his handiwork; hence he had to be got back into Olympus. It was natural he should take revenge on his mother. He was a craftsman, and hence the golden chair. He was a great god, not to

be subdued by force ; but, according to ancient thinking, it was no dishonour to return by the might of Dionysos. The question of the art depiction of the binding of Hera, a popular subject in Peloponnesian art, need not be dealt with here ; in the precinct of Dionysos our only concern is with the glorious return.

The subject occurs on upwards of thirty vase-paintings ; and though it certainly cannot be said that any of them are copies of the painting Pausanias saw, we get from them our best notion of how the myth was approached by the Greek artist. The story is told on the François vase in a broad epic fashion, and certainly not without conscious humour. For convenience of printing, it is divided into two portions (figs. 8 and 9), but in reality the frieze

FIG. 8.—RETURN OF HEPHAISTOS.

is consecutive. In the centre of the design (fig. 8) is seated King Zeus (ΖΕΥΣ) ; behind him Hera (ΗΕΡΑ), with her hands upraised in wonder. Her throne is one of unusual splendour, the back ornamented by a swan's head ; it may well be supposed to be the gift of Hephaistos. In front of Zeus, and facing full, though with her head turned to the right, is Aphrodite (ΗΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΕ) ;

FIG. 9.—RETURN OF HEPHAISTOS (*Continued*).

she turns to see the approaching procession. Into the very presence of Zeus, Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΣ) advances (fig. 9), holding by the rein the mule on which Hephaistos (ΗΑΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ) is seated. Behind are three Silenoi (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΙ) with horse's legs. One carries a wine-skin, another blows the double flute, the third has seized a Maenad in his arms—we have, in fact, the typical revel rout of Dionysos. Behind again are three nymphs (ΝΥΦΑΙ) with castagnettes. The most humorous part of the comedy goes

on, however, behind the throne of Hera (fig. 8). Ares (ΑΡΕΣ) crouches in a shamefaced attitude on a sort of low stool of repentance. Athene (ΑΘΕΝΑΙΑ) looks round at him with undisguised disparagement. Artemis (ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ) comes up with hand extended. Fragments only of another god and goddess remain. As early as Sappho the tradition was current that Ares had tried force, and in vain. (Sappho, p. 66—"ὁ δ' Ἄρευς φαῖσί κεν Ἄφαιστον ἄγην βίᾳ.")

The François vase is the fullest version of the story extant in art. The whole design is instinct with comedy. There could scarcely be a scene better fitted for mimetic performance at a Dionysiac festival. Red-figured vases, an instance of which is

FIG. 10.—RETURN OF HEPHAISTOS.

given in fig. 10, considerably abridge the scene. As a rule Hephaistos is represented on foot, manifestly drunk (in the François vase he seeems sober, though elate), and leaning for support on a Satyr; while Dionysos, with thyrsus and kantharos, leads the way, attended by various Satyrs and Maenads. In one case a Maenad is inscribed "Komodia."

The two other pictures showed Dionysos in his more terrible aspect as the avenger of such as neglected his service. Lycurgus for Thrace, Pentheus for Thebes, both preach the same moral—

> "The god, the son of Zeus,
> Delights in the red-run juice;
> He loves rich Peace, men's foster-nurse divine;
> He gives to rich and poor

> One gift, the same, the sure
> Medicine of care—bringer of gladness—wine ;
> And them he hates who cannot find delight
> In this glad life by day and long dear night."
>
> (*Bacchae*, 416-426.)

Neither story seems to have taken any hold on ancient art till it had become the subject of scenic representation ; both were no doubt foreign to the Attic indigenous stock of myths. The story of Lycurgus appears in literature as early as a passage (probably interpolated) in the sixth *Iliad*.[19] Diomede piously avows his intention not to "fight with heavenly gods," and strengthens his resolve by citing the case of Lycurgus—"Nay, moreover, even Dryas' son, mighty Lycurgus, was not for long when he strove with heavenly gods ; he that erst chased through the goodly land of Nysa the nursing mothers of frenzied Dionysos, and they all cast their wands upon the ground, smitten with murderous Lycurgus' ox-goad. Then Dionysos fled and plunged beneath the salt sea-wave, and Thetis took him to her bosom affrighted, for mighty trembling had seized him at his foe's rebuke. But with Lycurgus the gods that live at ease were wroth, and Kronos' son made him blind, and he was not for long, because he was hated of all the immortal gods." Later writers are more explicit. The gods made Lycurgus mad, and when he would have cut down a vine-tree, he slew his own son, and after that his wife. Æschylus wrote a tetralogy, *The Hedonae*, *the Bassarids*, *the Neaniskoi*, and *the Satyric play*, *Lycurgus*. From the few lines that remain of the *Lycurgus*, it must have been conceived something after the fashion of the *Bacchae* of Euripides. The dialogue between Lycurgus and the stranger god is parodied, it will be remembered, in the *Thesmophoriasouzae*.[20] Had the tetralogy survived, it would probably have been possible to make out what form of the myth was indigenous, as Æschylus usually chooses an early form.

From the vase-paintings that depict the scene[21] it seems certain that the artist of the fourth century knew of the murder of son and wife, and that the Homeric tradition of blindness was given up. The finest representation is given in figs. 11 and 12, the obverse and reverse of a krater. Lycurgus has already slain his son, who sinks dying in the arms of an attendant maiden. That he is swooning or dead is shown by the closed eye (drawn without pupil). Lycurgus himself, with wild distorted face, swings his axe against the mother, whom he has caught and hurled down. The double axe is the typical

weapon of the wild barbarian; with it the Thracian woman slays Orpheus, and Theseus borrows it from the wild robber Prokrustes. Through the air swoops down the winged demon of madness, Lyssa (Rage), and smites the king with her pointed goad. To the left, behind a hill, a Maenad strikes her cymbal at the coming of the god. In the reverse picture (fig. 12) all is still. The god has sent his angel against Lycurgus, but no trouble disturbs his own divine repose. About him his thiasos seem to watch the scene alert and curious, but he only lifts his hand in token of assent.

FIG. 11.—KRATER (OBVERSE): LYCURGUS SLAYING HIS FAMILY.

It cannot be said for certain that the vase, a piece of fourth century work, is actually inspired by Æschylus. Another instance —a design from an amphora in the Jatta collection at Ruvo—is more obviously dramatic. In front of a house (indicated by columns and pediment), Lycurgus, his head bound with ivy, is slaying his son. The mother rushes forward, with hands upraised, unwitting to her doom. An attendant, with two spears, stands, his head buried in his hand, in profound and dramatic depression. Vases on which a house or temple in the background is depicted for scenery, may safely be assumed to depend on stage representations.

Of the story of Pentheus, ancient art has left no representation worthy at all to vie with the picture in the *Bacchae* of Euripides.

Before he begins his account of the theatre Pausanias mentions the Odeion of Pericles—the one Odeion, as has been noted, of classical days. He does not call it an Odeion, but a building made in imitation of the tent of Xerxes. That this building was the Odeion is made quite certain by a passage in the *Pericles* of Plutarch,[22] which must be quoted in full:—"The Odeion also, built under the supervision of Pericles, has many seats and pillars within; the roof was made slanting and converging to one point, and they say it was after the model and as an imitation of the

FIG. 12.—KRATER (REVERSE): DIONYSOS AND ATTENDANTS.

King of Persia's tent." Hence the joke of Cratinus in the *Thrattae*:—

> "Here's our Zeus, with a head like an onion,
> Now his ostrakon's quite out of date;
> He wears for a cap his Odeion,
> Our Pericles pointed of pate."

Pericles, then, for the first time exerted his influence and got a decree passed voting a prize for the best musical performer at the Panathenaia, and he himself was made judge and giver of the prizes; he gave instructions to the performers, whether they were singers or players on the flute and lyre. Musical contests were then and thereafter witnessed at the Odeion.

It is necessarily this Odeion which is referred to in the *Wasps*

of Aristophanes. For certain suits the dikasts assembled there. The chorus says—

> "Then we manage all our business in a waspish sort of way,
> Swarming in the courts of justice, gathering in from day to day
> Many where the Eleven write, as many where the archon calls,
> Many, too, on the Odeion, many to the city walls."

On which the scholiast comments :[23]— "It (*i.e.*, the Odeion) is a place in the form of a theatre, in which they are accustomed to recite the compositions before the recitation in the theatre. He (*i.e.*, Aristophanes) says this to show you will find dikasts here, and there, and everywhere in Attica."

It is perfectly natural that there should be, as an appendage to the open theatre, some roofed-in building where business such as rehearsals, requiring the privacy of four walls, could go on. Further, an open-air structure would not be suitable for musical performances of the more delicate sort. As the theatre itself was used after a time in preference to the Pnyx for popular assemblies, it is not at all surprising that the dikasts were allowed on occasion to meet in the Odeion.

As to the burning down of the Periclean Odeion, Pausanias seems to have made a mistake. Appian[24] distinctly states that it was Aristion who burnt the Odeion in order to prevent Sulla from utilising it in his attempt to scale and seize the citadel. It was, as Pausanias quite correctly states, restored, and, it is known from Vitruvius,[25] at the expense of Ariobarzanes III. (*circ.* 51 B.C.), by the architects Caius and Marcus Stallius and Menalippus. That it was restored after the early pattern is clear from the description of Pausanias.

It remains to fix the site. Pausanias leaves us in the vague. He only says it was "near the sanctuary and the theatre of Dionysos;" and as he is coming from the east, and has already described the temples, it might from this be supposed that the Odeion lay west of them. Happily Vitruvius explicitly states that the Odeion stood near as you went out of the left side of the theatre ("Athenis exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte Odeum"). From the much-disputed passage in the speech on the mysteries by Andokides[26] it is further clear that the Odeion stood higher than the orchestra of the theatre. When Diokleides was passing by moonlight near the Propylaea of Dionysos he saw "a number of men going down from the Odeion to the orchestra." As the old orchestra of the days of Andokides, which Dr. Dörpfeld has discovered (p. 285), lies very little, if anything, below the present

orchestra, it will be sufficient if we consider this present orchestra as the level down to which Andokides passed. In placing the Odeion it is necessary, then, to choose a spot east of the theatre and *above* the level of the present orchestra; this is all that can be asserted.

The Odeion must have been a large building, as Xenophon[27] relates that on one occasion a number of horsemen with their horses passed the night within it.

In order to preserve the narrative of Pausanias from interruption as much as possible, it will be simplest to note in this connection two buildings not described by him:—

(1) The Odeion of Herodes Atticus.
(2) The "Stoa of Eumenes."

Of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus there are still impressive remains; but as it has no mythological interest, a few words must suffice. It was built by Herodes in memory of his wife Regilla, to whose memory also, it will be remembered, he dedicated the Exedra at Olympia. Pausanias of course could not describe this Odeion, as it was not built when he made his tour through Athens, but elsewhere he apologises for the omission. He says in his description of the city of Patrae in Arcadia[28]—"And next to the market-place is the Odeion; and this Odeion is more beautifully adorned than any other in Greece, except that of Athens. The one at Athens surpasses this one both in its magnitude and all its arrangements, and was built by Herodes Atticus in memory of his wife, who had died. I omitted to mention the Odeion in my description of Attica, because I had written that portion before Herodes began to build it."

The Odeion naturally served the Turks as a fortress. Stuart mistook it for the great Dionysiac theatre. It was not cleared out till 1858. From the immense quantity of shells of the purple fish found when it was excavated, it seems certain that the Byzantines must have used it as a manufactory for purple dye.

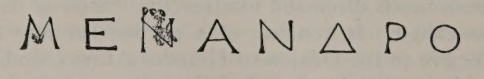
It has been much discussed whether the "Stoa of Eumenes" is rightly so called. It consists of a portico running from the Dionysiac theatre to the Odeion of Herodes Atticus, and from its close connection with this last building some authorities have thought that the portico also was built by Herodes. By a careful examination of the material and technique of the stoa Dr. Dörpfeld[29] has set the question at rest, and the stoa may henceforth bear the name of Eumenes in peace. The matter briefly stood thus:—Dr. Köhler and those who followed him desired to show that the

Stoa of Eumenes was the portico, the foundations of which are immediately behind the foundations of the skene of the Dionysiac theatre. Dr. Dörpfeld shows (*a*) that these foundations are of the date of Lycurgus, and (*b*) that the foundations of the portico are so implicated with those of the skene that they necessarily are of the same date. Hence the portico to which Dr. Köhler would give the name Eumenes cannot belong to him. Then comes the question—Can the portico between the Odeion of Herodes and the theatre be of the time of Eumenes? Dr. Köhler maintains it is of the date of Herodes. Dr. Dörpfeld shows that the Odeion is built of what is known as *opus incertum* (*i.e.*, small stones stuck together with mortar), a certain index of Roman date. The portico, on the other hand, is built entirely of blocks of breccia, Peiraeus stone, and Hymettus marble, specially characteristic of Hellenistic days. Further, the general plan of the portico is like that found at Pergamos, and known to be by Eumenes. Lastly, the inscription agrees well with the words of Vitruvius, who, after his account of theatre-building, says:—"Behind the scene porticoes should be set up, porticoes like those at Pompei and also at Athens—*e.g.*, the portico of Eumenes, the shrine of Father Bacchus, and the Odeion as you go out of the left side of the theatre." That is, Vitruvius takes three instances of porticoes at Athens which are almost consecutive, and proceed from west to east—the portico of Eumenes first; the colonnade round the temple of Dionysos next; and last, and most easterly, the Odeion of Pericles.

Passing to the theatre, Pausanias mentions only—

(1) Statues of tragedians and comedians.
(2) A golden head of Medusa.
(3) A cave with a tripod.

The basis of one only of the statues seen by Pausanias has been found, not far from the western parodos; it is of Pentelic marble, and bears the inscription—[30]



Μένανδρος. | Κηφισόδοτος Τίμαρχος ἐπόησαν.

—("Menander; Kephisodotos and Timarchos were the sculptors"). The signature is just at the lower part of the basis, separated by a

wide interval from the comedian's name. The pedestal now stands on the left-hand side (as you face the orchestra) of the stage marked A, and may easily be identified. It appears in fig. 22.

The two sculptors were sons and pupils of the famous Praxiteles,

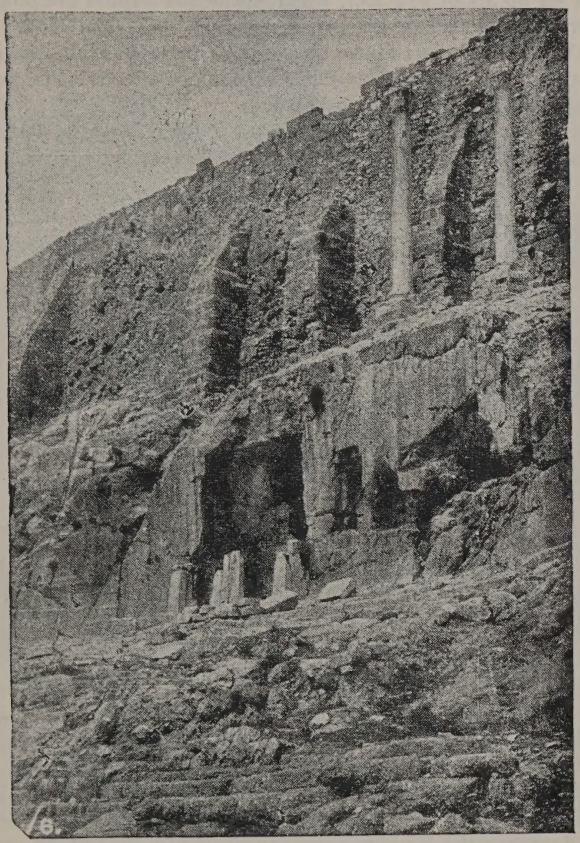


FIG. 13.—THRASYLLUS MONUMENT (1888).

and therefore contemporaries of Menander, who died 291 B.C. The statues of Æschylus and Sophocles seen by Pausanias were very probably those of bronze set up by Lycurgus when he restored the theatre and reorganised dramatic representations.

In his account of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, with its veil, offered by Antiochus, Pausanias says[31]—"Antiochus also gave to the theatre at Athens a golden ægis with a Gorgon's head upon it." This splendid and conspicuous bit of decoration must have been set up about 174 B.C., when Antiochus formed the project—interrupted by his death—of completing the Olympeion. The ægis would stand just above the cave of Thrasyllus, as seen in fig. 13, and it is impossible to conceive a more effective situation for the symbol of Athene's guardianship.

His attention once caught by the golden Medusa, Pausanias notes what probably he would otherwise never have seen, a cave

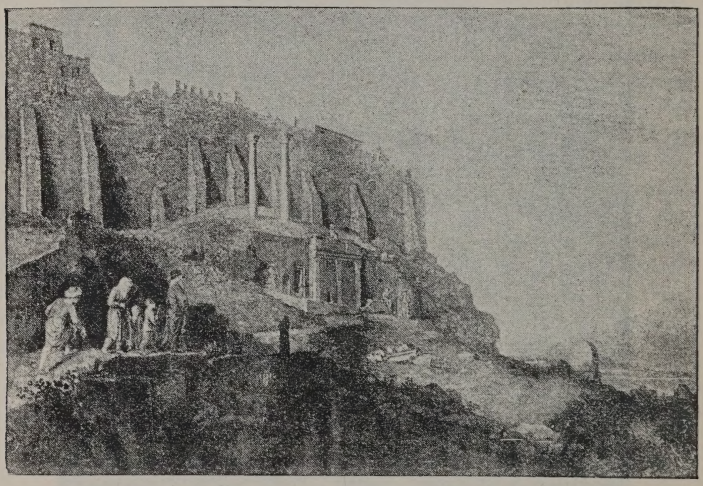


FIG. 14.—THRASYLLUS MONUMENT, FROM STUART'S DRAWING.

with a tripod over it. On it was depicted the slaying of the Niobids—a subject rather Apolline than Dionysiac, but anyhow well in place on a tripod. Probably the subject was sculptured in relief. It is worth noting that a Pompeian painting found in the Casa dei Dioscuri[32] represents two large tripods decorated with gold figures of the Niobids—the sons on one tripod, the daughters on the other.

It is possible, though by no means certain, that this tripod may have belonged to the well-known Thrasyllus monument, of which remains are still extant. What is now left is seen in fig. 13. For fuller details Stuart must be referred to. In his days the

monument was nearly intact, as seen in fig. 14, but it was almost

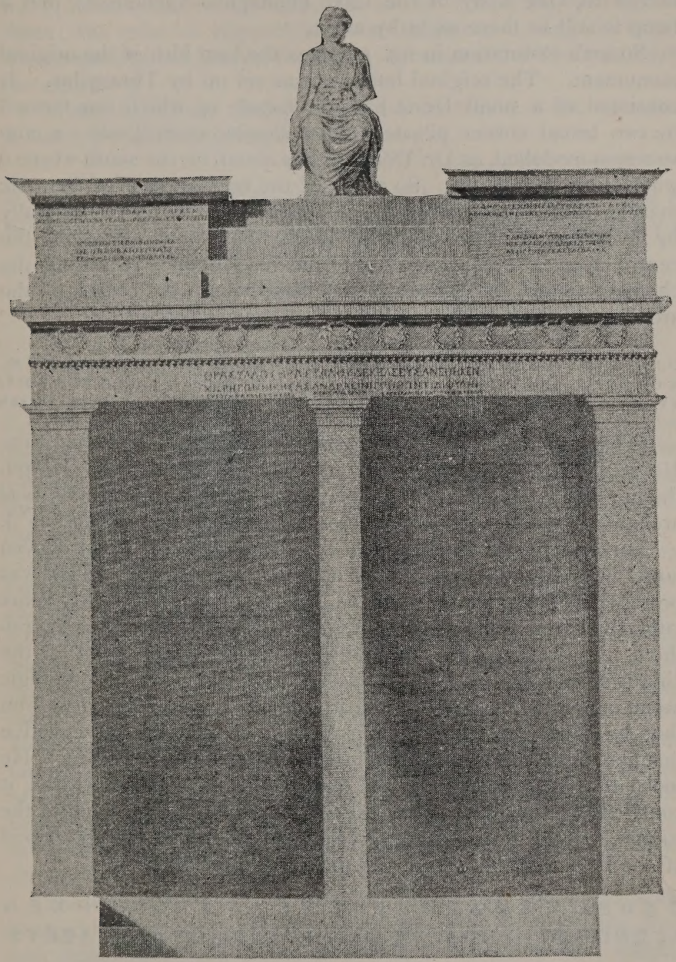


FIG. 15.—MONUMENT OF THRASYLLUS AND THRASYKLES, FROM STUART'S DRAWING.

wholly destroyed when the Turks besieged the Acropolis in 1826 and 1827. The natural cave which formed the substructure of

the monument was dedicated in Byzantine times, and still remains sacred to, Our Lady of the Cave (Panaghia Speliotissa), and a lamp is still lit there night by night.

Stuart's restoration in fig. 15 gives the best idea of the original monument. The original building was set up by Thrasyllus. It consisted of a small Doric hall, the façade of which was formed by two broad corner pilasters and a slender central one—a construction modelled, as Dr. Dörpfeld has noted, on the south-western wing of the Propylaea. So much of the building was of Pentelic marble, and seems complete in itself; if surmounted originally by a pediment, the tripod of Thrasyllus would stand on the centre apex of the akroterion. The inscription[33] recording the choregic victory of Thrasyllus was inscribed on the centre of the architrave, and there Stuart saw it. It ran as follows :—

ΘΡΑΣΥ]ΛΛΟΣΘΡΑΣΥΛΛ[ΟΥ]ΔΕΚΕΛ[ΕΕΥΣ]ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΧΟΡΗΓ]ΩΝΝΙΚΗΣΑΣΑΝΔ[Ρ]ΑΣΙΝΙΠΠΟΘΩΝΤΙΔΙΦΥΛΗΙ:
ΕΥΙΟΣΧΑΛ]ΚΙΔΕΥΣΗΥΛΕΙ ΝΕΑ[ΙΧΜΟΣΗΡΧΕΝ:ΚΑΡΚΙΔΑΜΟΣΣΩΤΙΟΣΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ

—("Thrasyllus, the son of Thrasyllus of Deceleia, dedicated this. He was victor as choregos with the men of the tribe of Hippothöon; Eyios the Chalcidian played the flute; Neaichmos was archon (*i.e.*, 320 B.C.); Karchidamos the Sotian taught the chorus").

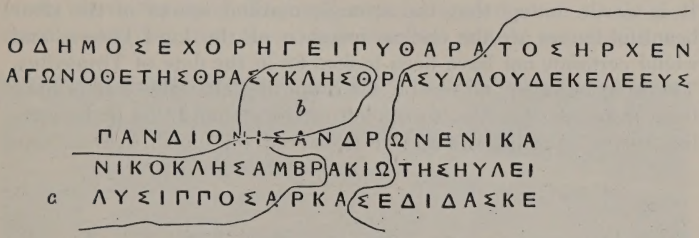
The epistyle was surmounted by a frieze decorated with eleven laurel wreaths in relief, and surmounted by a cornice. Such was presumably the appearance of the building when, some sixty years later, the son of Thrasyllus, Thrasykles, won his victory as agonothete, not as choregos. He had to set up the tripod, both for the chorus of men and of boys. The situation of his father's choregic monument was impressive, and it seems to have occurred to him that he could memorialise himself in a cheap and yet effective manner by a slight modification of his father's structure. He took down his father's tripod and added a superstructure; it consisted of a basis at either end of the architrave for each of the tripods he had to erect; to the left hand, facing, he set the tripod of the boys, and beneath it the following inscription :—

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΧΟΡΗΓΕΙΓΥΘΑΡΑΤΟΣΗΡΧΕΝ
ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΗΣΟΡΑΣΥΚΛΗΣΟΡΑΣΥΛΛΟΥΔΕΚΕΛΕΕΥΣ

ΙΓΠΟΘΩΝΤΙΣΠΑΙΔΩΝΕΝΙΚΑ
ΘΕΩΝΘΗΒΑΙΟΣΗΥΛΕΙ
ΓΡΟΝΟΜΟΣΟΘΗΒΑΙΟΣΕΔΙΔΑΣΚΕΝ

—("The people gave the chorus; Pytharatos was archon (*i.e.*, 271 B.C.); Thrasykles of Deceleia, the son of Thrasyllus, was agonothete; the tribe of Hippothöon won the victory among the boys; Theon the Theban played the flute; Pronomos the Theban taught the chorus").

To the right hand, facing, he placed the tripod of the men, and beneath it the inscription, as follows:—



—("The people gave the chorus; Pytharatos was archon (*i.e.*, again 271 B.C.); Thrasykles of Deceleia, the son of Thrasyllus, was agonothete; the tribe of Pandion won the victory among the men; Nikokles of Ambracia played the flute; Lysippos the Arcadian taught the chorus").

Thrasykles seems to have felt that some central addition was needed, so he set on a central base with three steps a statue of Dionysos to crown the whole. This may have been intended as a substitute for the displaced tripod of his father. It is this statue that is now in the British Museum. It seems certain that this upper portion of the building that surmounts the façade was built by Thrasykles, not by Thrasyllus, for these reasons—(1) the Doric façade was of Pentelic marble, the upper structure (known technically as an "Attika") of gray marble; (2) the middle line of the Attika is not coincident with that of the façade; (3) the very light character of the pilasters of the façade clearly shows they were not intended originally to support so heavy a superstructure.

There has been a great deal of unnecessary confusion about these three perfectly distinct inscriptions, and it is impossible, from any guide-book I am acquainted with, to ascertain what inscription, if any, is now to be looked for *in situ*. Meyer, Joanne and even Baedeker mention none at all; Murray, with characteristic vagueness, says—"On the architrave was an inscription recording the circumstances of its erection," a statement which

gives inadequate information either as to the past or the present. It is necessary, therefore, to state distinctly what, at the time I examined the site, remained :—(*a*) A block of white marble, lying midmost of the three that remain. This belongs to the original Thrasyllus inscription ; a sketch[34] of the actual stone is given in fig. 16. It lies on its side, and is to be found on the left hand as you approach the monument, close up to the steep rock itself. It is worth noting that the strongly marked apices of the clear beautiful letters are the earliest instance of the kind known, and would certainly not have been looked for at the date of Thrasyllus. There is, however, no reason for supposing that the letters have been restored. (*b*) Also to the left of the statue, tilted on its side, lies the second inscription ; it is carved on bluish marble, and

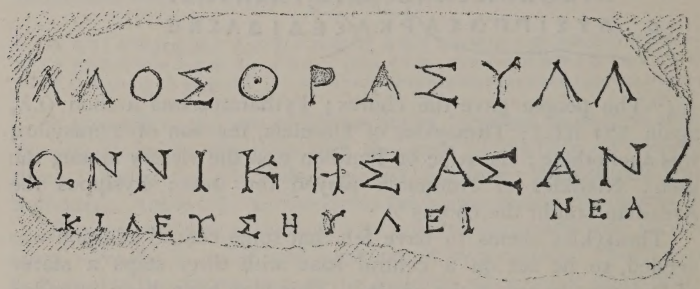


FIG. 16.—SKETCH OF INSCRIBED STONE.

is complete. (*c*) To the right of the monument is the third inscription, also on bluish marble, and in the state represented in the facsimile.

Up above the cave still stand, in stately isolation, two tall columns of Roman date ; each is surmounted by a triangular-shaped capital. Evidently they formed no part of a building, but were intended to support choregic tripods. The columns stand on bases of five steps : on the upper step of the more easterly of the two, several late Roman inscriptions are still to be read ; they consist of the names of dedicators. A number of similar inscriptions, but in more weather-beaten condition, are carved on the rock itself to the east of the columns. In the days of Stuart the examination of this site was not unattended by danger. He says :—"More such columns we may suppose to have been erected in the same range. To satisfy myself in this particular, I climbed so high up to the rock that some Turks in the fortress took umbrage

at it, and by dropping down stones from the top of the wall, several of which were large and fell near me, obliged me to a precipitate retreat." The modern traveller has not this difficulty to contend with; and if he does not care to climb the somewhat precarious rock for the sake of these inscriptions, he will yet do well to mount it and see the view down into the theatre below. On the right-hand side, facing the Thrasyllus monument, above the cave, there still remains a portion of an ancient marble sun-dial, the same, undoubtedly, that is mentioned by

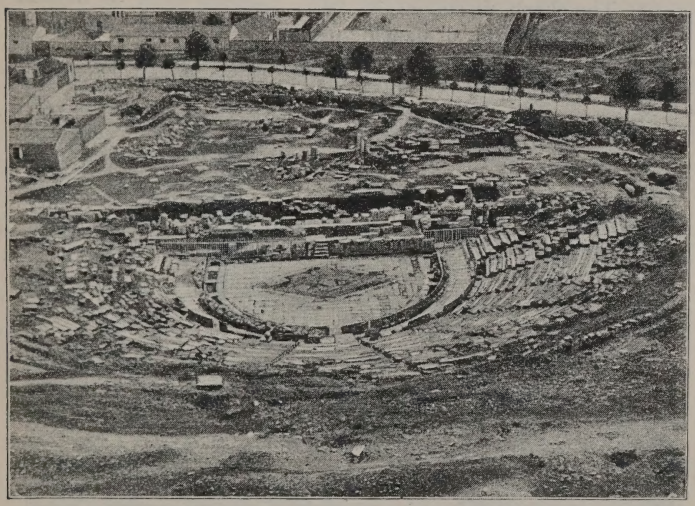


FIG. 17.—GENERAL VIEW OF DIONYSIAC THEATRE AT ATHENS.

the writer of the Vienna Anonymous guide-book of 1458.[35] His otherwise somewhat fanciful picture proves in this respect exact.

Of the Dionysiac theatre itself (fig. 17) Pausanias says simply nothing. Nor is this surprising. The theatre at Athens presented no special feature of interest to the antiquarian. There were dozens of other similar structures scattered all over Greece; hence it called for no mention. The full discussion of all its structural details, and an account of the development of Greek dramatic performances, have filled already many large and easily accessible

books. It will be sufficient here briefly to consider the general character of the theatre, and to note (*a*) such points as throw light on mythological questions, (*b*) certain discoveries made in the recent excavations of 1886, which go far to revolutionise previous conceptions. It will be convenient to take the theatre under three heads, somewhat in the reverse order of their importance :—

(1) The koilon or theatron proper—*i.e.*, the place where the spectators sat ;
(2) The skene, or stage ;
(3) The orchestra, or dancing-place ;

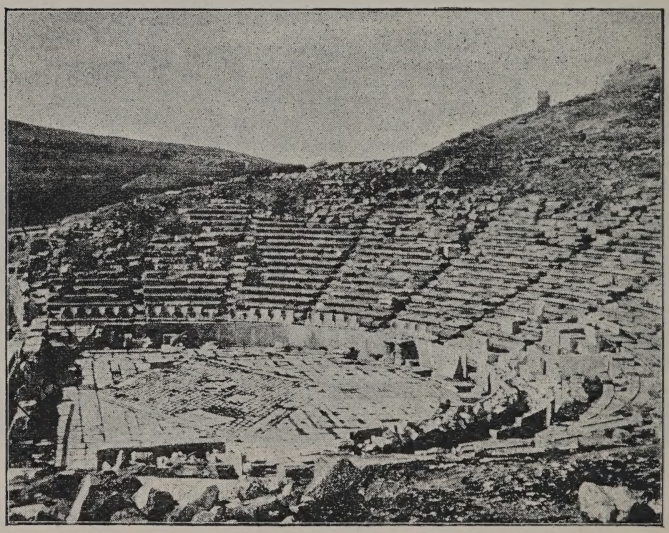


FIG. 18.—VIEW OF THE CAVEA.

bearing in mind always that each is considered only so far as it bears on mythology or recent discovery.

(1) The koilon (cavea and choreion), or place where the spectators sat.

The present cavea (fig. 18), with its seats of poros stone and honorary marble chairs, dates from the time of Lycurgus. Its shape is of course conditioned by the orchestra, to be considered later. The seats extend right up to the monument of Thrasyllus, and

they are intersected more than two-thirds of the way up by a diazoma, utilised as a road passing through from the side where the Odeion was to the precinct of Asklepios. The structure of the koilon was supported by a massive retaining wall, portions of which on the western side can clearly be seen in the subjoined view (fig. 17). The seats were divided into thirteen wedges (κερκίδες), divided by fourteen flights of steps (κλίμακες). These with the diazoma afforded easy entrance and exit. The ordinary poros stone seats are marked off into the spaces allotted to each person. The accommodation was, according to modern ideas, very limited, somewhat less than a crowded pit; the space-marks are vertical lines — still clearly to be seen —cut at intervals of about 13 inches on the face of the poros stone seats.

Though the present arrangement dates from Lycurgus, it seems possible, and even probable, that there may have been stone seats of some kind before his time. According to tradition (preserved by Suidas),[36] the Athenians began to build their stone theatre in the 70th Olympiad (500-496 B.C.), when, on the occasion of a contest between Æschylus, Choerilus, and Pratinas, the wooden standing-place (ἰκρία) of some other structure gave way. Any such building would be interrupted by the Persian war. It is, however, of little mythological importance whether we conceive of the audience at the plays of the great tragedians of the fifth century B.C. seated on stone or wooden seats. The koilon would indeed have no mythological interest at all but for the row of honorary chairs. A conspectus of these is given in fig. 19, to facilitate reference on the spot. Though the chairs themselves are of the date of Lycurgus, the inscriptions are all late,[37] and vary in date, as will be seen from the list. In as many as fourteen of the chairs it is evident that an earlier inscription has been obliterated to make way for the present one. A good instance of this is the second to the left (facing) from the central seat of the priest of Dionysos (G 2)—*i.e.*, that of Pythochrestos Exegetes, the interpreter appointed by the Pythian oracle.

The following is a complete list of the inscriptions, with their probable dates appended; it is based on the *Corpus of Attic Inscriptions*. Some of the titles represent, as will be seen, cults and attributes elsewhere unknown; others have been discussed in various parts of the commentary:—

CONSPECTUS OF SEATS

The Blocks (κερκίδες) are distinguished by letters, the Seats in each Block by numbers. Both letters and numbers are arranged from west to east. P=priest.

FRONT ROW OF SEATS

BLOCK **A** (6 seats)—		
1. Ἱερέως | Ἀπόλλω | νος Δαφνηφόρου	P. of Apollo Daphnephoros	Not before 2d century A.D.
2. Ἱερέως | Αὐλωνέως | Διονύσου	P. of Dionysos Auloneos	,, Hadrian.
3. Ἱερέως | λιθοφόρου	P., the stone-bearer	,, 2d century A.D.
4. Ἱερέως | Θησέως	P. of Theseus	,, ,, ,,
5. Ἱερέως | Διὸς Τελεί | ου καὶ βουζούγου	P., the Bouzyges of Zeus Teleios	,, ,, ,,
6. Ἱερέως Δήμητρος | καὶ Φερρεφάττης	P. of Demeter and Pherephatta	,, ,, ,,
BLOCK **B** (5 seats)—		
1. Ἱερέως | Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκήου	P. of Lycean Apollo	Time of Augustus.
2. Φαιδυντοῦ | Διος Ὀλυμπίου | ἐν ἄστει	P., Phaidyntes of Olympian Zeus in the city	,, Hadrian.
3. Ἱερέως | Ἀνάκων | καὶ Ἥρωος | Ἐπιτεγίου	P. of Anakes and of Hero Epitegios	Not before 2d century A.D.
4. Ἱερέως | Οὐρανίας | Νεμεσέως	P. of the heavenly Nemesis	,, ,, ,,
5. Ἱερέως | Ἡφαίστου	P. of Hephaistos	,, ,, ,,
BLOCK **C** (5 seats)—		
1. Ἱερέως | Ἀσκληπιοῦ	P. of Asklepios	,, ,, ,,
2. Ἱερέως | Μουσῶν	P. of the Muses	,, ,, ,,
3. Ἱερέως Διὸς Φιλίου	P. of Zeus Philios	1st century A.D.
4. Ἱερέως | Δώδεκα Θεῶν	P. of Twelve Gods	Not before 2d century A.D.
5. Φαιδυντοῦ | Διος ἐκ Πείσης	P., Phaidyntes of Zeus of Pisa	,, ,, ,,
BLOCK **D** (5 seats)—		
1. Ἱερέως | Διὸς Σωτῆρος | καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Σώτειρας	P. of Zeus Soter and Athene Soteira	Later than Hadrian.
2. Ἱερέως | Ἀντινόου | χορείου ἐκ τε | χνείτων	P. of Antinöos, leader of dances, chosen from artists	Time of Hadrian.
3. Ἱερέως | Ἀπόλλωνος | Πατρ[ώ]ο[υ]	P. of Apollo Patröos	Not before Hadrian.
4. Ἱερέως | Διονύσου | Μελπομένου | ἐκ τεχνειτων	P. of Dionysos Melpomenos, chosen from artists	,, ,,
5. Ἱερέως | Εὐκλείας καὶ | Εὐνομίας	P. of Eukleia and Eunomia	,, ,,
BLOCK **E** (5 seats)—		
1. Ἱερέως | Ποσειδῶνος | Γαιηόχου καὶ | Ἐρεχθέως	P. of Poseidon Gaieochos and Erechtheos	Little before Christian era.
2. Ἱερέως | Ἀρτέμιδος | Κολαινίδος	P. of Artemis Kolaenis	Not before Hadrian.
3. Ἱερέως | Μελπομένου | Διονύσου ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν	P. of Dionysos Melpomenos, chosen from Euneidae	,, ,,
4. Βουζύγου | Ἱερέως Διὸς ἐν | Παλλαδίῳ	P., Bouzyges of Zeus in the Palladium	Later than Hadrian.
5. Ἱερέως | Διὸς Βουλαίου | καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς | Βουλαίας	P. of Zeus Boulaios and Athene Boulaia	Not before Hadrian.

BLOCK **F** (5 seats)—		
1. Ἱεροφάντου	P., the Hierophant	Not before 2d century A.D.
2. Ἱερέως | Ἀπόλλωνος | Δηλίου	P. of Delian Apollo	Not before Hadrian.
3. Ἱερέως | Ποσειδῶνος | Φυταλμίου	P. of Poseidon Phutalmios	,, 2d century A.D.
4. Ἱερέως Χαρίτων | καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος | Ἐπιπυργιδίας | πυρφόρου	P. of the Charites and of Artemis Epipyrgidia, the fire-bearer	,, ,, ,,
5. Ἐξηγήτου | ἐξ Εὐπατριδῶν χειρο | τονητοῦ | ὑπὸ τοῦ Δήμου διὰ βίου	The Interpreter, chosen from the Eupatridae for life by vote of the people	,, ,, ,,
BLOCK **G** (5 seats)—		
1. Ἱερέως | Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου	P. of Olympian Zeus	Hadrian.
2. Πυθοχρήστου | Ἐξηγητοῦ	Interpreter appointed by the Pythian Oracle	Not before Hadrian.
3. ΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΤΕΛΕΤΘΕΡΕΩΣ	P. of Dionysos of Eleutherae	1st century A.D.
4. Ἱερέως | Διὸς Πολιέως	P. of Zeus Polieus	Little before Christian era.
5. Θυηχόου	Sacrificer	Not before Hadrian.
BLOCK **H**—		
1. Ἱερομνήμονος	Hieromnemon	,, ,,
2. Ἱερέως | καὶ ἀρχιέρεως | Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος	P. and High Priest of deified Cæsar	Reign of Augustus.
3. Ἱερέως | Ἀδριανοῦ | Ἐλευθεραίως	P. of Hadrian Eleuthereus	Hadrian.
4, 5. Missing.		
BLOCK **I**—		
1. Ἄρχον[τος]	Archon.	———
2. βασιλέω[ς]	King Archon.	———
3. Πολεμάρχου	Polemarch.	———
4, 5. Missing.	Probably Thesmothetae.	———
BLOCK **K**—		
1, 2, 3. Θεσμοθέτου	Thesmothetes	Not earlier than Hadrian.
4. Θεσμοθέτου | Γορ . . .	Thesmothetes Gor(gias).	———
5. Ἱεροκήρυκος	Sacred herald	Time of Hadrian.
BLOCK **L**—All missing.		
BLOCK **M** (5 seats)—		
1, 2, 3. Missing.		
4. Ἱερέως | Ἰακχαγωγοῦ	P. of the bearer of Iacchus	Hadrian.
5. Ἱερέως | Ἀσκληπίου | Πα[ί]ω[ν]ος	P. of Asklepios the Healer.	———
BLOCK **N** (6 seats)—		
1. Ἱερέως | Πυρφόρου | ἐξ Ἀκροπό | λεως	P., the fire-bearer from the Acropolis	Hadrian.
2. Ἱερέως Δῆμου | καὶ Χαρίτων | καὶ Ῥώμης	P. of the Demos and the Charites and Roma	Augustus.
3. Κήρυκος Παναγοῦς καὶ Ἱερέως	Most holy herald and priest	Hadrian.
4, 5, 6. Missing.		

Behind the front row there are certain other scattered seats, as follows :—

IN BLOCK **D.**		
4th Row—		
Ἱερέως Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀθηνίου	Priestess of Athene of Athenion.	Uncertain.
IN BLOCK **F.**		
3d Row—		
ἡ πόλις Μάρκῳ Οὐλπίῳ Εὐβιότῳ, κ.τ.λ.	The city to Marcus Ulpios Eubiotos, etc.	Hadrian.
IN BLOCK **G.**		
2d Row (3 seats)—		
(*a*) Ἱερέως | Ὀλυμπίας | Νίκης	P. of Olympian Nike	,,
(*b*) Δαδούχου	Torch-bearer	Not before Hadrian.
(*c*) Ἱερέως Ἀπόλλωνος Πυθίου	P. of Pythian Apollo	Probably a little before Christian era.
3d Row (double chair)—		
(*a*) Στρατηγοῦ	The strategos	Not before Hadrian.
(*b*) Κήρυκος	The herald	,, ,,
4th Row (double chair)—		
(*a*) Διογένους Εὐεργέτου	Diogenes the Benefactor	,, ,,
(*b*) Ἱερέως Ἀττάλου Ἐπωνύμου	P. of Attalos, the eponymous hero	,, ,,

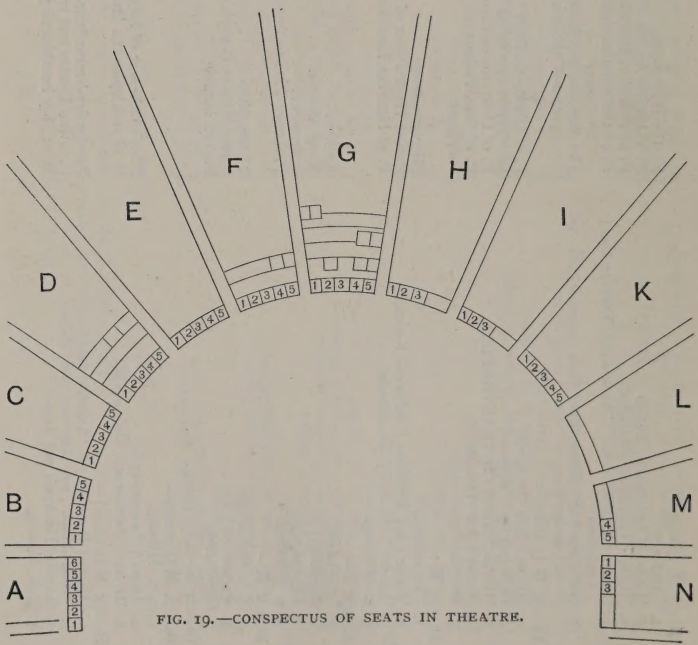


FIG. 19.—CONSPECTUS OF SEATS IN THEATRE.

In this list the seats are numbered separately for each kerkis; the lines indicate the division into kerkides. It would be of course impossible to comment on each name and title, the meaning of not a few of which is now lost, dating as they do for the most part from imperial days. Their evidence must be sparingly used with respect to early cults, but it must not be forgotten that for such early cults imperial Rome had a special and almost superstitious reverence. Merely to read through the list of those who, *ex officio*, attended dramatic representations gives a lively impression, not only of the complexity of

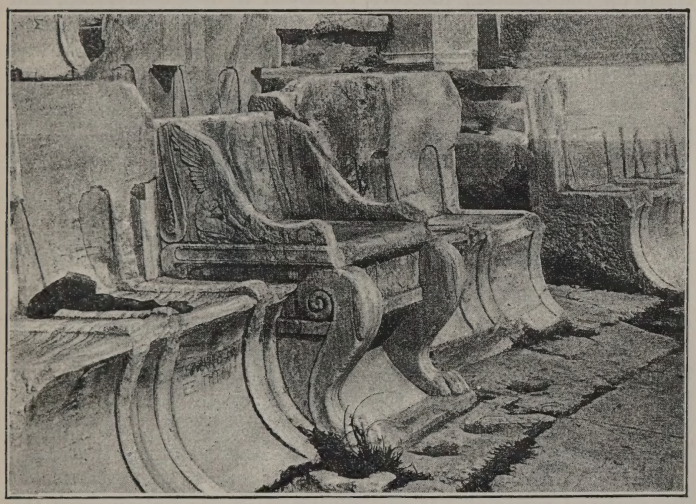


FIG. 20.—CHAIR OF PRIEST OF DIONYSOS, WITH ADJACENT SEATS.

Athenian worship, but also of the great importance of the ritual of Dionysos, as witnesses to whose prestige such a multitude of high sacerdotal officials were present.

The central chair of the priest of Dionysos himself must be considered in detail. A view of it, with the two seats on either side, is given in fig. 20. It is marked out from the rest, not only by its arms, but by the delicate low relief sculpture that adorns it inside and out: on the back are two Satyrs bearing bunches of grapes, and grouped in heraldic fashion; below the seat is a small frieze, on which two Oriental figures fight with heraldic lions. The meaning of the design, if it

be other than purely decorative, is not clear, but probably it symbolises the Oriental triumphs of Dionysos. Immediately below the frieze is the inscription, in letters of the first century B.C. :—

ΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΕΩΣ

—("Of the priest of Dionysos Eleuthereus [of Eleutherae]"). But the most beautiful and delicate of the decorations are outside the arms of the chair; they are a good deal effaced, but the subject is still on a close examination clear, and—surprising—a cock-fight. On each side a young, winged, beautiful boy is setting a cock down ready for the combat; the cock's body is in fact obliterated, and has been mistaken, oddly enough, for a thunderbolt of Zeus. There is, however, no doubt about the matter, and a cock-fight was to the ancient mind a more solemn function than to us. In the calendar of the Metropolis Church the month Poseideon (December-January), in which a Dionysiac festival took place, is

FIG. 21.—ATTIC CALENDAR: COCK-FIGHT IN THEATRE.

symbolised by three athlothetes seated behind a table with crowns (fig. 21); below them are two cocks about to fight on a palm branch; figures of a male and female to the left seem to be spectators. Ælian[38] says that a law at Athens enacted that there should be an annual cock-fight in the theatre, to be paid for at the national expense. It was instituted in remembrance of the exhortation of Themistocles, when before the battle of Salamis he pointed to two cocks fighting, and bade the Athenians go to battle with the like valour; but this is possibly mere ætiology to account for a festival which seemed to lack dignity.

The temples of Dionysos are small, and seem perhaps inadequate to a great and splendid worship; but this seat of his priest compels us to realise that the theatre was also the hieron, the sanctuary of the god—and a hieron where he was worshipped in his primitive aspect as the stranger who came to Eleutherae.

(2) The skene, originally a tent, later a stage in the modern sense.

This portion of the theatre has only incidentally any mythological interest, but, for the sake of those who study the remains on the spot, and because certain negative conclusions of considerable interest have recently been arrived at, it must briefly be noted.

There is perhaps no more confusing and disheartening sight, to the student who desires to know anything exactly, than his first view of the remains of the stage portion of the theatre. If he turns to his Murray he finds indeed the "stage of Phaedrus" clearly marked, but the rest of the series of wall foundations that

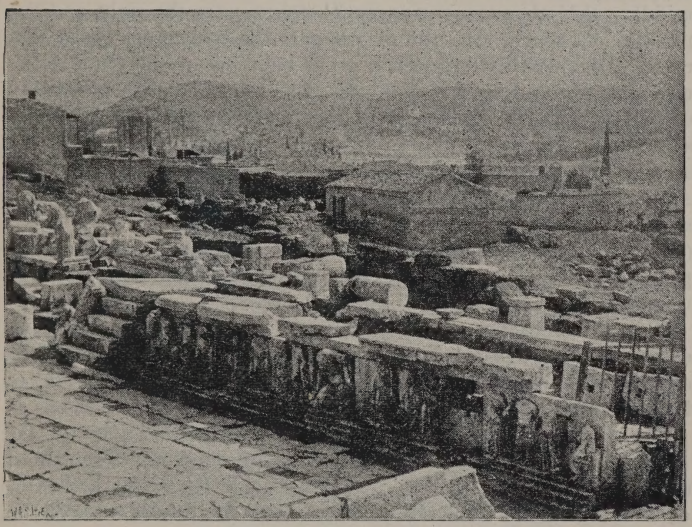


FIG. 22.—STAGE OF PHAEDRUS.

lie before him have this clue only to their intricate perplexity, that they are "pre-existing stages of various periods." It is due here again to the penetration of Dr. Dörpfeld that order and certainty have been brought into a desperate chaos of vague opinion. What can with certainty be made out is as follows :—

There are still traceable the remains of four distinct stages.

Two of these are Greek, two Roman.

There are no traces whatever of any stage building previous to Lycurgus. The four stages are as follows, in order of date :—

1. *The stage of Lycurgus*, marked AA on the plan (fig. 7). The whole stage building of Lycurgus consisted of a large rectangular hall, from the front of which, right and left, were built out two towers, each 5 by 7 metres in size. The large hall itself served no doubt as a sort of green-room for the actors, and its front wall was the actual stage, or skene—*i.e.*, the wall space between the towers, about 20 metres long, served as a support against which was set up from year to year the movable scenery desired. The towers themselves served as side scenes (*παρασκήνια*). On the stage itself there was only one door, in the middle; the other two entrances for actors were the right and left parodoi, by which, until the play began, the spectators also could enter. Behind this rectangular stage building are the foundations of a stoa, which, from the character of its masonry, is so intimately connected with the back wall of the stage that it must be of the same date. It was built over a corner of the northern wall of the smaller and earlier temple, which must then have been in ruins. An attempt has been made to prove that this stoa was the stoa of Eumenes, an identification which, as shown before (p. 263), is quite erroneous. The stoa may have served many purposes, among them that of shelter for the spectators in case of sudden rain.

The foundations of the Lycurgus stage building can quite easily be recognised by their uniform style of building. They consist of three layers of masonry — the lowest, of blocks of breccia; next, Peiraeus stone; and, finally, Hymettus marble.

2. *A second late Greek or early Roman modification of the Lycurgus stage.* A permanent stone background now supplanted the earlier movable scenery. This second stage, marked with column indications B on the plan, curtailed the towers towards the north and considerably advanced the front of the stage. A permanent proscenium was built, which, like those at the Peiraeus and Epidaurus, consisted of pillars, and would be at least 10 to 12 feet high.

3. *A stage built in the reign of Nero.* Of its front wall slight traces only remain; of the back wall there are definite remains. It was distinctly in advance of 2. This third stage has been of stately proportions; to it belonged the Silens and the sculptured reliefs later built into

4. *The Logeion of Phaedrus*, marked P on the plan. This, on account of its sculptured decorations, must be considered in detail.

The two main facts to be borne in mind respecting the stages are—

(*a*) No stone permanent stage building of any sort existed (or, at least, has left traces) before the day of Lycurgus.

(*b*) Each successive subsequent stage encroached more and more on the orchestra space. The significance of this fact will be brought out later.

A general view of the "stage of Phaedrus," with some of the other stages in sight behind, is given in fig. 22, the details of the sculpture in figs. 23, 24, and 25. The stage takes its name from the inscription[39] given below, still to be read on the topmost of the central flight of steps :—

ϹΟΙΤΟΔΕΚΑΛΟΝΕΤΕΥΞΕΦΙΛΟΡΓΙΕΒΗΜΑΘΕΗΤΡΟΥ
ΦΑΙΔΡΟϹΖΩΙΛΟΥΒΙΟΔΩΤΟΡΟϹΑΤΘΙΔΟϹΑΡΧΟϹ

Σοὶ τόδε καλὸν ἔτευξε, φιλόργιε, βῆμα θεήτρου
Φαῖδρος Ζωίλου βιοδώτορος Ἀτθίδος ἄρχος

—("To thee, Dionysos, who delightest in the orgy, Phaedrus, son of Zoilos, governor of life-giving Attica, hewed this goodly bema"). Dittenberger holds that the inscription cannot be earlier than the time of Septimius Severus (193-211 A.D.).

The "stage" of Phaedrus is more correctly called the front wall of the Logeion; it is, in fact, the decorated wall (fig. 22) which supported the bema, or elevated place, from which in the time of Phaedrus the actors spoke; the steps by which they went up are still preserved. No such raised place of any sort existed at all in the time of Lycurgus; it is a purely Roman invention. Everything about this stage points to late work. Its position cuts off the entrance of the parodoi. Only half of the stage now exists, but of course the corresponding eastern portion was once complete. Further, the reliefs are clearly of earlier date than the stage they decorate; they were not made to occupy their present place, but have had to be cut down at the top in order to accommodate them to their new position.[40] Phaedrus, we cannot escape the conclusion, used up old material for his "goodly" new stage. From the mythological point of view, we owe him a considerable debt for preserving the slabs; they are a good deal mutilated, but enough remains to show clearly that they depicted early traditions of great interest as to the first coming of Dionysos to Attica.[41]

In the first relief (fig. 23) is clearly depicted the birth of the god. The birth is just over; Zeus is seated; Hermes in front of him holds the new-born child, something after the fashion of the Hermes of Praxiteles. "The burning of

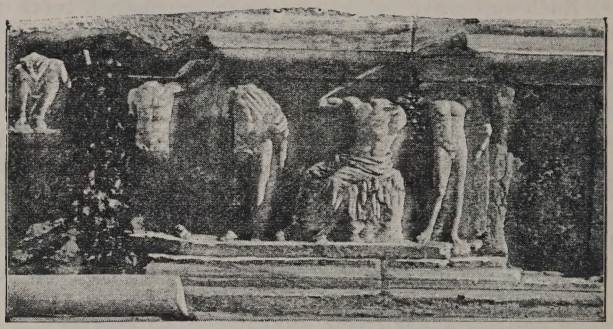


FIG. 23.—FIRST RELIEF: BIRTH OF DIONYSOS.

Semele, the birth of Bacchus," must have been among the subjects frequently danced in the theatre of the god. There can be little doubt that the two guardian nude figures who stand with shields to either side are two of the Cretan Curetes who danced at the birth of the god their armed Pyrrhic dance, ἐνόπλιος ὄρχησις. Neither tradition—of the birth from the

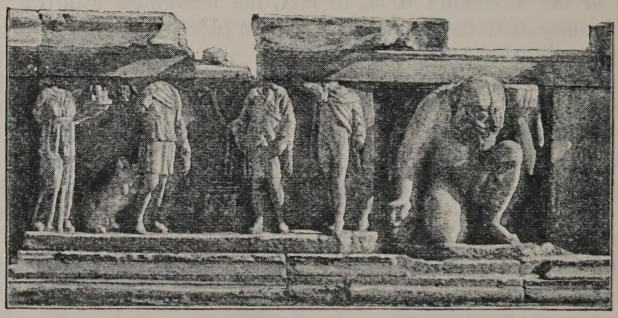


FIG. 24.—SECOND RELIEF.

father's side, or the armed dance—is Attic; one points to Thebes, the other to Crete, and they cannot fully be discussed here. It need only be noted that the birth from the father is near akin to the legend of the birth of Athene, and points, as it does, to some

early contention between the mother and the father "right." The fact that Dionysos was a stranger god, made it of course specially important, when his cult was affiliated, that he should be introduced as direct son of the dominant Olympian Zeus.

The next slab (fig. 24) has, for Attic mythology, considerable interest. In the centre of the design is a small altar. To the right stands a young man wearing a short chiton and himation, over which is cast a nebris; he also wears the cothurnus. Behind the altar is a clustering vine with large bunches of grapes. The young man can scarcely be other than Dionysos; behind him is a young attendant. To the left (in the figure) approach figures of a male and female, bearing offerings: the man drags along a goat,

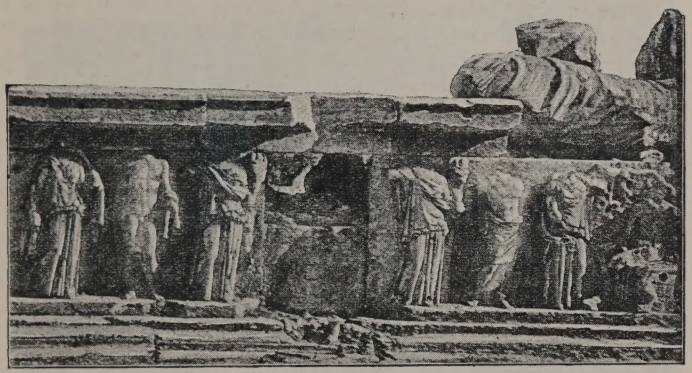


FIG. 25.—THIRD AND FOURTH RELIEFS.

and behind him crouches a dog; the woman bears in her uplifted hand a plate of pyramidal objects, probably sacrificial cakes. It is the first rural sacrifice to Dionysos. Ikarios brings the goat Erigone with the dog; Maera bears the cakes. Next follows a crouching Silen; he does not really fit his niche, or serve any structural purpose in his present position. The same type, no doubt a popular one—an adaptation of Atlas bearing the heavens—is echoed on a terra-cotta in the Berlin Museum and also on a statue found in Rome. A second Silen has been found, who no doubt occupied a corresponding place, but now lies alone to the east of the steps.

The explanation of the third group (fig. 25) is not certain. One figure, the first to the right, has been chiselled away, and may have contained the missing clue. The third and fourth groups are at a

first glance so similar in composition that their interpretation must be taken together; and as the fourth group is the more complete, it may come first. The *mise en scène* is clear. In the extreme right top hand corner are seen a succession of columns, eight in number, above a rock; they are Doric, and it seems almost certain that they represent the Parthenon columns appearing above the Acropolis rock, just as they may any day be seen now, and, in fact, as they appear in fig. 26. Below, seated on a splendid chair, is a young male figure—Dionysos, in his honorary seat in his own theatre. The only other figure of the group that is certain

FIG. 26.—VIEW OF UPPER PORTION OF THEATRE, SHOWING PARTHENON COLUMNS.

is the last one to the left; she holds a cornucopia, and, judging from the analogy of the Eirene of Kephisodotos, is undoubtedly Eirene. About the male figure near her I do not feel satisfied; the very uncertain object to his right is interpreted by Matz as a club, and he calls the figure Theseus, giving to the remaining female figure the name of Hestia. Whether it is possible to name exactly these figures or not, the main idea of Matz cannot, I think, be disputed. Eirene, with other personifications of the Athenian city, receives and does homage to Dionysos in his own theatre. I incline to think the figures of the male and female to the

right of Eirene are merely impersonations of the spectators, as in the calendar pictures. Thus, the reliefs as a sequence tell the complete story: the god is born, comes to Ikarios and receives his rural homage, and—crowning glory—is welcomed by the Athenian people in peace and plenty in the theatre, which is his most fitting sanctuary. The third group seems certainly some unmeaning anticipation of the fourth.

(3) The orchestra, or dancing-place.

Here at last comes the very pith and marrow of the matter, the one central intention to which both stage and koilon are but unimportant circumstance. Here too, looking at the present theatre, the first business of the mythologist is to think away all that is before his eyes. What he actually sees is a place shaped like an apse and suggesting nothing further; it is shut in by a balustrade of marble slabs—a protection necessary, indeed, when the Greek dancing-place became the amphitheatre for Roman wild-beast shows, but unmeaning for early days. All this must go; the splendid array of seats, which are to the modern mind the *theatre*, must go; not only the stage of Phaedrus, but every scrap of stone stage building, must also go. This not only for the mythologist who seeks to imagine the early Dionysiac dance, but even, as he will learn to his amazement, for the classical scholar who wants to summon back the memory of a play of Æschylus, or Sophocles, or Euripides. And what is left? What can be seen of the theatre of Æschylus that has any mythological meaning and intent?

The answer to this question, and with it, may at once be said, the revolution of many cherished conceptions of the Greek stage, is due to Dr. Dörpfeld. Up to a few years back all our conceptions were vitiated by the study of Roman theatres seen through the eyes of a Roman, Vitruvius; even when Greek work was reached, it was but of the fourth century, and, as in the case of the Athenian theatre, clouded and vitiated by Roman addition. To get at the fifth century theatre we have to study small and obscure remains, observable only to the trained eye. The first and most easily seen is marked O in the plan—a bit of rough-looking wall of polygonal masonry that, at the first careless glance, looks like some rubbish heap; it appears, though dimly, in the view of the various stages given in fig. 27. Looked at closely, it is seen that, small though the remaining portion be, it is evidently built on a curve; complete the circumference, and we have the circle in the plan; cutting right through the various stages, *we have the old*

original orchestra on which the plays of Æschylus were performed. If the small bit of ruined polygonal wall seem too slight evidence, further confirmation is not wanting. Just at the right-hand parodos, where the stage of Phaedrus once joined the semicircle of seats, the native rock crops up, and, as can clearly be seen by a careful examination, it is cut out on a curve marked O′ on the plan (fig. 7)—a curve which helps to complete the circle; again, a remnant of wall, also an arc of the same circle, appears at O″. This triple evidence is incontestable. The theatre of the Greeks was originally an orchestra, or dancing-place, *that and nothing more*, yet enough for Dionysos the Dance-lover—an

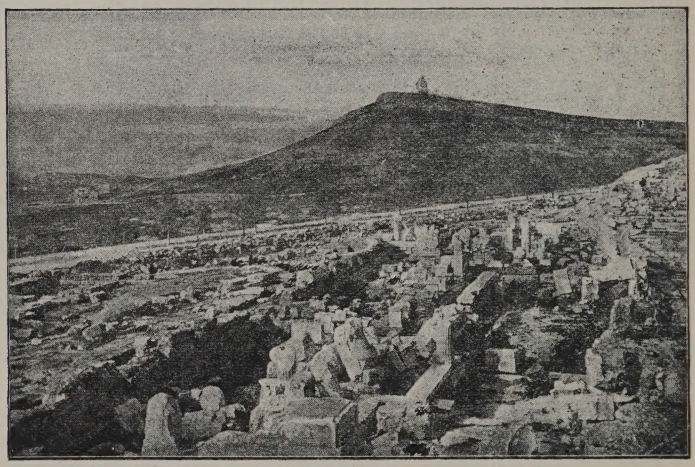


FIG. 27.—VIEW OF VARIOUS STAGES, ETC., SHOWING ALSO THE TWO TEMPLES AND FRAGMENT OF POLYGONAL ORCHESTRA WALL.

altar and a level place about it, circular because the worshippers danced round in a ring. Such a place for worship may well have preceded even the temple itself.

Vase-paintings have left some pictures of this early circular dance, which it may be well clearly to realise. On a cylix by Hieron (fig. 28) is shown just such a scene: an altar set in the midst, flecked with the blood of the slain goat, and adorned with a picture of the seated god; standing in front, the ancient upright image, half a post, half a man; from his shoulders break forth ivy boughs and fruits; about his neck is a garland of dried figs. He is just the simple god of the vine and the fruits of the earth, and

almost circling round the altar is the ring of Maenads, broken in part into groups of two, dancing their simple *contre-danse*, with

FIG. 28.—CYLIX BY HIERON: DANCE OF MAENADS (BERLIN MUSEUM).

lively gestures of hands uplifted to salute the god, and bodies bent to invoke the mother earth. Such, says Plutarch,[42] was the simplicity of ancient times. "The feast was kept after a rough and

merry fashion: there was a cask of wine, and a fagot of wood, and a bough, and then one fellow dragged in a goat, and another a basket of figs, and then came the symbol of the god; but now all this is neglected and fallen into disuse, and they have golden cups and gorgeous robes and maskers." The vase-painting shown in fig. 29, (*a*) and (*b*), seems almost like an illustration of Plutarch's remarks. On the one side,[43] the wild dance of Maenads and Satyrs—such a dance as went on by many a rustic altar; on the other, all the ordered splendour and luxury of a regular dramatic

(*a*)

(*b*)

FIG. 29.—(*a*) DANCE OF MAENADS; (*b*) PREPARATION OF CHORUS.

representation—masks, tripods, costly raiment; while Bacchus and Ariadne watch the preparation of the chorus from their sumptuous couch. The picture has great interest as a representation from the fourth century of a comic chorus, but here it is introduced simply to mark the contrast. The goat, who gave his name to the goat-song (*τραγωδία*), has been sacrificed already in the picture of the Maenad dance, but on an archaic plate[44] (fig. 30) in the British Museum (Cat., B. 405) he may be seen caught by the horn and about to be led to sacrifice. We have chosen to make his song a tragic thing, but there was no touch of melancholy

about him in olden days. Even to-day, when the cat purrs on the hearth in utter content, the modern Greek will say ἡ γάτα τραγουδεῖ; while for her disconsolate mewing he keeps the word μυρμυρίζει. Plutarch is not the only witness to the simplicity of the early festival; the memory was slow to die, kept up, as it was, no doubt, in rural Dionysia. Euanthius,[45] in his treatise on tragedy and comedy, says—"The old comedy, and even tragedy,

FIG. 30.—ARCHAIC PLATE: SACRIFICE OF GOAT (BRITISH MUSEUM).

was a simple festival such as we have just described, in which the chorus sang to the flute around the smoking altars, now forming a wide ring, now closing in, now dancing in a circle;" and Maximus[46] says the ancient Athenian muse consisted of choruses of boys and men, tillers of the earth, who stood in order according to their demes, fresh from the plough and the harvest field.

The worship of many a Greek god began in the dance; a ritual dance was a charm to waken the slumbering earth; Pan and the Graces, Hermes and Apollo, all loved the dance. But, for some cause it is hard to trace, the mimetic element was developed in the Dionysiac dance more than in any other worship, and out of the chorus developed the drama. Comedy kept much of the simple, festive, religious buffoonery of early days, but tragedy purged itself more and more into a pure morality. The development of all this literary side of the drama is not a part of the mythologist's business; it is only important to note how, down to the best days of Greek tragedy, the ritual necessity of the circular orchestra conditioned dramatic representation. The circular orchestra itself was of course again conditioned by the central altar. There is no trace of an altar in the orchestra of the present theatre, but a large stone altar (fig. 31), with a dedicatory inscription and fine sculptured decorations of wreaths and masks, may be seen lying some distance behind the stages. As long as the Greek drama was worth anything at all, it was an act of worship; only in its days of decadence did the stage encroach on the orchestra. In many an outlying place, such as Oropus or Epidaurus (fig. 33), the complete circle remains intact to this day.

The Greek word σκήνη (scene) tells its own tale. It is no fixed immemorial stone structure; it is simply a tent. When ritual was perfectly simple, when all the country folk danced about the altar, when all were worshippers, then none were actors, none spectators. But as bit by bit, first the dancer separated from the spectator, then the actor from the dancer, there grew up the necessity for the theatron (the spectator's place) on the one hand, the skene (the tent for the actor) on the other. The spectator wanted to sit and rest, the actor to dress himself unseen and make thereby the more impressive entry. Scenery in our sense at first there would be none. Actors and dancers were one company, and the mimetic representation took place wholly on the orchestra, the only stage.[47] It is quite possible that the principal actor leapt upon the altar-steps and there declaimed. Gradually the skene or tent became, not only a place to dress in, but an effective background from which to emerge—a king's palace, a temple, or the like. Some temporary structure was set up, and though the chorus and the spectators too entered by the parodoi, the principal actor might on occasion enter from the temporary skene. But never, in the days of the three great tragedians, must

we conceive the action as taking place elsewhere than on the orchestra itself; the actors freely mingling with the chorus but

FIG. 31.—DIONYSIAC ALTAR.

distinguished by their superior height, hence the cothurnus. Any one who has watched the modern restoration of a Greek play has, if he is honest, been conscious of a sense of extreme discomfort.

The whole magnificent action of the actors is crowded on to a narrow ledge, while far below, in a space scarcely more ample, the chorus perform intricate evolutions, treading on each other's heels, and occasionally, by speech or gesture, making a parenthetic peck at the actors above. The whole is artificial, conventionalised, utterly unlike the simple, large, straightforward freedom that would naturally be expected of a Greek representation. But once restore the actual state of things—the great round orchestra with its two broad paradoi, its temporary skene on a level with the orchestra, its one big central door—and all is free and great. The orchestra is the acting as it is the dancing place, and actors and dancers are really one company, instinct with one impulse. Take, as Dr. Dörpfeld has done, the *Agamemnon* as an instance, and watch it free from the sorry trammels of a high and narrow Roman stage. Enter the watchman on the top of the temporary palace of Agamemnon ; the whole orchestra is still clean and clear of actors and chorus ; he sees the beacon fire and cries aloud, and forthwith in stream the chorus by the two broad paradoi, singing the fate of Troy ; and when the long tremendous chant is ceasing, they catch sight of Clytemnestra coming from out the stage-house by the one central door, and they bid her hail. She speaks with them face to face on the orchestra, which she enters straight from the palace; there is no division of height, only a seemly space between the queen and her servants. To them enters the herald by one or other of the parodoi ; he comes rushing in from afar, up the broad entrance space, not rushing down head foremost on to a narrow high stage where his haste seems precarious, but at ease *along* all the length of the parodos, whence the spectators as well as chorus could watch him coming from afar. The chorus sing again, and at last comes the entrance of Agamemnon with the captive Cassandra and all the pageant of returning war behind him. How absurd Agamemnon and his chariot look, shot half through a side door on a modern Greek stage, many can testify. It is only the humble and touching conviction that the effect is "Greek" that enables a modern audience to support the sight without laughter. But see him come with his train sweeping up the parodos, thronging the orchestra, the chorus chanting its anapæsts, swaying to either side to make room for the great procession, and we have a pomp indeed fit for the coming of a king. Clytemnestra, already on the orchestra, speaks to the elders round her long-drawn speech ; she spreads the purple carpets, she accosts the captive silent stranger in the car, with the throng of curious

citizens about, and uttering her prayer to Zeus Teleios that he may accomplish her dread purpose, she and the king pass together into the house.*

Many another instance might be given in which the play gains almost inconceivably both by the blending of chorus and actors, and by the entrance of actors from distant lands or with crowded companies up the broad parodoi instead of through the narrow stage doors. It would be quite useless for mythological purposes to follow, step by step, the encroachments of the Roman stage;

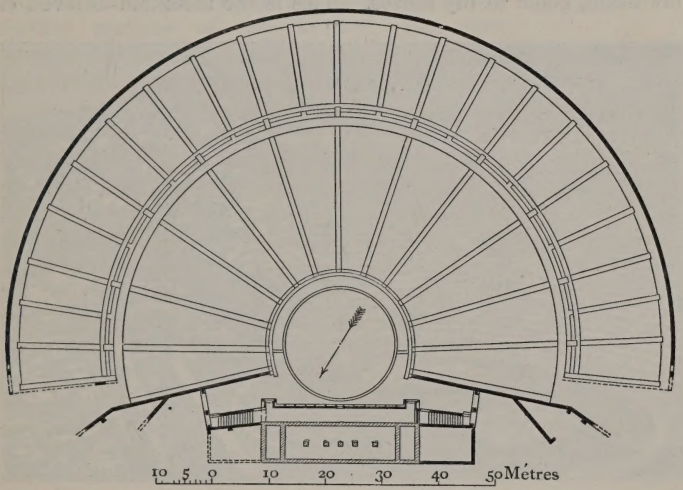


FIG. 32.—PLAN OF THEATRE OF EPIDAURUS, SHOWING CIRCULAR ORCHESTRA.

it is enough to note that in the days of Lycurgus there was still adequate space left for the complete circle of the orchestra, removed, indeed, farther from the temple of Dionysos and nearer to the hill slope. Such a circular orchestra with its stone boundary line is still to be seen at Epidaurus, the plan of which is given in fig. 32, the view in fig. 33, and it is seated

* I should like to say here that I owe this picture of a dramatic representation in the time of Æschylus, as well as the whole view of the relation between orchestra and stage, to a lecture given by Dr. Dörpfeld in the Athenian theatre (13th March 1888), and to record my special thanks to him for permission to state to the best of my ability, here as elsewhere, a view as yet not published in full.

in that Epidaurus theatre that the real conditions of an ancient fifth century representation can most clearly and vividly be realised.

When exactly the theatre fell into disuse it is impossible to say. The worship of Dionysos was, perhaps more than any other Pagan cult, an offence to Christianity. To Clement of Alexandria the chorus of Dionysos was but a dance of devils. In his great *Protrepticus* he cries aloud—"Come, oh madman, not leaning on thy thyrsus, not crowned with ivy. Throw away the fawn-skin, come to thy senses. This is the mountain beloved of

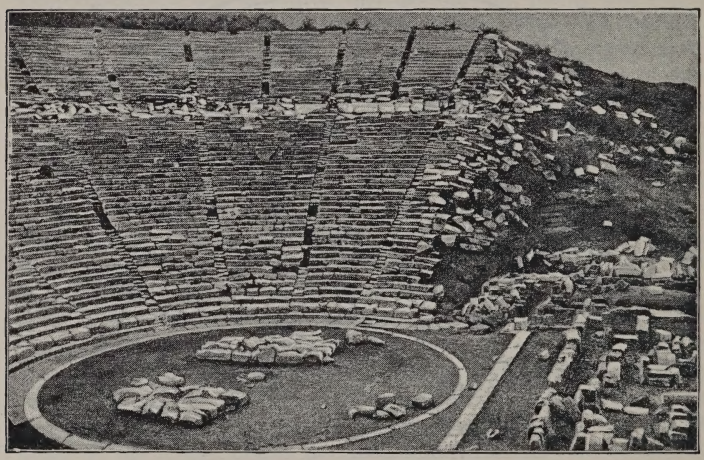


FIG. 33.—VIEW OF THEATRE OF EPIDAURUS.

God, not the subject of tragedies like Cithaeron, but consecrated to dramas of the truth, a mount of sobriety shaded with purity. And there revel on it, not the Maenads, the sisters of Semele, the thunder-struck, but the daughters of God, the fair lambs who celebrate the holy rites of the Word, raising a sober choral chant."

Little wonder, then, that in early Christian and mediæval days the theatre was subject to all manner of pillage and desecration, and that the site, gradually overgrown and over-built, fell into complete oblivion. When learning revived, the first explorers missed the spot, obvious as it seems, altogether, and mistook for it the better-preserved Odeion of Herodes Atticus. Leake, partly by

the help of the well-known British Museum coin (fig. 34), recognised the true site; tentative excavations were made by the Archæological Society of Athens, but given up in despair. It was not till 1862 that Strack and Vischer dislodged a flourishing crop of corn and some twenty feet of soil, and there, far beneath, disclosed the orchestra and the spectators' seats. When the southern side of the Acropolis was fully explored and the Asklepieion excavated, some further portions of the western side were brought to light, but it was not till 1886 that Dr. Dörpfeld discovered the ring of the ancient orchestra.

FIG. 34. — COIN OF ATHENS: THEATRE OF DIONYSOS.

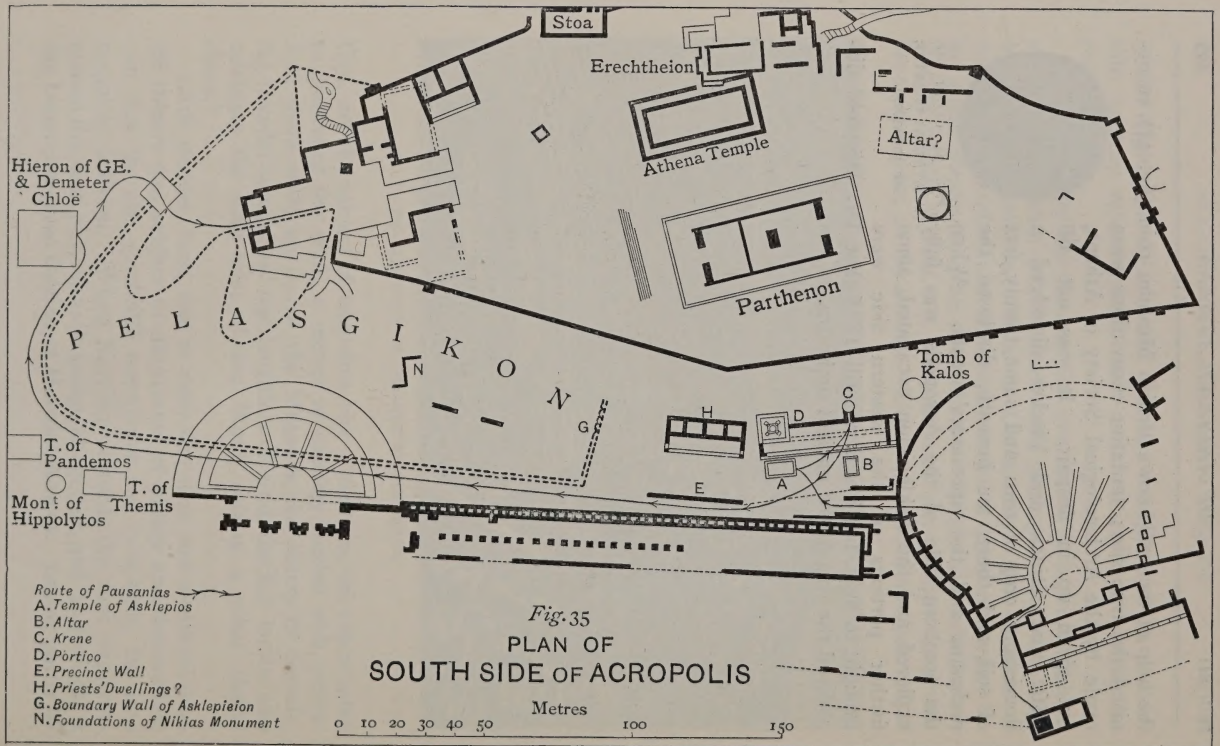


Fig. 35

PLAN OF

SOUTH SIDE OF ACROPOLIS

Walker & Boutall sc.

SECTION XIII

THE ASKLEPIEION—THE SHRINE OF DEMETER CHLOE

TEXT, i. 21, §§ 4, 5, 6, 7; 22, §§ 1, 2, 3.

i. 21, 4. ON the way from the theatre to the Acropolis at Athens Talos is buried. Daidalos slew this Talos, who was his sister's son and his pupil in art, and fled to Crete; he subsequently left Crete and took refuge with Kokalos in Sicily.

The sanctuary of Asklepios is remarkable both for the numerous images of the god and his children, and for the pictures. Within the sanctuary is a fountain beside which Halirrhothios, the son of Poseidon, is said to have outraged Alkippe, the daughter of Ares. Halirrhothios was slain by Ares; the trial of Ares was the first instance of trial for murder. Here

i. 21, 5. also, among other things dedicated, is a Sauromatian breastplate, an examination of which will show that the barbarians have no less technical skill than the Greeks. The Sauromatae neither dig iron themselves nor import it from elsewhere, for the Sauromatae have even less intercourse with other nations than the rest of the barbarians in their neighbourhood. They have therefore devised the following means of meeting the difficulty: they make the points of their spears of bone instead of iron, while their bows and arrows are made of cornel-wood, the tips of the arrows being bone. Further, they endeavour to cast ropes round their enemies when they come upon them, and turning their own horses round overthrow the rider

i. 21, 6. entangled in the ropes. They make their breastplates in the following fashion: The land not being distributed among individual possessors, nor indeed capable of producing anything but forest growth, the Sauromatae are a nomad people, and each man owns a large number of horses. Not only do they use these animals in war, but they offer them in sacrifice to their native gods, and commonly use them for food. They collect the hoofs, clean them thoroughly, split them and make them into

pieces resembling the scales of a dragon. Some people may not have seen a dragon, but all are familiar with the unripe fir cone; a comparison may be fairly made between the article they manufacture out of hoofs and the little slices, if I may so call them, on the surface of the fir cone. In these scales they bore holes, and then, sewing them together with strings made of the sinews of horses and oxen, they make breastplates inferior to those of the Greeks neither in elegance nor strength; for these breastplates resist both the shock of close combat
i. 21, 7. and the blows of missiles. Their linen breastplates are not so useful in battle, for they cannot withstand the thrust of iron. But they are valuable in the chase, as the teeth of lions and panthers break off short in them. Linen breastplates are to be seen in several temples, and in particular in Gryneion, where there is a most beautiful grove dedicated to Apollo, consisting of cultivated trees and of all those barren trees which are either sweet-scented or beautiful to look upon.

i. 22, 1. Approaching the Acropolis by this road, next after the sanctuary of Asklepios is the temple of Themis, and in front of this temple is a monument to Hippolytus. The death of Hippolytus is said to have been due to a curse; the story of the love of Phaedra and the bold service done unto her by her nurse is familiar even to a foreigner who has learnt the Greek language. The people of Troezene have a tomb of Hippolytus, and this is their version of the legend. When
i. 22, 2. Theseus was about to marry Phaedra, he was not willing that if Phaedra bore him children, Hippolytus should be king in their room or subject to them. He therefore sent his son to Pittheus to be brought up by him and be king of Troezene. Subsequently, after the rebellion of Pallas and his sons, and his slaughter of them, Theseus went to Troezene for purposes of purification. Here it was that Phaedra first saw Hippolytus, and having fallen in love with him, laid the plot which led to his death.

There grows in Troezene a myrtle with leaves perforated all over; this myrtle, they say, did not originally grow there, but was produced by Phaedra's hair-clasp during the weariness of her love-sickness.

i. 22, 3. When Theseus united the various Athenian demes into one people, he introduced the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho. The old images were not there in my time, but those I saw were the work of no obscure artists.

There is also a sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe; the reasons for these surnames may be learnt in conversation from the priests.

COMMENTARY ON i. 21, §§ 4, 5, 6, 7; 22, §§ 1, 2, 3.

Between the theatre and the actual approach to the Acropolis the various temples, shrines, etc., noted by Pausanias are as follows:—

1. The place where Talos was buried.
2. The sanctuary of Asklepios.
3. The temple of Themis.
4. The monument of Hippolytus.
5. Statues of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho.
6. The sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe.

About the site of the burying-place of Talos there can, within very narrow limits, be no doubt. Pausanias had gone right up to the top of the theatre to see the tripod on the rock. The tomb of Talos must necessarily have stood immediately at the foot of the rock. The story went that Daidalos was jealous of Talos, the son of his sister Perdix, because of his wonderful proficiency in art, and so cast him down headlong from the Acropolis: exactly where he was reputed to have fallen, his tomb would be. The only possible site, therefore, is somewhere on the Acropolis rock between the theatre and the sanctuary of Asklepios. His mother Perdix had a shrine there also. Lucian also, it will be remembered, places the tomb of Talos just under the Acropolis rock; it is one of the points where the philosophers try to swarm up. In like manner, it will be seen that Ægeus had a heröon at the foot of the rock, whence, it was fabled, he cast himself down.

From the account of Pausanias we should expect, as the tomb of Talos would necessarily be of small extent, that the sanctuary of Asklepios should follow almost immediately after the theatre. Excavations have shown that in fact the two precincts touch. The southern slope of the Acropolis, along which Pausanias is passing (fig. 35), has been thoroughly explored; it has yielded, not indeed all that was hoped for, but it has served to fix the site of the Asklepieion and some of its principal features beyond dispute.

This southern slope was in a condition specially unfavourable for investigation. During the Acropolis excavations carried on by Beulé in 1834 a vast quantity of earth and débris generally had been shot down from the top of the rock, and this—when the Archæological Society began its work in 1876—had first to be

removed. The plan projected was to lay bare the whole extent of territory bounded on the east by the Dionysiac theatre, on the west by the theatre of Herodes Atticus, on the north by the Acropolis rock, on the south by the wall known as the Serpentzè. It was expected that within these limits, not only the sanctuary of Asklepios, but also the temple of Themis and a shrine to Aphrodite and Hippolytus, and further a precinct of Demeter Chloe and Ge Kourotrophos, would be discovered. Instead of this the result has briefly been as follows :— The temple of Asklepios, with its precinct wall, its well, its stoa, and the dwelling-

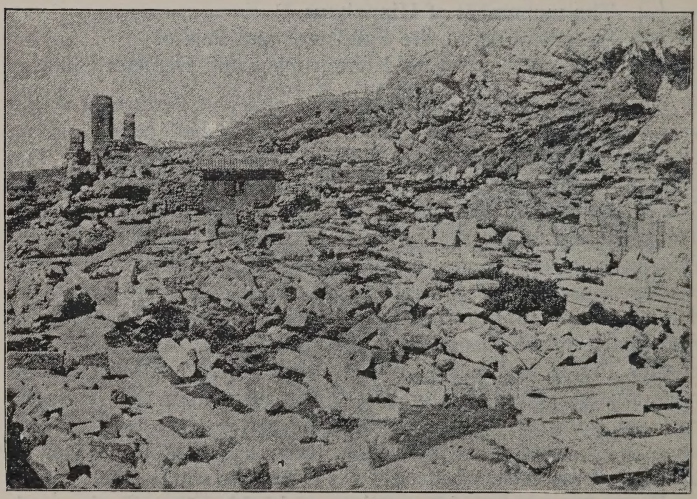


FIG. 36.—RUINS OF ASKLEPIEION.

houses of the priests, have been laid bare; and beyond this, up to the theatre of Herodes Atticus, the ground is wholly barren of ancient remains. The reasonable conclusion seems to be that this portion of the ground was not occupied by any sacred buildings, and that we have to look for the other sanctuaries of Themis, Aphrodite, etc., farther west.

To begin with the Asklepieion.[48] At present the site is a confused mass—walls, ancient, Turkish and Byzantine, old cisterns, architectural fragments, inscribed stones, and the like. Of these a general view is given in fig. 36. The character of all these remains it would be out of the question here to discuss. It will

be sufficient to notice such features as can quite clearly and certainly be made out. These are—

A. The temple of the god.
B. The great altar.
C. The sacred well.
D. The portico.
E. The precinct wall.

The interpretation of the other remains is more or less matter of conjecture.

It may be well to begin with the precinct wall (E). The temenos

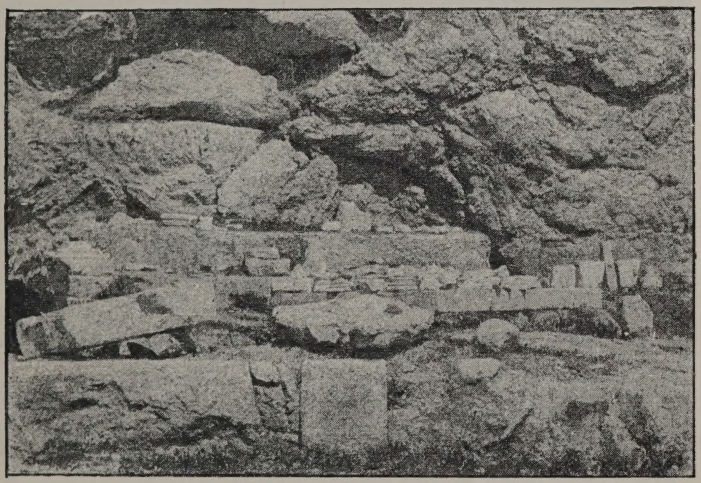


FIG. 37.—VIEW SHOWING BOUNDARY WALL WITH INSCRIPTIVE STONE, RUINS OF ASKLEPIEION, AND ACROPOLIS ROCK BEHIND.

is bounded to the east and north by the Dionysiac theatre and the living Acropolis rock, to the south and east by a wall of good polygonal masonry. That this wall is the actual boundary is fortunately established beyond dispute by the inscription on one of the stones—

ΗΟΡΟΣ
ΚΡΕΝΕΣ

("Boundary of the well")—in letters of the fifth century. The inscription is on the large square stone in the wall, and can easily be seen by climbing down below it. The view given in fig. 37

shows it as seen from below. The inscription is of considerable importance, for two reasons—

1. It shows that great sanctity was attached to the well. The inscription that would naturally have been expected would be "The boundary of the Asklepieion," but in all probability the well was sacred and had its cult and its precinct long before the god of medicine came to Athens.

2. Topographically it helps to fix the extent of the precinct. An attempt has been made to limit the precinct by the wall.

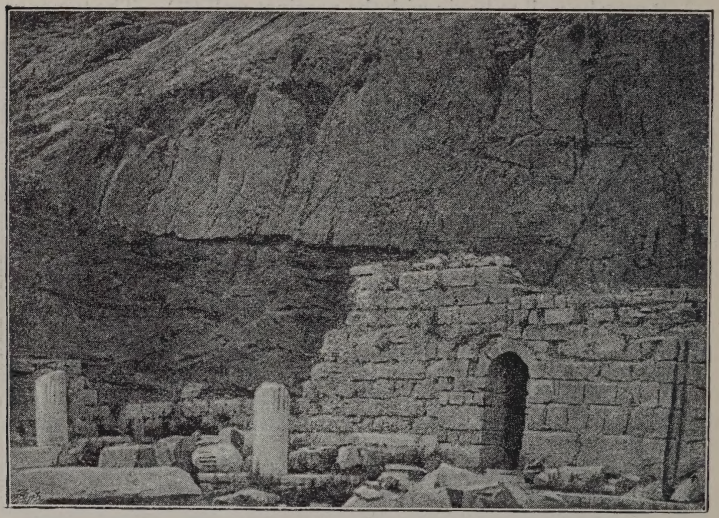


FIG. 38.—ENTRANCE TO WELL.

Obviously, as the inscribed stone lies beyond this wall, such a limitation is impossible.

The well itself must next be noted. There are farther west the traces of an ancient cistern, and an attempt has been made to fix this as the original sacred well. There is no doubt, however, that the true site is at C. Behind the colonnade a circular chamber is hollowed out in the rock, entered now by an arch of Byzantine date (fig. 38); within it is the well (fig. 39), fenced in by marble slabs.[49] The water to this day is cold and pure, but with a dead underground taste. The place keeps its sacred traditions: a picture of the Virgin stands above the well, and the Athenian

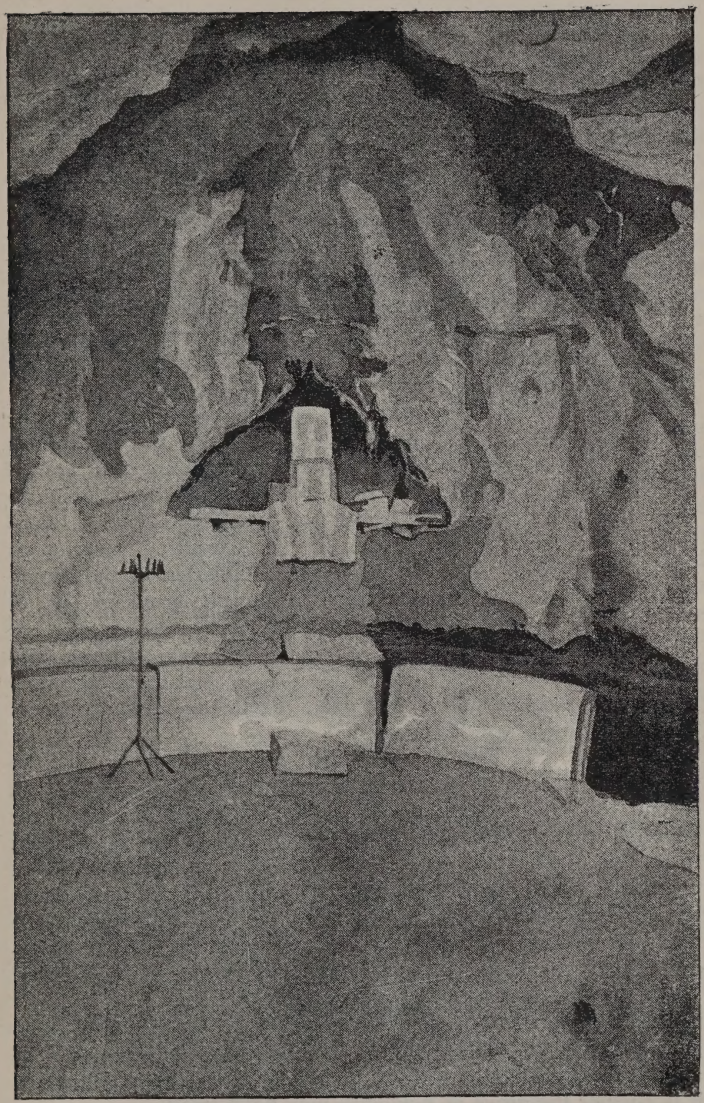


FIG. 39.—INTERIOR OF WELL OF ASKLEPIOS.

peasant still comes to burn his tapers and say his prayers. Pausanias notes the well, but in his usual indiscriminate fashion tells a legend that but concerns the well by accident, and has nothing to do with Asklepios. A theory has been based on this story that there was an original cult of a nymph of the well, Alkippe, who, later, gave place to Hygieia, but for this there is no real foundation.

In close connection with the well is the stoa (D). The walls at present standing are Byzantine, but the foundations of the colonnade, and traces of the columns that fronted it, can still easily be made out; within the shelter of this colonnade the patients walked and sat. Immediately to the north of it is a quadrangular structure surrounding a circular pit; the intent of this structure is not very clear, but in all probability it was a place of sacrifice.

To the south of the stoa, and lying parallel with it, is the temple itself (A), a small building of which only the foundations remain; to the east, some distance from the temple, an altar of large size (B). An attempt has been made, but fruitlessly, to show that this altar was another and smaller temple. In an inscription (dated by the archonship of Lysandros) mention is made of the restoration of the ancient foundation of the temple of Asklepios and Hygieia, and of an ancient propylon (ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἀρχαίου ἀφιδρύματος τοῦ τε Ἀσκληπίου καὶ τῆς Ὑγιείας . . . θυρῶσαι τό ἀρχαῖον προπύλον), and the conclusion has been deduced that within the precinct there were two temples, an old one and a new one. Be this as it may, remains of one only have been discovered.

So far, all the buildings described lie on one level. To the west, at a slightly higher level and bounded off by a wall, is a second terrace, occupied by the building marked H. By those who hold that there was a second temple, this building is thought to be a second colonnade. It consists of a succession of small chambers, with a portico in front, and formed, in all probability, the dwelling-place of the priests and the lodging-house of the wealthier patients. Near to it is a very small rectangular building, which has been thought to be the temple of Themis, but which may be dismissed as comparatively modern.

At this point the terrace is bounded off by a substantial polygonal though not Pelasgic wall (G), forming the foundation to another and yet higher terrace, on which, as has been suggested, it is *possible* the grove of Asklepios may have stood.

The Asklepieion at Athens was known in contradistinction to

that in the Peiraeus as the one "in the city" (τὸ ἐν ἄστει). It seems to have been unusual to build an Asklepieion in a town; the Greeks as well as the Romans, Plutarch notes, preferred, and naturally, to have their health resorts in the country. When its shady porticoes were still standing and its grove in full leaf, the temple precinct at Athens may have been a pleasant place; now, exposed as it is to the full glare of the sun, it is hard to realise that an ill man could get well there. Literary notices of the Asklepieion are rare. It is known from Marinus [50] that in the fifth century A.D. it still stood intact. He notes that the house of Proclus was close by, and that Proclus went to the temple to pray for his daughter, and, he adds piously, the city was still in good fortune then, and the sanctuary of the Saviour yet undestroyed. From him, too, we have confirmation of the site of the Asklepieion near the Dionysiac theatre. Theophrastus [51] notes how the man of petty ambition, "if he has dedicated a brass ring in the sanctuary of Asklepios, will wear it to a wire by burnishing it daily." Æschines [52] speaks of a festival and sacrifice there; Xenophon,[53] of a spring of warm water. Earlier than Aristophanes and his contemporary Hermippus we have no mention of the Asklepieion. To Solon, Paion is still the chief god of healing. Theognis mentions the Asklepiades as unable to "minister to a mind diseased," but this refers to the sons, the mortal physicians of Homer, rather than to the divine father. It must also be distinctly borne in mind that all remains found in the Asklepieion, whether inscriptions or sculptures, date from the fourth or very late fifth century downwards. Everything points to the fact that the Epidaurian and Troezenian cults of Asklepios, Theseus, Hippolytus, Aigeus, in fact, the whole *personale* of the south slope of the Acropolis, came to Athens in the fifth century B.C., probably about 470 B.C. That they found and in part displaced earlier cults is possible.

No god has suffered so much from misapprehension as Asklepios. He is regarded as one of the younger minor gods, admitted on sufferance among the Olympians, very kind and gentle, but too human to be altogether reverend, either a son and pale reflex of Apollo, or a mild inferior sort of Zeus. He has little place in poetry, almost less in art. To Homer he is but a blameless physician; to Pindar, a miscreant to be blasted with a thunderbolt. And yet therewithal he is a mighty god whom all men seek. He is the saviour, the "great light to mortals;" the rich man is cured by the outstretching of his "healing hand."

He can even raise the dead to life. An immigrant from Epidaurus, he yet holds his own at Athens through eight centuries.

All this suggests to the mind of the mythologist some confusion and misapprehension, or rather, perhaps, some blending of mythological threads, some interchange and crossing of local theologies, which it is needful to disentangle before the real essence of the god can be understood.

In trying to get at the true nature of a god there are always three principal factors for the mythologist to consider—

1. The cultus of the god and the ceremonies and sacrifices and *personale* that attend him.
2. His name, genealogies, and various local legends.
3. His art type in statues, coins, terra-cottas, and the like.

These three sources of knowledge cannot be quite sundered in consideration, but they must all three be distinctly borne in mind. Their conjoint evidence will in this case yield results of unusual curiosity and interest.

Of the cultus of the god Aristophanes has left us a picture so lively, and, all allowance made, so true, that it is scarcely needful to go beyond him. The *Plutus*[54] was brought out in 388 B.C., so we may be quite sure that by that time the Asklepieion was in full working order. Plutus, the god of wealth, is blind. Zeus has taken away his eyesight, so that he may no longer see the just and the unjust; by the help of Asklepios he gets back the use of his eyes, and the world is put right again. Carion, the slave, tells the story of the cure to his wife—

"As soon as ever we had come to the god and brought the man with us—a most miserable mortal, poor fellow, he was then, but now he's the most happy, lucky fellow in the world: well—we took him to the salt water bath and washed him.

"*Wife.* My goodness, that's what you call lucky to get a cold bath of salt water at his age!

"*Carion.* And then we went next to the precinct of the god, and when the sacred flame of Hephaistos had consumed upon the altar the substance of our first offering of cakes, then we put Plutus lying on a couch, as was natural, and each of us had a shake-down beside him.

"*Wife.* Were there any other people there as well consulting the god?

"*Carion.* Yes, there were. There was Neokleides, who is blind, but he's got sharper eyes than any one for stealing; and

there were a lot of other people with all sorts of complaints. And the sacristan came round and put out the lights and ordered us to go to sleep, and he said if any one heard a sound he was to keep quiet. So we all lay down quite decorously. And I couldn't get to sleep, for there was a pot of porridge lying near an old woman's head close by, which quite upset my nerves and inspired in me a strange desire to go after it. Then, as I looked up, I saw the priest grabbing at the sacred buns and the dried figs on the holy table, and then he went the round of all the altars to see if he could lay his hands on a chance remaining cake, and then he solemnly dedicated them—into a kind of wallet, and I, thinking the act fully permitted, got up and was walking towards the pot of porridge——

"*Wife.* You impious wretch, weren't you afraid of the god?

"*Carion.* By the gods I was. I thought that he with his garlands would get to the porridge before me, for his priest had given me a hint. And the old woman, when she caught the sound of me, drew forth her hand, and then I hissed and seized it with my teeth, as if I were a snake, a puff snake, and she soon pulled her hand back, and wrapped herself up in a blanket and lay as still as a mouse in a horrible fright. And then I went for the porridge and gobbled up a lot of it. And when I was full I stopped. . . . Then I wrapped myself up in a fright, and the god went the round of the diseases quite in order and examined them all. Then a boy set beside him a little stone mortar and a pestle and a small chest.

"*Wife.* A stone one?

"*Carion.* No, not the chest.

"*Wife.* And how could you see all this, you good-for-nothing, when you said you were all wrapped up?

"*Carion.* By the help of my cloak, for, by Zeus, it has a good lot of holes in it. Well, first he began to pound up an ointment for Neokleides, and he put into it three heads of Tenian garlic. Then he beat them up in the mortar and mixed them with bitters and squill; then he moistened it with Sphettian vinegar, and turned back his eyelids and spread it on, so that they might smart all the more. And he yelled out and roared and bolted away, but the god laughed and said, 'You sit still there with your plaster on, and let me teach you not to excuse yourself by affidavit from attending the assembly.'

"*Wife.* How wise the god, and what a patriot!

"*Carion.* Next he sat down by the side of Plutus, and first

he put his hand on his head, and then took a clean towel and wiped his eyelids round, and then Panakeia covered his face and head with a purple cloth. Next the god whistled, and two enormous snakes darted out of the shrine.

"*Wife.* Good gracious!

"*Carion.* They glided silently in under the purple cloth, and, as far as I could make out, were licking his eyelids round; and before you, my good lady, could have — drunk up five pints of wine, Plutus was on his legs with his eyes open. And I simply clapped my hands for joy, and went and woke up my master. And the god promptly disappeared, both he and the snakes, into the shrine. And those who were lying about near, you may think what a fuss they made over Plutus, and how they lay awake till daybreak; and I gave the god my very hearty praise for having promptly given Plutus his sight, and made Neokleides blinder than before."

This amusing scene is the clearest possible evidence of the central all-important function in the cult of Asklepios. In common with many another god he exacted purification by bathing, propitiatory offerings on the altar; but proper and peculiar to him and the deities of his kind is the *incubatio*, the sleeping in the temple. Whatever other elements were incorporated into his worship, Asklepios is primarily and essentially the god of the dream-oracle. As such he is not the latest born, the youngest member of the Olympian family, not the outcome of a mature and humane civilisation, but rather the god of an early and obscure cultus, the object of a faith superstitious and almost savage. He is near of kin, not to Apollo, but to the cave, well, and oracle gods of the under-world—Trophonios and Amphiaraos, Plouton and Persephone. Near Tralles, Strabo [55] tells us he saw a cave, overhanging a grove, where scenes very like those that Aristophanes pictures must have taken place. The cave, he says, possesses some curious natural properties. The sick persons who believe in the cures wrought by these gods (*i.e.*, Plouton and Persephone) come here and live in the village near to the cave among skilful priests, and there sleep at night in the open air; for the sake of the sick and according to the dreams they have they ordain the means of healing. The priests pray to the gods, and often take them into the cave, where they are placed as if in a den, to remain quiet and to go without food for several days. Sometimes the sick people notice their own dreams, and then ask to have them

interpreted by these priests as being the guardians of these mysteries, and ask for counsel as to what is to be done. In the case of other persons the place is forbidden and fatal. At a special feast held at the spot the frequenters of the cave could be seen and heard talking about the cures wrought there.

The close analogy to the worship of Amphiaraos [56] has been already noted. The patient who consults Amphiaraos must purify himself and then do sacrifice to the god; must wrap himself in the skin of the ram he has sacrificed and then go to sleep, expecting divine direction in a dream. Had the *Amphiaraos* of Aristophanes not been lost, we might have had an even more amusing picture than the scene in the *Plutus*. At Corinth,[57] within a precinct of Asklepios, Pausanias saw two statues—one of Sleep, the other of Dream. At Phlius he saw a house called the seer's house,[58] in which it was fabled Amphiaraos lay all night asleep before the delivery of his oracles. The suppliant who consulted the oracle of Trophonios [59] went though his tremendous experiences not indeed asleep, but after bathing and sacrificing a ram, he had to drink of the water of Lethe to forget all former thoughts, and of the water of Remembrance that he might remember what he saw in his descent; he seems then to have passed into a sort of trance, from which he returned scarcely knowing where he was. Even Dionysos could be on occasion, it seems, a dream-god. At Ophiteia,[60] Pausanias relates, there were noteworthy orgies performed to Dionysos, but his shrine had no open entrance nor any cultus image. But the people of Amphicleia said that this god acted as a seer for them and a helper in disease; and the diseases of the Amphicleans and those who lived near them were healed by dreams, and the priest was an interpreter and delivered oracles in dependence on the god.

The competence of these oracle dream-gods of the lower world was by no means confined to counsel in case of disease. Croesus [61] could send to Trophonios to ask advice about checking the power of Cyrus; Asklepios at Epidaurus was willing and able to mend a broken jug [62] for a careless but devout slave-boy. Medicine, however, became the specialty of Asklepios, and it was in connection with medicine that his worship developed from the obscurity of a local cult into a complex system of combined science and religion that maintained itself in full power long after the advent of the Christian era.

From this consideration of the cult of the god and the methods of his cures, it is clear that he was primarily no god of the *science*

of medicine, no patron of an advanced medical system. Far too much has always been made of the bathing of the patient, of his fasting and living remote in the temple. These prescriptions were at first purely ritual, prescribed in the interests of magic, not of sanitation. The original shrine of Asklepios was undoubtedly an oracle-cave, grove, or spring, not a sanatorium.

With this conception of the oracle-god, the demon of the lower world, the dream-spirit, in our minds, it is somewhat astonishing and certainly most instructive to study the current legends and genealogies of Asklepios and his *personale*.

First, stamped though the *cult* is with every mark of antiquity, Homer knows nothing of it.[63] Asklepios is only mentioned three times, and then not as a god, but as the blameless physician, father of the two heroes, Podaleirios and Machaon.[64] All these passages, further, are presumably late additions. A fragment of the *Taking of Troy* (Ἰλίου πόρθησις) distinguishes between the functions of the two sons: Machaon is a surgeon, Podaleirios a nerve and brain doctor; he only can diagnose the madness of Ajax. Here again it is noticeable that the sons, not the father, are pre-eminent, and even these are but heroes. With the Ionian and Æolian stock Asklepios as a god has nothing to do. His sons, who are, according to their light, scientific doctors, not dream-oracles, belong to quite another order of ideas. Their origin it would be too long to follow here. It is enough to note that their cult was affiliated to if not developed out of the numerous twin cults of the Peloponnesus. Such a pair of twins were Alexanor and Euamerion,[65] who were fabled to have built the temple of Asklepios in the remote region of Titane. They had statues there, and to Alexanor were offered sacrifices after sunset as to a hero, and to Euamerion as to a god. It was a chance whether a local indigenous pair of heroes like these became Podaleirios and Machaon or Castor and Polydeuces. Euamerion, Pausanias thought, was like Telesphoros, the obscure dwarf-god worshipped at Pergamon. Alexanor was actually reputed to be son of Machaon, but only of course in later days, when Ionian legends had penetrated even to remote Titane. The sons need concern us no further.

The legend of the father was told by Hesiod in the *Eoai*, and Hesiod's version is substantially borrowed by Pindar, though with some slight variations that will be noted. This *locus classicus* on the birth of Asklepios, the poem by Pindar which, following the grammarian Aristophanes, we call the 3d Pythian,[66] is in reality a letter to Hiero from Pindar excusing

himself from a visit to Syracuse, and exhorting his friend to value comfort in spite of his severe illness; he must be content to die; ill befell that man who, by the impious craft of Asklepios, was redeemed from the power of death which is the proper lot of mortals. To impress this moral, the story of Asklepios is told. Asklepios, the "gentle deviser of limb-saving anodynes, the hero that was a defence against all kind of bodily plague." The story must be given in detail, as it betrays the true secret of misconceptions as to the nature of the god.

"Of him," writes Pindar, "was the daughter of Phlegyas of goodly steeds not yet delivered by Eileithyia, aid of mothers, ere by the golden bow she was slain at the hands of Artemis, and from her child-bed chamber went down into the house of Hades by contriving of Apollo. Not idle is the wrath of the sons of Zeus.

"She in the folly of her heart had set Apollo at naught, and taken another spouse *without knowledge of her sire*, albeit ere then she had lain with Phoebus of the unshorn hair, and bare within her the seed of a very god. *Neither awaited she the marriage tables*, nor the sound of merry voices in hymeneal song, such as the bride's girl-mates are wont to sing at eventide with merry minstrelsy. But lo! she had longing for things otherwhere, even as many before and after. For a tribe there is most foolish among men, of such as scorn the things of home and gaze on things that are far off, and chase a cheating prey with hopes that shall never be fulfilled.

"Of such sort was the frenzied strong desire fair-robed Koronis harboured in her heart, *for she lay in the couch of a stranger* that was come from Arcady.

"But one that watched beheld her. For albeit he was at sheep-gathering Pytho, yet was the temple's king, Loxias, aware thereof, beside his unerring partner, *for he gave heed to his own wisdom*, his mind that knoweth all things; in lies it hath no part, neither in act nor thought may god or man deceive him.

"Therefore when he was aware of how she lay with the stranger Ischys, son of Elatos, and of her guile unrighteous, he sent his sister fierce with terrible wrath to go to Lakereia, for by the steep shores of the Boibian lake was the home of her virginity, and thus a doom adverse blasted her life and smote her down: and of her neighbours many fared ill therefore and perished with her. So doth a fire that from one spark has leapt upon a mountain lay waste wide space of wood.

"But when her kinsfolk had laid the damsel upon the pile of wood and fierce brightness of Hephaistos ran round it, then said Apollo: 'Not any longer may I endure in my soul to slay mine own seed by a most cruel death in company with its mother's grievous fate.'

"He said, and at the first stride he was there, and from the corpse caught up the child, and the blaze of the burning fiery pile was cloven before him asunder in the midst.

"Then to the Kentaur of Magnes he bare the child, that he should teach him to be a healer of the many plaguing maladies of men. And thus all that came unto him, whether plagued with self-grown sores or with limbs wounded by the lustrous bronze or stone far hurled, or marred by summer heat or winter cold, these he delivered, loosing each from his several infirmity, or else he hung their limbs with charms, or by surgery he raised them up to health.

"Yet hath even wisdom been led captive of desire of gain. Even him did gold in his hands glittering beguile for a great reward to bring back from death a man already prisoner thereto: wherefore the hands of Kronos smote the twain of them through the midst and bereft their breasts of breath, and the bright lightning dealt their doom." (Trans. E. Myers.)

A pretty story enough, but what has all this to do with the dream-oracle god of the underworld? What is it all, in fact, but an apology to Apollo for the existence of his rival Asklepios? The whole legend is Pythian through and through. In the main Pindar adopts the Hesiodic legend, but it is not strong enough for him; he improves it to the better laudation of Apollo. Any one used to the Pindaric manner will note easily enough the points where he protests against elements in the story which he deems unworthy or inadequate; they are given in italics. Pindar bears down heavily on Koronis. It was quite a usual thing for a mortal maiden to bear a child by a god and then become the wife of a mortal husband in lawful wedlock. There was abundant precedent for a proceeding deemed perfectly honourable. Such, according to Hesiod, had been the conduct of Koronis, and against such a version Pindar protests. "*Neither awaited she the marriage tables*;" her conduct was guileful and shameless, her death a due retribution—all glory to Apollo. Again, current legend said a crow came and told Apollo of her faithlessness. What indignity! Perish the crow. "*He gave heed to his own wisdom.*" Neither in the version of Hesiod nor in the emendation of Pindar

is there the smallest trace of genuine, local tradition except in the single fact that the Asklepios legend and cult took its rise in Thessaly. All else is Apollo. The rescue of the child from the dead mother is of course only an adaptation of the Semele legend. The rearing by Cheiron is merely the orthodox nurture of any canonical hero, be he Jason, Achilles, or Asklepios. The lore of Asklepios is not a divine potency, but just the elementary lore of the human surgeon, learnt by gracious permission of Apollo. Nay more, Asklepios is convicted of base cupidity, and all but perishes by the wrath of Zeus. In a Pythian apology like this the whole being and functions of Asklepios are as little understood as they are by the modern mythologist. Pindar and Preller alike turn him into the child of Apollo—only the modern mythologist goes further and explains his every attribute and function as an emanation of the sun-god. He who had his real dwelling in caves and clefts and dark groves, who came in the night with his dogs and his snakes, who works by spells and incantations, is, to quote the German mythologist's words, "die Heilkraft der gesunden Natur, wie sie am wirksamsten in schöner Jahreszeit auf den Bergen und in gesunder Luft empfunden wird, wo eine milde Sonne leuchtet und frische kühlende Quellen rieseln."

When Pausanias was at Epidaurus [67] he went into the question of the genealogy of Asklepios. He found on inquiry three traditions current. According to the first—evidently a local legend—Phlegyas, the greatest warrior of the day, came to the Peloponnese with his daughter, who, though Phlegyas did not know it, was with child by Apollo. She gave birth to the child on Epidaurian soil, and exposed it on the mountain called Titthion (*i.e.*, the breast), and one of the she-goats gave it milk and the watch-dog of the flock guarded it; and the goatherd, missing the goat and the dog, went in search, and when he saw the child, desired to take it away, but light was shining around the child, and thinking that there was about it something divine he went away; and it was forthwith noised abroad both by land and sea that the boy could heal sicknesses and raise the dead. Now here we have still the connection with Apollo, which shows we have not quite got hold of the original legend; but there is nothing of the faithlessness of the mother, and the divine power of the child Asklepios is innate, not a mere human skill acquired. But, says Pausanias, there is another tradition, and he proceeds to narrate the stock Apolline legend of the 3d Pythian. Then he adds:

"There is a third tradition which seems to me the least likely of all, which makes Asklepios the son of Arsinoe, the daughter of Leukippos." This legend was of course an attempt to incorporate the great healing god into the local mythology of Messene. As would be expected, Apollo would have none of this, and Pausanias naïvely bases his disbelief on an oracle of the god. "For," says he, "when Apollophanes the Arcadian went and asked at Delphi of the god whether Asklepios were the son of Arsinoe and a citizen of Messene, Apollo by his oracle made answer—as might have been expected—

"'O Asklepios, thou who art sprung up a great joy to all mortals, whom the daughter of Phlegyas, lovely Koronis, bore to me in love in rocky Epidaurus.'"

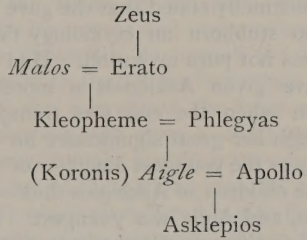
The god, though he would allow no trifling about his own fatherhood, wisely humoured his pious worshippers in the matter of the birth at Epidaurus. On the strength of this Pausanias is quite satisfied that Asklepios was born at Epidaurus, and that his worship was derived thence, and he rightly notes that the Athenians call one of their Asklepios festival days "Epidauria." He is also satisfied that Asklepios was considered a god from the beginning, though he cites, oddly enough, as testimony a passage from Homer which proves just the contrary. Homer[68] makes Agamemnon say, "With all speed call Machaon hither, the hero son of Asklepios the noble leech" (*φῶτ' Ἀσκληπιοῦ υἱὸν ἀμύμονος ἰητῆρος*); on which Pausanias remarks, "As if he were to say 'the mortal, the son of a god.'"

Fortunately Epidaurus itself has yielded a genealogy even more reliable and instructive than the fanciful Pythian legend or the confused local gleanings of Pausanias. On a slab found in the stoa at Epidaurus,[69] within the precinct of Asklepios, was engraved a poem by Isyllus of Epidaurus in honour of Asklepios and Apollo Maleatas. The letters are of the early part of the third century B.C.; the poem is a pæan sung at a sacred procession, and by permission of Apollo set up in the precinct. Its main drift, being political, does not concern us here, but incidentally Isyllus gives a genealogy of Asklepios which is of great value.[70] The genealogy runs as follows: "It is said that Father Zeus gave Erato the Muse to Malos to be his wife in holy wedlock. Phlegyas, who dwelt in Epidaurus, his native land, married the daughter of Malos, whom Erato her mother bore him, and who was called Kleopheme. Of Phlegyas was born a daughter, and she was called Aigle—

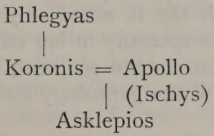
that was her regular name, but she got the title of Koronis for her beauty,—and golden-browed Phoebus, beholding her in the home of Malos, made the season of her virginity to cease, entering on lovely marriage. Thou son of Leto, thou golden-haired one, I worship thee. And within the fragrant temenos Aigle bore a son. And the pains of birth did the son of Zeus ease, with the Fates and with Lachesis the noble mother. And Apollo named him Asklepios by the title of his mother Aigle, he that makes sickness to cease, the giver of health, great gift to mortals. Hail to the healer, the healer Asklepios; grant grace to thy city Epidaurus, send fair shining health to us, to our souls, to our bodies. Hail to thee, healer!"

Here we have undoubtedly the orthodox Epidaurian genealogy of Asklepios. Hesiod and Pindar might take liberties according to their own individual learning, but in an inscription formally consecrated within the precinct of the god none such were admissible.

In full the genealogy is as follows:—



This is a widely different matter from the Thessalian tradition:—



The scene is no longer in Thessaly. The birth, it is distinctly stated, took place in the Hieron, and by grace of the gods was painless. Aigle is the bride of Apollo and none other. Koronis, it is at once clear, has nothing to do with the legend. Her name is simply introduced out of courtesy as a by-name; the Pythian legend having become so popular, it cannot be disregarded. With

Koronis falls away her Thessalian father, Phlegyas. Isyllus cannot restrain himself from a polemic against the Thessalian Phlegyas. He distinctly states that Phlegyas lived in Epidaurus, *his own native land.* As Phlegyas had to be introduced, he had to have a wife to link him with Malos, hence Kleopheme, who is a mere mythological nobody. Malos, it is very evident from the beginning, is the important ancestor to whom Zeus gave a wife. Erato is simply again the necessary intermediate wife—as Erato was the ancestress of the Arcadian heroes and wife of the eponymous Arkas.[71] Leaving out, then, (1) Thessalian interpolations, (2) intermediary wives, we are left as follows :—

Malos
|
Aigle = Apollo
|
Asklepios

Of the Pythian legend we have nothing left but Apollo. As to Aigle, it is distinctly stated that she gave her name to Asklepios. Now this is so stubborn an etymology that it must at once be conceded it was not pure invention. Had Isyllus been inventing he would have given Asklepios a more probable eponymous mother. Even when the cult was transplanted Aigle was not forgotten, though her great significance no one could guess, as she appears merely as the youngest daughter of the god. Hermippus[72] enumerates the children of Asklepios thus—Machaon, Podaleirios, Iaso, Panakeia, and Aigle the youngest. It seems possible that there were originally two daughters to match two sons, and then the name Aigle had to be fitted in, and as Epione had got the place of mother, Aigle was put in as youngest daughter; the distinct way in which she is noted as youngest may be a distinct reminiscence of some specialty in her case.

Disregarding, then, for the moment, Apollo, to whom we shall return, our analysis of the genealogy leaves us with the following residuum :—

Malos, who gives his name to Maleatas :
Aigle, „ her „ Asklepios :

a hero and heroine who give their names respectively to the gods. Of course this must be simply reversed, and we may take it as certain that there were two gods for whom genealogical étiquette demanded that an eponymous father and mother should be provided.

I take first Aigle and Asklepios. They seem far enough asunder, but Hesychius, who preserves so many titles of the gods, confirms the connection—"Aiglaes = Asklepios, Aglaopes." The god Apollo was worshipped on the island of Anaphe by a title which the poet Apollonius Rhodius [73] gives as Aigletes, but which an inscription [74] found on the island itself gives as Asgelatas. The name Asklepios is not far removed from that of Askalaphos, the demon of the lower world, son of Hades. The connection of Aigle and Askle led, no doubt, to many a tempting etymology and to much rationalising on the mythology and being of Asklepios, and to many a plausible connection with Apollo, the sun-god. It was not reserved for the modern investigator to see in Æsculapius the sanatory influence of the sun. Pausanias, when in the temple of Asklepios at Ægium,[75] had a learned discussion with a Sidonian, who said the Phoenicians knew more about divine matters than the Greeks, and that they affirmed that Apollo was the father of Asklepios, and that Asklepios was nothing but the air, which is salutary to men and beasts, and that Apollo was the sun, and was most correctly called the father of Asklepios, because the sun regulates the seasons by his course and imparts healthiness to the air. "All this," says Pausanias, "I agreed to; but I said the opinion belonged no more to the Phoenicians than to the Greeks, since in the Titane of the Sikyonians the same statue is called both Asklepios and Hygieia, and even a child could easily see that the course of the sun brought health to the earth."

In the name of Asklepios there must, then, be recognised not only the "epios" (mild) which gives him his wife Epione (the mild one), but also this Askle-Aigle element, which, though it may be connected with the root "shine," must not tempt us to make of him a sun-god.

We have next to consider Malos, the eponymous hero of the god Maleatas. Apollo Maleatas occurs so frequently that we might be tempted to think it was but a local surname of the sun-god. In an earlier part of his poem Isyllus [76] writes thus:—

"Malos first upreared the altar of Apollo Maleatas, and adorned the temenos with sacrifices. Not even in Thessalian Trikka would you seek to enter the shrine of Asklepios unless you first sacrificed on the altar of holy Apollo Maleatas." This looks as if Apollo and Maleatas were one; so no doubt they were in later days. But a ritual inscription,[77] always a safer source, lets us behind the scenes and shows that originally they were not one, though they were approached with the same offerings:—

"TO THE GOD

"Sacrifice to be made as follows: To Maleatas, three cakes; to Apollo, three cakes; to Hermes, three cakes; to Iaso, three cakes; to Akeso, three cakes; to Panakeia, three cakes; to the dogs, three cakes; to the watchers of the dogs, three cakes."

The inscription was found in the Peiraeus. Only a portion of it is here given. The notable point is that it proves clearly by the ordained separate sacrifice that Apollo and Maleatas were not the same. Apollo is not Maleatas, but the conjecture seems at least probable that he took his place. Side by side were the two old original healing gods, Asklepios and Maleatas. Neither could be ousted by the new Apollo worship, so Apollo took the name of Maleatas himself and claimed Asklepios for his son. Conservative ritual kept up the name and sacrifice of Maleatas long after his real significance was confused with that of the intruder.

But the main fact, after all, to be borne in mind is that Asklepios is not Apollo, and cannot be explained as an emanation from him. And here the third factor comes in to help—*i.e.*, his type-form in art. If we find he is represented throughout by a type analogous to Apollo, it will be a grave reason for reconsidering conclusions based on genealogies. It would have been worth anything to know what the ancient statue at Titane was like. It was so old no one knew who made it, but tradition said Alexanor, son of Machaon himself. Pausanias[78] could not even make out whether it was wood or metal, and only the face, fingers, and toes could be seen, as the statue was muffled up with a chiton of white wool and a himation. The heavily-draped statue can have had little analogy with the young nude Apollo. Of the great cultus statue at Epidaurus,[79] Pausanias says it is half the size of the statue of Olympian Zeus at Athens, and is made of ivory and gold, and the inscription calls it the work of Thrasymedes, the Parian, son of Arignotos. The god is seated on a throne holding a staff in one hand, the other he holds over the head of the snake, and a dog is represented seated by his side. Happily of this statue we have a fair notion from the coins of Epidaurus (figs. 40 and 41), one of the types of which is evidently a copy of the cultus image. In this instance the statue is placed by the coin-engraver within a small shrine, usually an indication that a temple image is intended. Asklepios is seated, holds a staff, apparently filleted, in one hand, and extends the other above the snake's head. The other instance is given because the dog, seated below or beside the

chair, comes out clearly. The staff is, in all probability, at once the divining rod and the sceptre of the king, the snake is the symbol of the lower-world oracle. The dogs of Asklepios had, as has been seen, a special sacrifice of three cakes; their cult seems to have fallen somewhat into abeyance. They may have given place to the serpent, as Asklepios to Apollo. They took part, however, in the cures at Epidaurus. On the remarkable stele [80] on which the marvellous cures are recorded is one of a child who had a tumour on the brain, and one of the sacred dogs treated it with his tongue (ἐθεράπευσε τᾷ γλώσσᾳ). Strange powers were attributed to dogs.[81] They were held to have presentiments of epidemics, and to be able to diagnose the healthiness of air and of wells, and to know what were the best herbs needful to cure their own diseases. Some figures of dogs were found in the Asklepieion at Athens.

FIG. 40.—COIN OF EPIDAURUS: ASKLEPIOS.

FIG. 41.—COIN OF EPIDAURUS: ASKLEPIOS IN SHRINE.

Looking at this Thrasymedes statue no one can honestly say the art type of Asklepios has the smallest analogy to that of Apollo. It is the type rather of a lower-world Zeus. The coin is borne out by many reliefs. Asklepios is always the bearded reverend man, seated sometimes on a throne, sometimes standing, leaning upon his staff—serpent-twined. A good instance of the seated type is a bas-relief in the Central Museum (Cat., 101) at Athens (fig. 42), found in the Hieron at Epidaurus. It is no doubt an adaptation of the statue of Thrasymedes with the accessories omitted. There is a second replica of very inferior work (Cat., 102). It is a curious fact, to be distinctly borne in mind, that the art type of Amphiaraos, as seen in the bas-relief found at Oropus,[82] is just the same as that of Asklepios.

Going back at last to Pausanias, it will be remembered that he notes that "the sanctuary is remarkable both for the numerous images of the god and his children and for the pictures." We should have been glad to hear a little more about these, and a little less about the Sauromatian mail. Happily, excavation in some degree

made up for the deficiencies of Pausanias. The new image would no doubt echo the Epidaurian type, and enough bas-reliefs have been found, though many of them are sadly damaged, to give an idea of the votive offerings with which temple, stoa, and precinct would be thickly hung. These have also been supplemented by discoveries in the Hieron at Epidaurus.

FIG. 42.—BAS-RELIEF FROM EPIDAURUS: ASKLEPIOS (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

The relief in fig. 43 was found in the Asklepieion at Athens. It shows the standing Asklepios—still of the Zeus type. It is of special interest in connection with the lower-world aspect of Asklepios. Beneath him as *ὁμοβάμιοι*—gods sharing an altar—appear Demeter and her daughter Kore. The festival called Epidauria was in part at least in honour of the Eleusinian gods.

The usual ætiological explanation was given—*i.e.*, that Asklepios, like the Dioscuri and Herakles, had been initiated, but in all probability the connection was early and original. The worship of a Chthonian Asklepios in conjunction with Demeter is attested

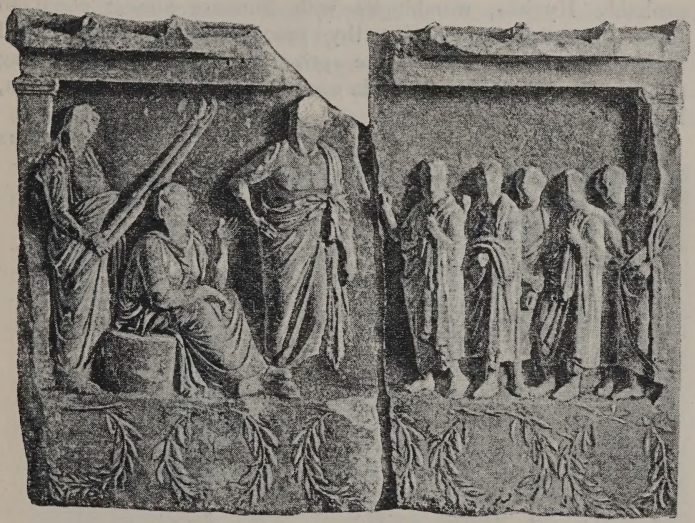


FIG. 43.—ASKLEPIOS, WITH ELEUSINIAN DEITIES (ATHENS).

by an inscription found at Hermione—"Xenotimos, the son of Polykleus, to Demeter Chthonia and Zeus Asklepios" (C.I.G., 1198). The three gods are approached by six worshippers, five of whose names are encircled by crowns below the design. They are citizens who, in gratitude for the crowns they have received from the State for some service rendered, have dedicated the slab in the Asklepieion. The standing type also occurs on Athenian coins (fig. 44). The relief in fig. 45 is a good instance of the seated type. Asklepios reclines on his throne very much in the easy fashion of the Epidaurus slab. Before him an altar, the sacrificial cakes, the very "popana" that Carion saw the priest consecrate into his bag. A tree behind stands for the sacred grove, and round it, instead of (as often) near the chair of Asklepios, winds the snake. A worshipper, probably

FIG. 44.—COIN OF ATHENS: ASKLEPIOS.

with some forced ritual-gesture, touches the altar with his right hand. A second man is occupied taking more cakes for the altar from a slave-boy. A stately woman-figure stands almost in the centre of the picture with her right hand on the tree. She is probably Hygieia, worshipped with honours almost equal to those of Asklepios. "By thy grace, blessed Hygieia, all things bloom and shine in the springtime of the Graces," sang the poet.[83] Alkiphron's Hygieia was of course only an abstraction, but a very popular one.

The fullest representation we have of the sons and daughters

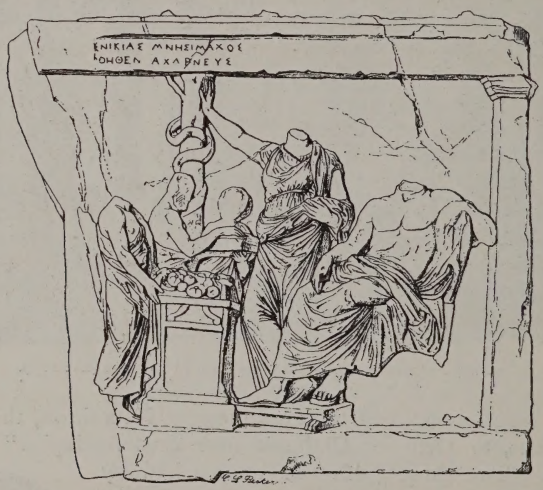


FIG. 45.—SACRIFICE TO ASKLEPIOS (ATHENS).

of Asklepios was found, not in the Athenian Asklepieion, but near Epidaurus. It is now in the Central Museum at Athens. The god (fig. 46) stands foremost, bearing, physician fashion, in his hand his snake-twined staff, behind him two youths of the nude Apolline type — Machaon and Podaleirios; then follow three maidens, whom we may call Iaso, Panakeia, and Aigle. In very low relief behind Asklepios is a veiled woman's head; she is usually called Hygieia. Had the relief been found at Athens, this might have been correct; but as it was found in the Peloponnese, and as, moreover, the figure seems intentionally subordinate, I prefer to call her by the name of the always shadowy wife Epione. A band

of suppliants approach from the left. The scene is again enclosed in a Doric portico.

The art-type of Asklepios, then, it may be taken as certain, was throughout Greek times that of a reverend elderly man. It is not till late Roman days, when all significance is lost and even tradition is relaxed, that the Apolline youth comes in.

The votive offering of the grateful worshipper was not always an image of the god or his children. We find a physician dedicates a stone effigy of his cupping instruments, probably

FIG. 46.—ASKLEPIOS, WITH SONS AND DAUGHTERS.

a thank-offering for some heavy fee; a husband offers the image of a stone eye in gratitude for his wife's sight restored. Whatever the part cured, its stone copy was held a fitting thank-offering, just as now in Roman Catholic countries a shrine of the Virgin may be seen, hung round with votive arms and legs and the like.

Very briefly resuming, then, the examination of the three sources —the culture of the god, his genealogy and legends, his art-type —the following seems the result. Among the tribes of Thessaly and the neighbouring northerly district, long before it became

distinctively Thessalian, a dream-oracle god Asklepios was worshipped, a deity of the lower world, elderly, benign, akin to Amphiaraos and to Trophonios. These tribes of the north, long before Dorian days, were pushed southwards, and took with them the cult of the god, which spread far and wide through the Peloponnesus. Here and there they found other cults akin, as they thought, to their own, and specially the cult of two heroes, and to accommodate and affiliate them Asklepios was provided with two sons—*e.g.*, in the case of the cult of Nikomachos and Gorgasos at Pherae, and Alexanor and Euamerion at Titane. Whether Maleatas, the brother-god of Asklepios, came with him from Thessaly, or was affiliated later, would be hard to say. Next, when the servants of Apollo, the Dorians, overspread the Peloponnese, came a critical time. The two cults came in conflict. Apollo, god of healing (Paian), but also god of light, of the upper air, of the sun, before whom dream shadows fled away, had much ado to hold his own, we may be sure, against an ancient and popular worship. But, on the whole, it went hard with the elder god. He must stoop to be the son of the younger. The legend of the *Ἐοαί*, repeated and strengthened by Pindar, took hold of men's minds. In places where the worship of Asklepios was specially rooted, as at Epidaurus, Apollo had to make his concession; he had to take upon him at least the name of the companion-god and become Maleatas. In remote inaccessible regions like Titane the old cult maintained itself in its integrity, but on the whole the personality of Asklepios faded more and more, and the elements of his cult and his own personal characteristics were taken over by the younger god. It was in all probability at Epidaurus that the cult of Asklepios first developed into something more than a local oracle, and thence by the force rather of science than superstition spread itself to Athens, to Pergamos, even to Rome. The cult, to be accepted in the Athens of the fifth century, must have been purged from its grosser elements.

The ante-Dorian, under-world, dream-oracle side of Asklepios has been emphasised, perhaps over-emphasised, because it is the original aspect, and also one apt to be neglected. But in a cult that dealt with healing there were necessary elements of science as well as superstition, room for the exercise of common-sense no less than for chicanery. It is indeed this perfectly human blending of the two that makes the study of the cult of Asklepios so peculiarly fascinating. The skilled medical practitioner managed

then, as now, to be both pious and practical. His creed compelled entire reliance on the god, his common-sense bade him effect a cure by scientific means. Probably long after he had ceased to believe himself, he considered it every way desirable that his patients should exercise a simple faith. Hence the god was severe on those who dared to doubt. The stelai [84] of miraculous cures at Epidaurus are in this respect curious and instructive reading. Ambrosia, an Athenian woman, is blind of one eye. She is walking about within the precinct, and laughs at the idea that cripples can be made to walk and the blind to see. Her eye is restored to her, but the god prescribes that she consecrate a silver pig in memory of her stupidity. It is still worse if there is any attempt to cheat the god. Pandaros has been cured of some spots on his face: he advises his friend Echedoros, who suffers the like disfigurement, to seek help from Asklepios, and asks him to take on his behalf the money which he owes the god. Echedoros keeps back the money, even though the god demands it in a dream, and instead of a cure, receives the spots of Pandaros in addition to his own. Such instances, inscribed publicly, must have been eminently instructive to patients, though from some of the inscriptions we learn that the god was not above practising most unseemly and unedifying practical jokes.

But though the priests undoubtedly played on the superstition of the vulgar, being themselves also at least half deceived, they no less undoubtedly had at command considerable science and wide practical experience. The patient had to dream for himself, but it remained for the priest to interpret the dream. Moreover, in obstinate cases there is no doubt that the priest undertook even the dreaming himself, and interpreted it liberally. Every element essential to a nerve cure was present. The patient is removed to a new environment; he enters the precinct full of faith and hope; he bathes and makes the preliminary sacrifice, and feels calmer, better already. He takes his walk within the precinct, accompanied by the exegetic priest, to whom, readily enough, he enlarges on his distressing symptoms. All about him he sees the monuments of cures, the ex votos, the inscriptions; he joins, it may be, a crowd assembled to applaud some newly accomplished miracle. By the time night falls, the priest has probably learned all he wanted to know of the temperament and particular malady of his new patient. He is forthwith put on a strict diet, not, he

imagines, with any remedial intent, but that he may purify himself and so more fitly approach the god. This diet was enjoined by the god himself. Philostratus [85] tells of a young man who would go on over-eating and over-drinking himself, that being the malady of which he was really dying, and the god very wisely entirely declined to visit him in a dream. Next, when purification and fasting had fitly prepared the worshipper, came the central ceremony of the incubation, about which, probably, the patient thought much more than the doctor. Here came in the element, foreign, on the whole, to our temperament and civilisation, and yet by no means entirely unknown, and perfectly well understood by those who have had any dealings in spiritualism. The stillness of the night, the unwonted surroundings of the temple, the fasting, the suggestions of the priest during the day *might* bring a natural dream, which, freely interpreted, would serve all purposes. Further, the patient was already ill; if thoroughly nervous, he might be subject to a hallucination, and announce to the gratified, though probably somewhat amused, priest that the god had visited him in person. But there were sure to be awkward cases—people who dreamt absurd dreams, or, worse still, slept heavily, and could not bring themselves to dream at all. It was allowable also in such cases for a friend or relative to come and dream "with intention" on their behalf. Or the professional dreamer, as Strabo [86] relates, was employed; or, if the worst came to the worst, there is little doubt that the priest and his attendant dressed up and committed on the patient some species of pious fraud. In the half-twilight of the morning—for then, Iamblichus tells us, dreams were of most avail—dim forms were seen, at first in the distance, then nearer and nearer—Asklepios and Iaso and Panakeia and Aigle; mysterious voices were heard, snakes glided about, and before the amazed, half-senseless patient could fairly wake the divine prescription was uttered, the trick over, and the god gone.

In the morning came science,[87] with its interpretation of the dream, and application of practical remedies. The man with the bad dyspepsia is told to eat nothing but dates, the consumptive patient has a diet of ass's flesh, a man who spits blood drinks the blood of bulls. Lucius, with a stitch in his side, is ordered a daily bath with alcoholic friction; Julian, who has hæmorrhage, is ordered to eat fir-cones and honey for three days. M. Julius Apellas, who suffered from one disease after another, and specially indigestion, has at Epidaurus a whole stele to himself,[88] on which the god

ordained he should write the details of his cure. As he was on his way thither, at Ægina, the god told him not to be so nervous about himself. When he got there he was put on a diet of bread, cheese, and salad; he was ordered to attend to himself in the bath, but, all the same, to fee the bath attendant; to take brisk exercise, both by walking and on the trapeze; to go barefoot and rub himself with sand. He did not get on as fast as he wished, so he beset the god with prayers for a speedy cure, and probably the god got annoyed, for he ordered him a plaster of salt and mustard all over his body, which, Apellas solemnly inscribes, smarted very much.

The hysterical, egotistical patient was as much the curse of the Asklepieion as of any modern hydropathic establishment. Aristides, the rhetorician, who died 180 A.D., furnishes a *cause celèbre*. He was the typical valetudinarian, and his account of his miseries, mental and bodily, morbid though it is, is touching to read. The priests evidently did their best for him, they tried every conceivable drug, change of air, elaborate systems of exercise, cheerful society; but they clearly had too much of him, and they strongly recommend him to *go and visit other sanctuaries*. At last, hard driven, they prescribe that he should write a poem about the birth of the god, and *make it as long as he can*. He has evidently no suspicion that he is being played with. It is his faith in the god's power that makes him so touching. Asklepios is for him, not the mere healer of bodily sickness, but the guide, comforter, consoler, saviour, the very present refuge while the tempest still is high (*τρικυμία*), the one god in whom is all fulness of grace and life. This morbid adoration of Asklepios, this conviction that he can heal *all* maladies, seems like a return to the superstition of the old oracle-god, and is very characteristic of the age of Aristides. A more robust age had thought far otherwise. Theognis [89] knew that the doctor could do nothing for the mind. "If but the god had granted this to the sons of Asklepios, that they should heal wretchedness and the baleful minds of men, many and great had been the fees they had earned." Plato [90] goes further. He never dreams that physicians can heal the soul, he even thinks it matter of regret that they heal the diseased body. "Our present system of medicine," he says in his healthy way, "may be said to educate disease. It is disgraceful to require the help of medicine, not when a wound has to be cured or on occasion of an epidemic, but just because by their lives of indolence and luxury men fill themselves with waters and winds, as if their bodies were a marsh,

compelling the ingenious sons of Asklepios to find names for diseases, such as flatulence and catarrh." In a well-ordered State every individual has an occupation to which he must attend, and therefore has no leisure to spend in continually being ill. Unhappily by the time of the Antonines there were many with leisure to be ill and to be proud of their illness, who knew no shame not only to be ill in body but to be ill in mind. Superstition would not be denied. The passionate desire for the personal saviour found its outlet in the worship of Asklepios, and bit by bit there grew up also the conviction, "valuable because partly practicable, that all the maladies of the soul could be reached through the subtle gateways of the body."

Leaving the Asklepieion, Pausanias passes on to the Acropolis, but by the way he notes a little group or groups of monuments, which seem to have been closely linked together, and which probably stood near the south-west corner of the Acropolis. The road he passed along was probably that of which traces still remain between the polygonal and Frankish walls, as marked on the plan. A general view (south side) of the Acropolis, which he is now walking over, is given in fig. 47. The road Pausanias followed is now forced into a détour by the Odeion, which, as already noted, did not exist in his days; what exact course it then took is, of course, matter of pure conjecture.

The monuments intervening between the Asklepieion and the Propylaea, as enumerated by Pausanias, are—

A temple (*ναός*) of Themis;
A monument (*μνῆμα*) to Hippolytus;
Statues (and therefore, presumably, a sanctuary) of Aphrodite Pandemos and Peitho;

and also

A sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe.

Of no one of any of these monuments has a trace been discovered, and their arrangement is beset with difficulties. The old view used to be that the first group—the monuments to Themis, Hippolytus, Pandemos, and Peitho—lay on the second Asklepieion terrace. In favour of this was the undoubted fact that the cycle of Hippolytus and Aphrodite legends takes us back, no less than that of Asklepios, to Epidaurus. At Epidaurus[91] there was a precinct and temple to Hippolytus, and shrines

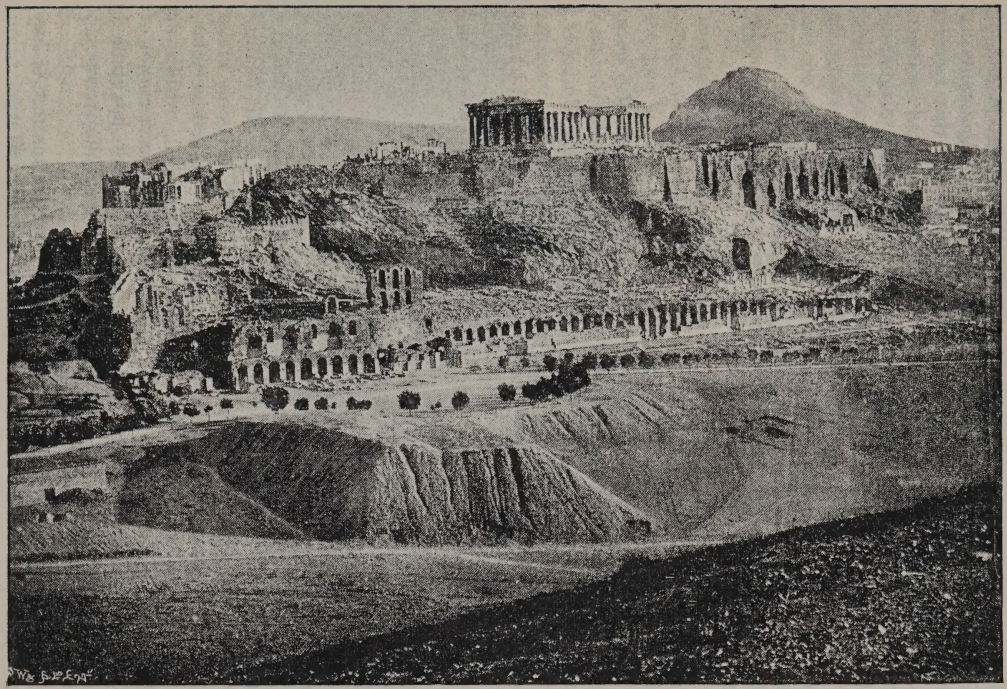


FIG. 47.—SOUTH SIDE OF ACROPOLIS, SHOWING ASKLEPIEION, STOA OF EUMENES, AND ODEION OF HERODES ATTICUS.

to Aphrodite and Themis; and there can be little doubt that all the cults came over together with the Troezenian legend of Theseus. The objection to placing these various monuments on the second Asklepieion terrace is simply this—that this terrace has been thoroughly explored, and no buildings that could answer to these sanctuaries have been found. The small diagonally placed building of which foundations were found, and which was supposed to be the temple of Themis, is now known to be not Greek work. The only buildings to be made out on the second terrace are, as has been seen, a succession of small chambers, which may be priests' dwellings, but which cannot be temples.

Dismissing the terrace, it has been proposed to place the two groups of monuments on the space intervening between the Asklepieion and the Odeion of Herodes. Here, again, we are met by a double difficulty. In the first place, this space has also been explored, and no traces of foundations of ancient buildings of any sort (excepting fortification walls) have been found. Moreover, this total absence of buildings, joined to other considerations, points to the fact that this tract of ground was occupied by the Pelasgikon, on which, as is well known, it was not lawful to build. Wherever we place the monuments, they must be somewhere outside this inviolable precinct.

The south-west side of the Acropolis is just now (1889) in process of excavation; the Turkish fortifications are being pulled down, and when the ground is fairly cleared it may be hoped that some evidence of the sites in question may be discovered. So far (September 1889), in the pulling down of the Turkish wall between the Nike bastion and the southern tower of Beulé's Gate, certain inscriptions have come to light dealing with the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos which certainly make it probable, unless the inscriptions have been dragged very far, that the temple stood, not, as previously supposed, within or close to the Asklepieion precinct, but to the south-west corner of the Acropolis, as marked on the plan. The wall just pulled down is visible in fig. 48, a view of the west end of the Acropolis, which Pausanias is now approaching.

A passage from Apollodorus, quoted by Harpocration,[92] has caused much needless trouble. It is as follows. Harpocration says, in discussing the term "Aphrodite Pandemos"—"Apollodorus, in his book about the gods, says that the title of Pandemos was given to the goddess in her shrine near the old agora (περὶ

τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγόραν)." Topographers who place (1) the old agora to the north of the Areopagus, (2) the Aphrodite Pandemos on the second terrace, are put to great straits. Curtius invents an early agora on the southern side of the Acropolis; Wachsmuth makes "agora" mean "place of assembly." Our topography drives us to no such extremities. The shrine of Aphrodite Pandemos placed near the south-west corner of the Acropolis, is close to the old agora—*i.e.*, the agora which stretched, as we have seen, right up

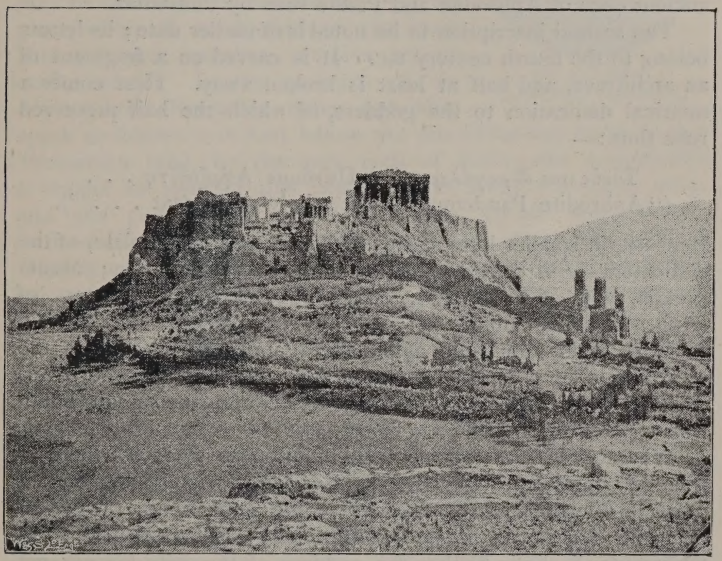


FIG. 48.—ACROPOLIS (WEST AND SOUTH-WEST SLOPE).

to the citadel gates. Apollodorus, an Athenian, described it quite simply.

It may be well to examine the positive evidence of these recently discovered inscriptions as to the character and worship of Aphrodite Pandemos[93] before referring to current literary tradition.

The first and largest is on a stele of Hymettian marble. From the archon named (the elder Euthios) it is dated 283 B.C., and records a decree made while a lady of the name of Hegesipyle was priestess. It ordains, with all official formalities, that the astynomoi should, at the time of the procession in honour of

Aphrodite Pandemos, provide a dove for the purification of the temple, should have the altars cleaned, varnish the roofs and wash the statues, and prepare a purple robe. The important points that appear from this inscription are—that the cult of the goddess was no private worship by courtesans, but a public affair presided over by the State, and, further, that the official title of the goddess was Pandemos. It appears also that there were not less than two statues, and doubtless among them were the two ancient ones of Aphrodite and Peitho seen by Pausanias.

The second inscription to be noted is of earlier date; its letters belong to the fourth century B.C. It is carved on a fragment of an architrave, and half at least is broken away. First comes a metrical dedication to the goddess, of which the half preserved runs thus:—

Τόνδε σοι ὦ μεγάλη σεμνὴ Πάνδημε Ἀφρ[οδίτη . . .
("Aphrodite Pandemos, to thee, holy and great . . . ").

Beneath, in smaller letters, comes the list, also incomplete, of the dedicators—"Archinos, son of Alupetos of Skambon; Menekretaia, wife of Dexikrates, daughter of Ikarieus, priestess of (Aphrodite Pandemos)."

Here it is noticeable again that Pandemos appears as the official title of a goddess—"holy and great;" and, moreover, contrary to all expectation, her priestess is not a courtesan, but a free-woman, and lawfully married.

Whatever it pleased poet and philosopher to say of the contrast between the Earthly and the Heavenly Love, Pandemos and Ourania, the State did to both alike the same honour (*κατὰ τὰ πάτρια*). Pandemos has probably nothing at all to do with "all the people;" she is neither the goddess of the *συνοικία* nor yet of the courtesan, but far more probably, as has been more than once conjectured, a form of Pandia.

Nevertheless, there is little doubt that by the fourth century B.C. poet and philosopher had influenced the artist's conception of Aphrodite Pandemos. How she was figured in the images seen by Pausanias it is impossible to say, but how Scopas thought of her is well known. A reminiscence of his agalma is preserved on a coin of Severus.[94] The agalma was set up in a temenos not far from the agora of Elis. Aphrodite Pandemos rode on a brazen he-goat (fig. 49), and in her tempestuous passage she contrasts strangely with the figure of Aphrodite Ourania, whom we have before seen sedately seated on the swan; and yet, for all

that, Aphrodite Pandemos had something too about her, as Ourania had, of the character of an ancient Fate. She was near akin to Themis, with whom she was worshipped.

FIG. 49.—COIN : APHRODITE PANDEMOS.

That the worship of Aphrodite Pandemos was a regular State cult, and highly respectable, may be taken as certain ; and further, combining the evidence of Apollodorus and the inscriptions, her temple may be safely placed somewhere near the place where it is marked on the map. But a further question remains not so easily solved. In the prologue of the *Hippolytus*,[95] Euripides makes Aphrodite speak as follows :—"And before yet she (Phaedra) came to this Troezenian land, by the very rock of Pallas she consecrated a temple in sight of this land, for she loved a stranger love, and she gave to the goddess there set up the name henceforth of ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ" (*i.e.*, the image dedicated with regard to Hippolytus). It matters little that Pausanias directly contradicts one point in the version ; he says—"Here" (*i.e.*, at Troezene) "it was that Phaedra first saw Hippolytus." It was quite natural that Athens and Troezene should both claim the dismal privilege of the fateful meeting. Far more important is it that Euripides distinctly states that at Athens there was a temple to Aphrodite under a title aimed at Hippolytus, and that this temple looked towards Troezene "κατόψιον γῆς τῆσδε." It does not seem to me necessary that we should hunt for a spot on the side of the Acropolis from which Troezene was actually visible, but in a general way the temple must have looked in that direction. Now we already have a temple of Aphrodite Pandemos in the desired situation ; was there a second temple of Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ, or were the two identical? The account of Euripides is confirmed — though confirmation is scarcely needed—by an inscription, which, though mutilated, can be restored with certainty—

ΙΛΕΞΕ
ΟΙΥΤΟ

which can scarcely be other than

[Ἀφροδ]ίτης ἐ
[πὶ Ἱππ]ολύτῳ

and which shows, of course, that the title ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ was official.

Up to the discovery of the Pandemos inscriptions it was usual to get out of the difficulty by supposing that the two temples were one and the same, but ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ was the official title, Pandemos a merely popular name. Since the discovery of the inscriptions this view is no longer possible; both are clearly shown to be official titles, and it is not usual for a temple to be officially described in two different ways. Pausanias mentions no temple of Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ; he saw, however, a monument (μνῆμα) to Hippolytus. It seems to me possible that the solution of the difficulty may be this—There was from very early times a temple of Pandemos (περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγόραν). When the Troezenian cults came over, a monument was erected to Hippolytus near the Aphrodite temple, and a little subsidiary temple within the precinct of Hippolytus to Aphrodite ἐφ' Ἱππολύτῳ.

Quite near at hand must have been the sanctuary of Ge Kourotrophos and Demeter Chloe. Earth the nourisher, and Demeter of the green grass or corn, are divinities too near akin for their conjunction to need explanation. The account of Pausanias clearly shows that the sanctuary was close upon the Propylaea; it is absolutely the last place he mentions before entering. Other evidence is not wanting. In the *Lysistrata*[97] of Aristophanes, when the women are within the citadel, Lysistrata cries out that she sees a man approaching, and when the women ask where he is, she says, "Near the shrine of Chloe (παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης)," and immediately Myrrhina recognises him as her husband Cinesius, so he cannot have been far off. The scholiast on the passage remarks on Chloe, "a title for Demeter." Possibly the two women earth-goddesses here worshipped may be early forms of the two who, in popular Olympian mythology, figured as mother and daughter—Demeter and Persephone—and were afterwards fused with these. The worship of Ge Kourotrophos went on also actually upon the Acropolis, as will be seen. It was supposed to be of great antiquity—*i.e.*, in mythological parlance, its foundation was attributed to King Erichthonios. Suidas,[98] commenting on the name, says—"They say that Erichthonios first sacrificed to her (*i.e.*, Ge Kourotrophos), and set up an altar, giving thanks to Ge for her nurture; and he made the custom, that if any one were sacrificing to any god he should offer a preliminary sacrifice to her." The

cult was nowise confined to Attica. As far off as Dodona,[99] the ancient priestesses, the Peleades, according to Phocian tradition, first chanted the ritual hymn—

> "Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be; O great Zeus.
> Earth sends up fruits; then call ye Earth the Mother."

As to Demeter Chloe (Demeter of the Green Herb) the scholiast[100] on the *Œdipus at Colonos* says—"There is a sanctuary of Demeter Euchlous near (πρός) the Acropolis;" and Eupolis in the *Marika* says, "I am going straight to the Acropolis, for I must sacrifice a ram to Demeter Chloe." A temple and a priestess of Demeter Chloe only are mentioned in inscriptions, so it seems very possible that she was, at least in later days, the principal figure in the precinct, while Ge had only an altar in the open air. An inscription found (according to Pittakis) in a Turkish tower near to the temple of Nike records the dedication to the people of an entrance to a common sekos of Kourotrophos and a mysterious goddess Blaute[101]—εἴσοδος πρὸς σηκὸν Βλαύτης καὶ Κουροτρόφου ἀνει[μέν]η τῷ δήμῳ.

NOTES TO DIVISION C

1. Theophr., Char. xxv.
2. Iliad, xxiii. 702.
3. To graeske Vaser i. Antik-Kabinettet i. Kjöbenhavn. J. L. Ussing, 1866.
4. Plut., Them. 5.
5. Plut., Arist. 1.
6. Harpocration, *sub voc.* Choragos.
7. Theocr., Epigr. xii.
8. Athenaeus, xii. 60.
9. Worters, A. Z., 1885, p. 82; Athenaeus, xiii. 59; Berlin. Gipsabgüsse, Friedrich, 1217.
10. For the letter of Babin quoted in full, see Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, p. 745.
11. Stuart and Revett, vol. i. c. iv.
12. The notice of Transfeldt is from Murray's Guide to Athens, p. 342, note 1.
13. Hom. Hymn, vi.; translated by A. Lang in the Magazine of Art, July 1886. Mr. Lang takes the of course mistaken view, that the vase is an illustration of the Homeric hymn. The vase is not now, and never was, "in the Berlin Museum;" it is at Munich (Cat., No. 339), and was published and rightly understood by Gerhard, A. V. pl. xlix., from which the plate in the Magazine of Art is taken.
14. Apollod., iii. 5, 3; Hygin., Poet. Astron. ii. 17; Ovid, Metamorph. iii. 582; Nonnus, Dionys. xlv. 105; Philostrat., Icon. i. 19.
15. Philostrat., Vit. Soph. i. p. 227; Aristid., Orat. Smyrn. p. 373.
16. Panofka, Vasi di premio, iv. *b.*
17. Andok., de Myst. 38 — *εἶναι δὲ πανσέληνον. ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προπύλαιον τοῦ Διονύσου ἦν ὁρᾶν ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾠδείου καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν. δείσας δὲ αὐτοὺς εἰσελθὼν ὑπὸ τὴν σκιὰν καθέζεσθαι μεταξὺ τοῦ κίονος καὶ τῆς στήλης ἐφ' ᾗ ὁ στρατηγός ἐστιν ὁ χαλκοῦς.* Aristides, ii. p. 216; Schol. *ad loc.*
18. P., i. 28, 8.
19. Iliad, vi. 130.
20. Aristoph., Thesm. 133.
21. See for Lycurgus monuments, Michaelis, Ann. Inst., 1872, p. 248; Millingen, Peint. Vases; Tav. 1 and 2, Annali Inst., 1874, Tav. d'agg R.
22. Plut., Pericles, xiii. 60.
23. Hesychius, *sub voc.* Schol. ad Vespas, 1109 — *οἱ δ' ἐν ᾠδείῳ. ἔστι τόπος θεατροειδὴς ἐν ᾧ εἰώθασι τὰ ποιήματα ἀπαγγέλλειν πρὶν τῆς εἰς τὸ θέατρον ἀπαγγελιάς. τοῦτο δέ φησι δεικνὺς ὅτι εἰς πάντα τόπον εὑρήσει τις δικαστὰς ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.* Dem. c. Naer. 1362.
24. Appian, Bell. Mith. p. 189.
25. Vitruvius, v. 9, 1 — Post scae-

nam porticus sunt constituendae uti sunt porticus Pompeianae itemque Athenis porticus Eumeniae, Patrisque Liberi fanum, et exeuntibus e theatro sinistra parte, odeum quod Themistocles (*i.e.* Pericles) columnis lapideis dispositis navium malis et antennis et spoliis Persiis pertexit.

26. Andok., de Myst., i. 38—*ἐπεὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ προπύλαιον τοῦ Διονύσου ἦν ὁρᾶν ἀνθρώπους πολλοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ ᾠδείου καταβαίνοντας εἰς τὴν ὀρχήστραν*; and see Dörpfeld's letter in Hermann's Lehrbuch der Gr. Ant. iii. 2, Nachträge 415.
27. Xen., Hell. ii. 4, 9, and 24. For the Odeion, see Bötticher, Phil. xxii. s. 76; and Tuckermann, Odeum, s. 2.
28. P., vii. 20, 3.
29. W. Dörpfeld, Die Stoa des Eumenes, Mitt. xiii., 1888, p. 100.
30. Loewy, Bildhauer, 108.
31. P., v. 12, 4.
32. Helbig, Wandgemälde, 1154; Museo Borbonico, vi. 13 and 14.
33. For the Thrasyllus monument, see Stuart, ii. c. 24, and C. I. A., ii. 2, 1247, 1292, and 1293. I verified the site and condition of the inscriptions in April 1888. The most recent account of the Thrasyllus monument, read just as my book was going to press, is by Dr. Emil Reisch in the Mittheilungen (Athens), vol. xiii. p. 383, Taf. viii.
34. The sketch was made for me by Mr. D. S. MacColl in the spring of 1888, and was reproduced on the block for printing before the photographic facsimile appeared in Dr. Emil Reisch's paper (Mitt. xiii. p. 401). I am glad to find that they coincide almost exactly. The sketch (in this respect more likely to be faithful) preserves more of the K (first letter, third line) and loses a portion of the Δ that follows. It also loses the slight curve of the third line, but in all essential matters is faithful.
35. Quoted by Wachsmuth, Stadt Athen, p. 734—*ἐστι δὲ καὶ ὡρολόγιον τῆς ἡμέρας μαρμαρίτικον.*
36. Suidas, *sub voc.* Pratinas—*ἀντηγωνίζετο δὲ Αἰσχύλῳ τε καὶ Χορίλῳ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος, καὶ πρῶτος ἔγραψε Σατύρους, ἐπιδεικνυμένου δὲ τούτου συνέβη τὰ ἱκρία ἐφ' ὧν ἐστήκεσαν οἱ θεαταὶ πεσεῖν, καὶ ἐκ τούτου θέατρον ᾠκοδομήθη Ἀθηναίοις.* For inscriptions and references to fourth century additions, see J. Wheeler, Papers of American School, i., 1885, pp. 125-126, notes. The whole account is the best existing in English, but it does not contain Dr. Dörpfeld's latest discoveries.
37. All the inscriptions are given in facsimile, C. I. A., iii. 240 *seq.*
38. Ælian, Var. Hist. ii. 28.
39. C. I. A., iii. 239. For the question of the identity of this Phaedrus and the Phaedrus of the sun-dial of the British Museum, see Vischer, Neues Schweizerisches Museum, 1863, iii. p. 70.
40. For evidence on this point, see Julius, Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst, xiii. p. 239.
41. Annali, 1870, p. 97; Mon., 1870, Tav. xvi.
42. Plut., De Cupid. Divit. p. 527.
43. Wiener Vorleseblätter, Series E, Taf. 7, 8.
44. Hell. Journal, vol. i. p. 202, pl. iii.
45. Euanthius, De Tragoed. et Com. p. 4; 13, Reiff—comoedia fere vetus ut ipsa quoque tragoedia simplex carmen quem ad modum tam diximus fuit, quod chorus circa aras fumantes nunc spatiatus, nunc consistens, nunc revolvens gyros, cum tibicine concinebat.

46. Max. Tyr., Dissert. 37, p. 205, Reiske—Ἀθηναίοις δὲ ἡ μὲν παλαία μοῦσα χόροι παίδων ἦσαν καὶ ἀνδρῶν γῆς ἐργάται κανὰ δήμους ἱστάμενοι, ἄρτι ἀμήτου καὶ ἀρότου κεκοιμένοι.
47. W. Dörpfeld, in a letter published in Hermann's Lehrbuch der Griechischen Antiquitäten, iii. 2, Nachträge 415.
48. For Asklepieion, P. Girard, L'Asklépieion d'Athènes, 1881.
49. The sketch of the well, which could not be photographed, was made for me by Mr. D. S. MacColl.
50. Marinus V. Procli., xxix.—καὶ εἶχεν ἔτι (ἡ πόλις) ἀπόρθητον τὸ τοῦ Σωτῆρος ἱερὸν. . . . γείτονα μὲν οὖσαν τοῦ ἀπὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐπιφανοῦς Ἀσκληπιείου καὶ τοῦ πρὸς τῷ θεάτρῳ Διονυσίου.
51. Theophr., Char. xxi.
52. Æschin. c. Ctes. 67.
53. Xen., Mem. iii. 13, 3.
54. Aristoph., Plutus, 659.
55. Strabo, xiv. 44.
56. P., i. 34, 5.
57. P., ii. 10, 2.
58. P., ii. 13, 7.
59. P., ix. 39, 5.
60. P., x. 33, 11.
61. Herodot., i. 46.
62. Inscription, Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ., 1883, p. 199.
63. See throughout, Wilamowitz Moellendorf, Isyllus von Epidaurus, p. 45.
64. Schol. Eustathius, Iliad, xi. 575.
65. P., ii. 11, 5.
66. Pindar, Pyth. iii., trans. by E. Myers.
67. P., ii. 26 and 27.
68. Iliad, iv. 193, 194.
69. Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ., 1885, p. 64.
70. Wilamowitz Moellendorf, Isyllus von Epidaurus. The view of Asklepios in the text is taken mainly from this brilliant work.
71. P., viii. 4, 2.
72. Hermippus in Schol. Arist. Plut., 701—Ἰασὼ μὲν τίς; Οὐκ ἐῴκει, διότι προσῆκε τῷ Ἀσκληπιῷ ἡ Ἰασὼ παρὰ τὴν ἴασιν ὠνομασμένη. ἀλλὰ καὶ θυγατέρα τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου αὐτὴν εἶπεν ἐν ἐκείνοις.

ἀλλ' ὦ θύγατερ, ἔλεξ', Ἰασοῖ, πρευμένης.

εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν Ἰασὼ Ἀσκληπιοῦ θυγατέρα, ὥσπερ καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου ἄξιον ἀπορεῖν. ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ [πρώτῳ] ἰάμβῳ τῶν τριμέτρων. Ἀσκληπιοῦ καὶ Λαμπετίας τῆς Ἡλίου λέγει Μαχάονα καὶ Ποδαλείριον καὶ Ἰασὼ καὶ Πανακείαν καὶ Αἴγλην νεωτάτην. ἔνιοι δὲ προστιθέασιν Ἰανισκὼν καὶ Ἀλεξηνόρα—ἐστι δὲ καὶ Ἀμφιαράου θυγάτηρ Ἰασώ.

73. Ap. Rhod., iv. 1694-1730.
74. Mitt. ii. 249.
75. P., vii. 23, 8.
76. Isyllus von Epidaurus, p. 11—

Πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα
βωμὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἠγλάϊσεν τέμενος
οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης
εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ εἰ μὴ ἀφ' ἁγνοῦ
πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.

77. Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ., 1885, p. 88.
78. P., ii. 11, 6.
79. P., ii. 27, 2.
80. Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ., 1885, p. 228.
81. Reinach, Rev. Arch., 1884, p. 129—"Les Chiens dans le Culte d'Æsculape."
82. Amphiaraos Oropos relief, Amer. Journ. Arch., March 1888, p. 56.
83. Bergk, P. L. G. iii. 1250—

μετὰ σεῖο μάκαιρ' Ὑγίεια
τέθαλε πάντα καὶ λάμπει χαρίτων ἔαρι.

84. Text of the stelai is given with commentary, Reinach, L'Épigraphie Grecque, p. 79; and Revue Archéologique, 1885, ii. p. 265.

85. Philostrat. de Vita Ap. i. 9 — *ἠμελεῖτο δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ 'Ασκληπιοῦ διὰ ταῦτα καὶ οὐδ' ὄναρ αὐτῷ ἐφοίτα.*
86. Strabo, 649.
87. The scientific aspect of the cures of Asklepios is fully discussed in "La Médecine Sacerdotale dans l'Antiquité Grecque," Dr. Vercoutre, Rev. Arch., 1885, p. 273, who cites many of these cures from Artemidorus, Ælian, Mercurialis, and others.
88. The cure inscription of M. Julius Apellas, *Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ.*, 1883, 27. Commentary, Isyllus of Epidaurus, p. 116.
89. Theognis, 432.
90. Plato, Rep. iii. 404, 405.
91. P., ii. 27, 4, 5, and 6.
92. *Πάνδημος Ἀφροδίτη — Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν Πάνδημόν φησιν Ἀθήνησι κληθῆναι τὴν ἀφιδροθεῖσαν περὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγορὰν διὰ τό, κ.τ.λ.*
93. Bull. Corr. Hell., Foucart, 1889, i. and ii. p. 156; and Dörpfeld, Mitt., 1889.
94. P., vi. 25, 1.
95. Eurip., Hipp. 30-35.
96. C. I. A., i. 212.
97. Aristoph., Lys. 829, Schol. *in loc.* *Χλόη. ἡ Δήμητηρ ἐπιθετικῶς.*
98. Suidas, *sub voc.* *Κουρότροφος — Κουρότροφος Γῆ. ταὐτῇ δὲ θῦσαι φασὶ τὸ πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν Ἀκροπόλει· καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδίδοντα τῇ Γῇ τῶν τροφείων. καταστῆσαι δὲ νόμιμον τοὺς θύοντας τινὶ θεῷ ταὐτῇ προθύειν.*
99. P., x. 12, 10.
100. Schol. on Soph., Œd. Col. 1600 — *Εὐχλόου Δήμητρος ἱερόν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ Ἀκροπόλει· καὶ Εὔπολις Μαρικᾷ. Ἀλλ' ἐυθὺ Πόλεως εἶμι. θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ κριὸν Χλόῃ Δήμητρι.*
101. C. I. A., 375, line 6; C. I. A., ii. 631, line 16; C. I. A., iii. 411.

DIVISION D

THE ACROPOLIS, FROM THE PROPYLAEA TO THE STATUE OF ATHENE LEMNIA (C. XXII. 4 TO C. XXVIII. 2).

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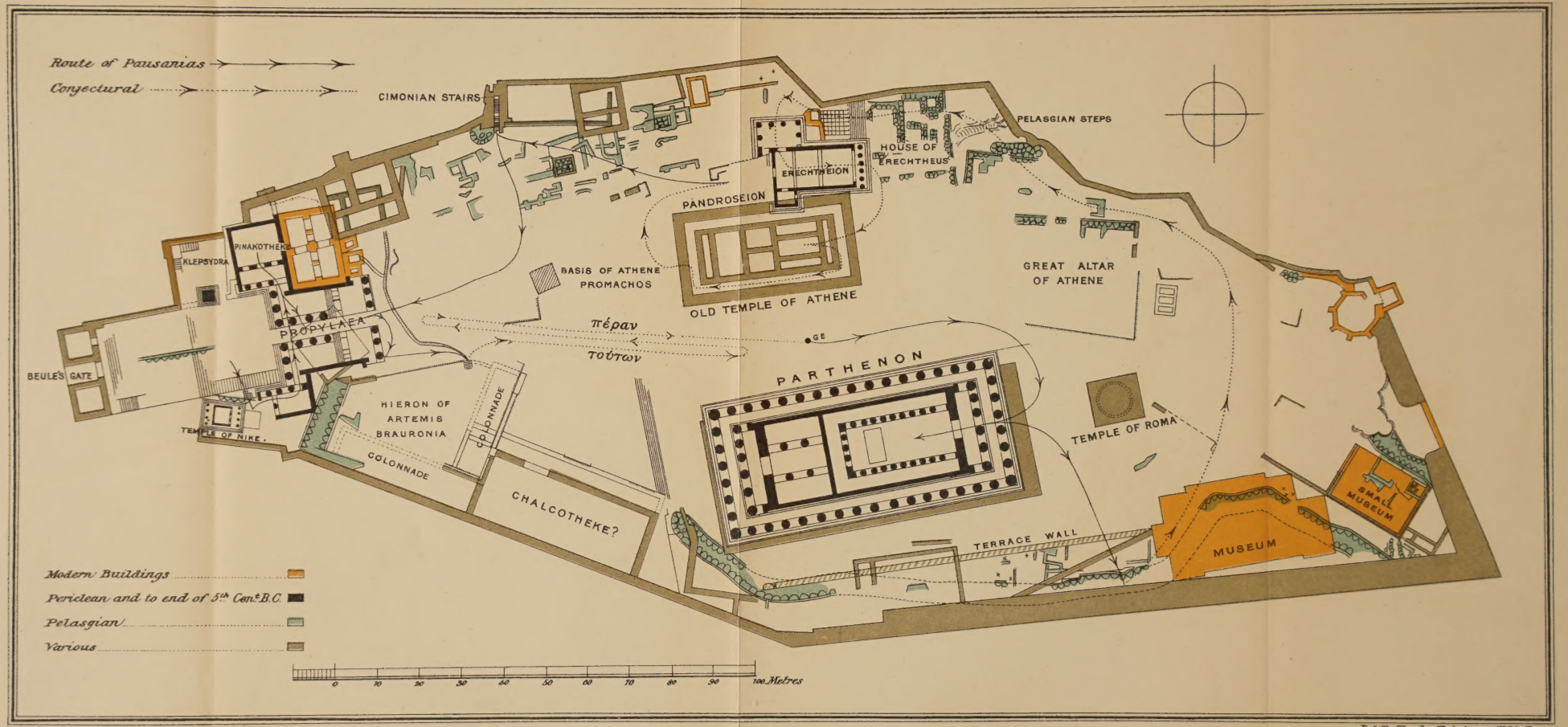
PLAN OF THE ACROPOLIS AFTER THE EXCAVATIONS 1885 – 1889



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SECTION XIV

THE PROPYLAEA

TEXT, i. 22, §§ 4, 5, 6, 7.

i. 22, 4. THERE is only one access to the Acropolis; no other is practicable, as the hill rises abruptly on all sides, and is fortified with a strong wall. The Propylaea has a roof of white marble, and the size and beauty of the blocks were remarkable even when I saw it. I cannot say with certainty whether the figures of horsemen represent the sons of Xenophon, or are merely decorative in character.

On the right of the Propylaea is the temple of Nike Apteros. From this place the sea is visible; indeed, it was here, according to tradition, that Ægeus leapt over the pre-

i. 22, 5. cipice and was slain. The ship that carried the young men and maidens to Crete had black sails; but when Theseus sailed on his bold venture against the bull called the Minotaur, he promised his father that he would use white sails if he prevailed over the bull and returned home. But after the loss of Ariadne he forgot his promise. Thereupon Ægeus, when he saw the ship returning home with black sails, supposed that his son had been slain, and throwing himself over the cliff, was killed. His monument at Athens is called the Heröon of Ægeus.

i. 22, 6. On the left of the Propylaea is a building with paintings. Among those that time had not completely effaced were Diomedes carrying off the statue of Athena from Ilion, and Odysseus at Lemnos taking the bow of Philoctetes. Among the paintings is also represented the slaying of Ægisthus by Orestes, while Pylades is killing the sons of Nauplios, who had come to the assistance of Ægisthus. There is also a picture of Polyxena on the point of being sacrificed beside the tomb of Achilles. Homer did well in omitting this barbarous deed, and he was also right, I think, in making

Skyros captured by Achilles, and so entirely differing from those who tell of the stay of Achilles among the maidens at Skyros. It is this latter version that Polygnotus has represented. Polygnotus has also painted Odysseus approaching the maidens, who, with Nausikaa, are washing the linen beside the river; and in this he has followed Homer's story.

i. 22, 7. There are other pictures, among them a portrait of Alcibiades with the trophies of his victory in the horse-race at Nemea. There is also Perseus, on his return to Seriphos, bringing the head of Medusa to Polydectes. The story of Medusa I do not propose to tell in this book. Passing over the picture of the boy carrying the water-jars, and the wrestler by Timainetos, there is a portrait of Musaeus. I have read a poem in which it is related that Musaeus received from Boreas the power of flying, but I believe the poem to have been the work of Onomakritos, and that nothing except the hymn to Demeter for the Lykomidae can be with certainty ascribed to Musaeus.

Commentary on i. 22, §§ 4, 5, 6, 7.

Before passing with Pausanias through the Propylaea it will be necessary to note briefly two monuments—

1. Beulé's Gate.
2. The monument of Agrippa.

Beulé's Gate was probably not built in the days of Pausanias. The monument of Agrippa had of course been erected long before.

Owing to the Turkish fortifications it is quite impossible now to follow accurately in the track of Pausanias. After taking the path which skirts the top seats of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus we are brought up short by a wall, and obliged to enter the Acropolis through the modern gate to the south. Beulé's Gate itself can be reached by the regular carriage road, but it is rarely open.

Beulé, from whom it takes its name, discovered it in 1852 built into a bastion.[1] He at once saw that it was largely made up of ancient building materials, blocks from a marble architrave, fragments of poros triglyphs brilliantly coloured, and pieces of a marble cornice; from this diversity of material he was led to suppose that several old buildings had been used up. Besides the bastion fragments there are others, also of poros and marble, lying about in the neighbourhood to the west of the gate, in the space between it and the Nike bastion, in the courtyard of the

modern entrance, and also some actually built into the Acropolis wall at the south-western corner of the Nike bastion. All these fragments, whether found in or around the bastion, marble and poros alike, Dr. Dörpfeld[2] has recently shown, belong to one and the same ancient building, the choragic monument of Nikias.

As this monument can be dated, by its inscription, to the exact year (320-319 B.C.), it is of great importance. Dr. Dörpfeld's restoration of the façade is given below (fig. 1). The monument had the form of a small Doric façade, with six front columns and a low pediment. When Beulé first discovered the gate, fragments of the triglyphs, he states, still retained brilliant colouring, blue and red. Enough still remains to show that his statement was correct; and as no trace of colour is discoverable on the other architectural fragments, this is strong additional evidence for the theory now gaining ground, that the triglyphs, and they only, were

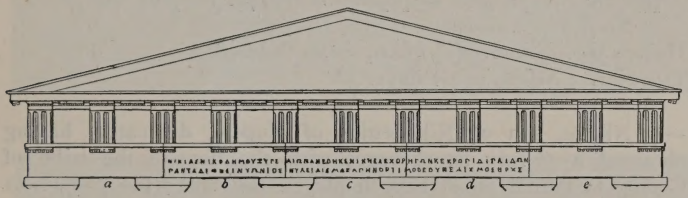


FIG. 1.—FAÇADE: NIKIAS MONUMENT.

painted all over. Hence the use of a cheaper material (poros) by the economical architect. The monument was probably not free, but engaged in the rock behind, like the Thrasyllus monument. Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that it stood on the southern slope of the Acropolis, on the spot marked N in the plan (p. 296), almost due south of the southern wing of the Propylaea. The importance of this theory as to the site will be noted in connection with the question of the date of Beulé's Gate.

The monument of Nikias, compared with our two other choragic monuments, is considerably later than that of Lysikrates (334 B.C.), and exactly contemporary with that of Thrasyllus (320 B.C.), to which it presents marked analogies. It is specially noticeable that the Nikias monument, with its front of six Doric columns, seems modelled on the central hall of the Propylaea, while the Thrasyllus monument is modelled after the southern wing of the Propylaea; the front consists in both of two broad corner pillars, with between them a slim centre pillar, both having an uninterrupted

row of guttae on their architrave and both lacking the triglyph frieze. It may be worth noting that, apart from the evidence of the inscription, the Nikias monument would still be dated no later than the Parthenon. The architrave and triglyph frieze are in buildings of the fifth century—*e.g.*, Ægina temple, Parthenon, "Theseion," Propylaea—almost identical in height, whereas the constant tendency of the fourth century was to diminish the architrave. In the case of the Nikias monument the height of the architrave is 0·565^{m}, the triglyph frieze 0·681^{m}.

A good deal of the inscription can still be seen over the second wall of the door—*i.e.*, that which lies innermost. It is quite possible from the inside to climb up above the inscription and get close to it, but the view from below is on the whole better and much safer. The inscription[3] runs as follows:—

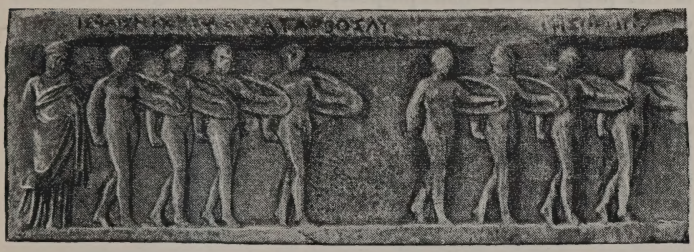
Νι[κ]ί[α]ς Νι[κ]οδήμου Ξυ[π]εταιὼν ἀνέθηκε νικήσας χορηγῶν
Κεκροπίδι παίδων
Πα]νταλέων Σικυώνιο[ς] ηὔλει, ᾆσμα Ἐλπήνωρ
Τιμοθέου. Νε[άρχ]μ[ο]ς ἦρχεν

—("Nikias, son of Nikodemos of Xupete, dedicated, having obtained a victory as choregos with the boys of the tribe of Cecropis; Pantaleon of Sikyon played the flute; the piece was the *Elpenor* of Timotheos. Nearchmos was archon").

The name of Nikias recalls the memory of the pious contemporary of Alcibiades, and, oddly enough, it is known from Plutarch that he did set up, not only a Palladion on the Acropolis, but a shrine, which was very probably a choragic monument, within the precinct of Dionysos. This must not of course for a moment be compared with our monument by a younger Nikias. The archonship of Nearchmos fixes the year (320-319 B.C.); in this same year Thrasyllus, it will be remembered, gained the victory with the chorus of men. A quite unusual element in the inscription is the mention of the song or piece (ᾆσμα); the song is mentioned, and the chorodidaskalos, who was at once the composer and trainer, and who usually appears on this sort of inscription, is omitted. Dr. Köhler concludes that we have here an instance of a custom known to exist, the revival of an old piece of special popularity. Timotheos was a noted dithyrambic poet of the fourth century, who died in 340 B.C. As he was unable to act as chorodidaskalos at the revival of his own piece in 320-319, no name is given.

While M. Beulé was pulling down the bastion that masked his gate he came upon another interesting monument of dance and song, an inscribed bas-relief representing a Pyrrhic dance. Two fragments were built, not into the gate, but into the bastion, and are now (1888) in the first right-hand room of the Acropolis Museum. The bas-relief (fig. 2) commemorates a Pyrrhic victory. Two groups of four dancing boys are represented; they are naked, and carry each a shield. To the left are again two groups, each of

(*a*)



(*b*)

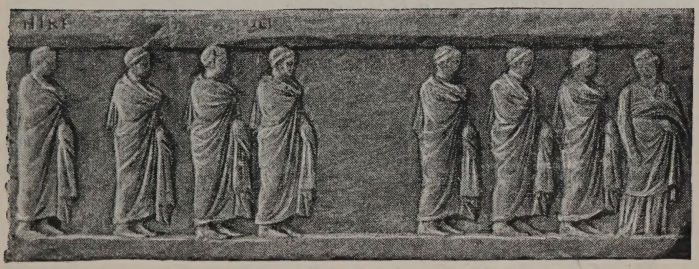


FIG. 2.—RELIEF: (*a*) PYRRHIC DANCE; (*b*) SPECTATORS (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

four spectators; one group of spectators consists of four magistrates, the other of three magistrates and a woman figure, possibly Athene. Above, on a narrow cornice, runs the inscription,[4] which may be dated about 360-300 B.C.; what remains of it is seen in the plate. The first sentence may be safely restored—

[Πυρριχ]ισταῖς νικήσασιν Ἀτάρβος

—("Atarbos dedicated this to the victorious Pyrrhicists"). From another inscription it is known that the prize to the victors was

an ox. The Pyrrhic dance, being warlike in character, was associated with Athene, and was danced at the Panathenaia. Lucian makes Athene dance the Pyrrhic the moment she is born. Athenaeus[5] says that in his days the Pyrrhic was preserved at Sparta only; elsewhere it had turned into a sort of Dionysiac dance, with the thyrsus, the narthex, and the torch in place of the spear.

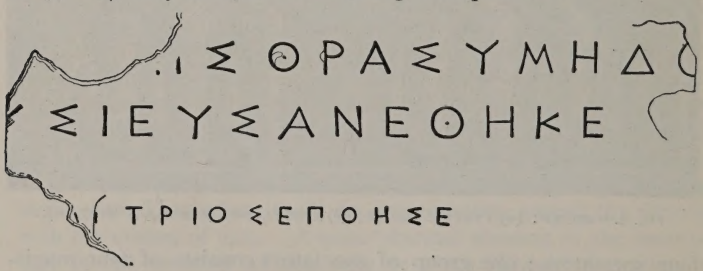
From the actual gate itself, made up of fragments as it is, we only gather that it must have been built long after 320-319 B.C. The side towers give a nearer clue; they are made of blocks prepared for that purpose, and laid in regular courses; each stone has been marked with a letter according to the course it is to occupy. From these stone-masons' marks it seems probable that the building dates from early imperial times. The marks can easily be seen in the right-hand tower (as you approach the gate from outside). The other tower is at present closed, so I have not been able to examine it. The letters most clearly to be seen are, counting downwards, Z on successive courses.

H

O

It may safely be concluded that the towers ran five courses above these letters—*i.e.*, α β γ δ ε.

In the same tower, but built into the inner wall (nearest the Propylaea), may be read the following inscription:—[6]



[. . . η]ς Θρασυμήδο[υς | Λο]υσιεὺς ἀνέθηκε [Δημή |] τριος ἐπόησε.

—(" . . . es, son of Thrasymedes, of Lousia, dedicated it; Demetrios made it").

The stone formed the basis of a statue, of which foot-marks remain. It was by Demetrios, an Athenian sculptor of the first half of the fourth century B.C.—a man whose work was so remark-

able that we may well cherish reverently every signature he has left us. One of his statues Pausanias saw on the Acropolis.

So far the fragments, sculptures, and inscriptions only go to prove that nothing that has been built into the gate shows it to have been later than early imperial times; it remains to see if it can be dated more precisely. This question is closely bound up, as will be seen, with the fuller question where the monument originally stood. Dr. Dörpfeld's reasons for placing it at N (*vide* plan, p. 296), are these—Foundations there exist shaped ⌐⌐. These remains can clearly be seen to the right hand in the view

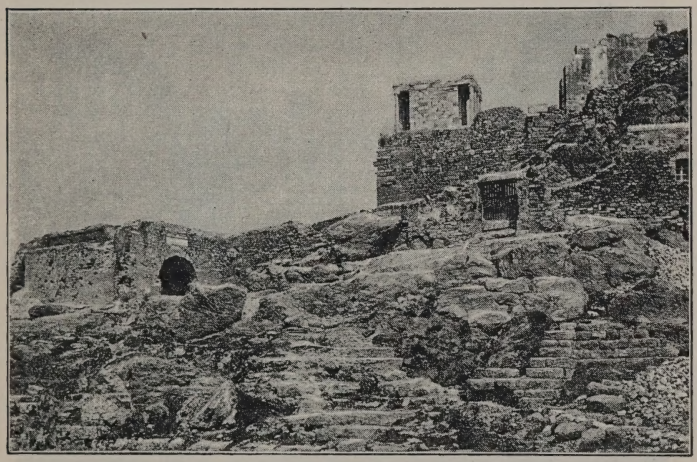


FIG. 3.—SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF ACROPOLIS (1889), SHOWING TURKISH WALLS AND (RIGHT-HAND BOTTOM CORNER) FOUNDATIONS OF NIKIAS MONUMENT.

given in fig. 3. Part of them has been evidently broken away, and the original shape was probably ⌐⌐⌐. This gives a façade building such as is wanted by the architectural fragments, and analogous to the Thrasyllus monument, only having two sides as well as front façades. Further, the foundations, being very strongly built, presuppose that they supported, not a solid wall, but columns approached by steps. Moreover, the material employed (conglomerate) is that in use from the fourth to the second century B.C., so that it would agree with the date of the Nikias monument (319 B.C.). Suppose, then, that the Nikias monument stood on these foundations, when was it pulled down? Presumably to

make room for the alteration on the road, necessitated by the building of the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. It is evident to any one examining the site that the road had been turned out of its way to suit the theatre; probably in the days of Pausanias the old road ran right through the space now occupied by it. Given, then, that the monument was pulled down when the theatre was built, it yet does not follow that its fragments were immediately used up for building Beulé's gate. There seems, however, a high probability that this was the case. By the building of his theatre the highly favoured

FIG. 4.—GENERAL VIEW OF PROPYLAEA.

Herodes was allowed, it seems, to make a breach in the outermost circuit of the ancient Pelasgikon. He thereby weakened the fortifications, and to make up for this the inner line of wall may have been strengthened by Beulé's Gate. Down to the days of Herodes, at least, the Acropolis was citadel as well as sanctuary.

The monument of Agrippa is passed over by Pausanias in complete silence. As before stated, Pausanias, probably owing to the date of the authorities by whose help he worked up his notes, is for the most part silent about all monuments set up in the first century before and after Christ. No one going up to the

Propylaea could well pass the monument unseen. It appears on the left hand in the general view given in fig. 4. The pedestal is in itself a stately monument, impressive in its plainness—a fitting symbol of the man whose steadfast valour raised the empire to its great height. I have not been to the top of the pedestal, but it is said that marks still visible on the top slab show that it supported a chariot and horses. It would have been pleasant to picture Agrippa standing on the prow of his ship at Actium—

> "Arduus agmen agens, cui belli insigne superbum,
> Tempora navali fulgent rostrata corona."

But for the Athenians this would have no special significance. Athens knew him as her benefactor. The inscription[7] on the basis runs thus :—

[Ὁ δῆ]μος
Μ[ᾶρκον] Ἀγρίππα[ν]
Λε[υκίου] υἱὸν
Τρὶς ὕ[πατ]ον τὸν [ἐ]α[υτ]οῦ
εὐ[ερ]γέτη[ν].

—("The people [set up] Marcus Agrippa, son of Lucius, thrice consul, their own benefactor"). His third consulship fell in 27 B.C. The only building of his at Athens that tradition tells of[8] is a theatre on the Kerameikos, known as the Agrippeion.

It is worth noting, and can be seen distinctly on the plan (fig. 5), that the Agrippa monument does not look direct upon the flight of marble steps approaching the Propylaea. These steps are not only not of Periclean, but not even of very early Roman date ; they were built soon after the monument was set up, and necessarily destroyed the old winding approach. It is probable, and, indeed, almost certain, that the original way wound up the rock instead of approaching directly ; one of the windings would be immediately faced by the statue of Agrippa. The orientation of its basis is nearly, though not quite, that of the temple of Nike.

Where the statues of horsemen stood is quite uncertain, possibly on either side of the approach to the Propylaea. Tradition[9] said that the two sons of Xenophon, Gryllus and Diodorus, were called the Dioscuri ; possibly, therefore, their two statues were conceived something after the fashion of the twin horsemen gods, and as the Dioscuri not unfrequently acted as gate-keepers, this may account for the uncertainty of Pausanias.

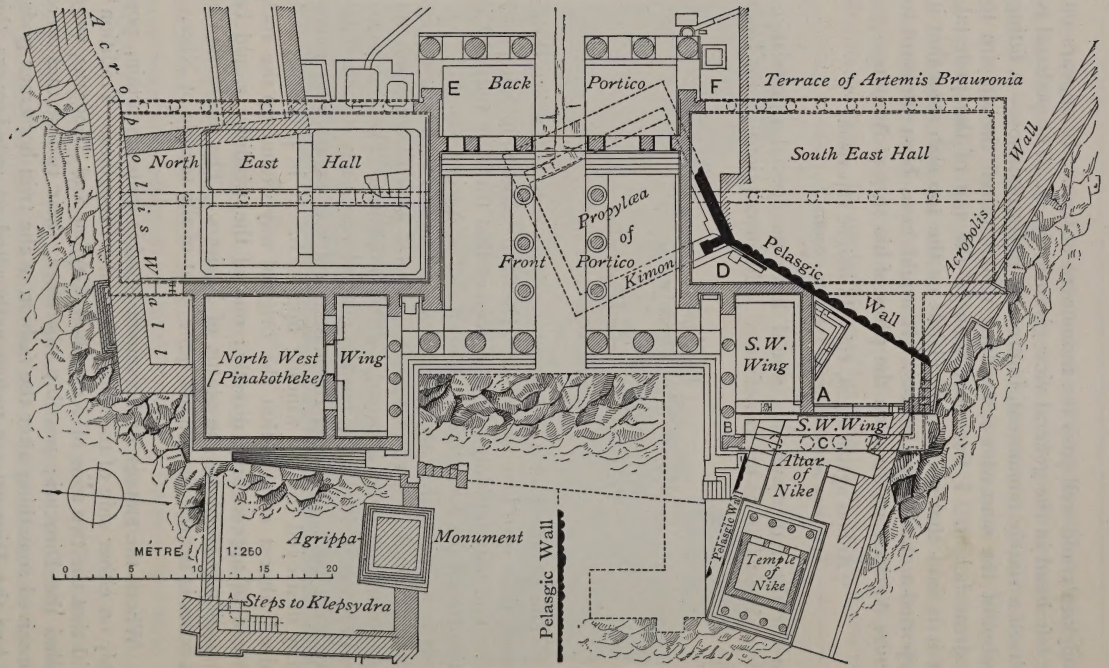


FIG. 5.—PLAN OF PROPYLAEA; THE DOTTED PORTIONS WERE PROJECTED ONLY.

The term "Propylaion" means simply "before the gates." Hermes of the Doorway went by the name of Hermes Propylaios. The plural, Propylaea,[10] means the whole complex of buildings — the gate itself, and the vestibules before and behind. Many other buildings besides the Acropolis had Propylaea—for instance, the temple of Demeter at Eleusis, and the Hieron of Asklepios at Epidaurus; but "*the* Propylaea," when mentioned without qualification, came to mean the great gateway of the Acropolis.

The idea of the Propylaea was not, of course, first struck out by Pericles. The western slope of the Acropolis, the only possible access, had always had a gate for defence. In prehistoric times the ridge between the Acropolis and the Areopagus was occupied by the great Pelasgian fortification, with its nine mighty gates, the Enneapylai. It was not till the Persians were gone and the country was at rest, not till the shrines of the gods on the Acropolis were at least in part rebuilt, that Pericles had time to think of the new Propylaea—this time for adornment rather than defence. The Acropolis henceforth was a precinct as well as a fortress. But meanwhile the Acropolis had not been left without an inner doorway, though it was one of a humbler sort. The remains of this doorway, built probably by Cimon, can still be made out in two places. To find these, it must distinctly be realised that the orientation of this early gate is quite different from that of the Propylaea—not due east, but north-east. It may be noted in passing that, with this orientation, the gateway, as seen in the plan, must have stood in very close relations to the Nike bastion, which commanded the approach. The Nike temple was of course not yet built, though, as will be seen later, there probably was a cult of Athene Nike even then in force; but the bastion was pre-eminently a fortification. The Propylaea of Pericles, with its orientation due east, was planned irrespective of the bastion, which, as a fortification, was no longer needed. The building of the showy little temple may have been felt to be a decorative necessity.

The remains of the old Cimonian gateway may be best seen as follows:—In the central doorway of the present Propylaea, on the steps that lead up to the door (fig. 5), the remains of the old steps are clearly to be made out; they lie slant-wise to the new steps, and face north-east. These old steps were of course covered up by the new ones of Pericles, but now, through the ruin of the new, the old have come to light. To see what

further remains of the Cimonian Gate, and especially its south-east anta, it is necessary now to go right through the Propylaea, then turn to the right and follow the south wall of the Propylaea till we are brought up short by a diagonal wall. This wall can be climbed over, and we are then inside the south-east corner of the old gate—a triangular space, almost completely shut in by the southern wall of the Propylaea. In front, as we stand looking south-west, is the one remaining anta of the old gate. Passing round this, we are outside the old gate, and to the left we come upon an obtuse angle (D) formed by the old Pelasgian fortification wall (seen in fig. 6) and the outer wall of the old

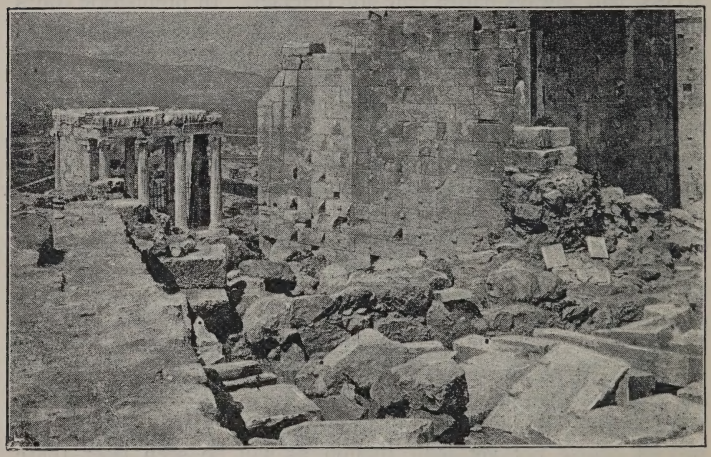


FIG. 6.—VIEW OF PELASGIAN WALL BEHIND PROPYLAEA.

gate. It is here best realised that the gate of Cimon was built in strict relation to the old Pelasgian wall. Within this angle, overgrown by grass and nettles, stands a basis (fig. 5, D) with the marks of three fastenings. Probably it supported either a tripod or the statue of some guardian god of the gate—it may be, Hermes Propylaios himself. This is all that is left. The rest of the old gateway was but too effectually cleared away by Pericles, who sacrificed all the older structures to his new Propylaea. It is only by chance that a few odd bits even of the old Pelasgian fortifications remain. Pericles was not the man to stay his hand because of the age or interest of a building, nor even because of its sanctity, except, as will be seen, when the power of the

priesthood interfered to protect the shrine of some ancient worship.

The Propylaea was begun in 437 B.C., the year after the consecration of the Parthenon, and finished in 432 B.C. The plan of Mnesikles the architect was very simple, and is still clear enough, though it was never fully carried out. The doorway of Cimon occupied, it has been seen, only a small bit of the western end of the Acropolis; the rest was no doubt taken up by the old Pelasgian walls. A small gateway is easier of defence than a great one; but, now that Themistocles had walled in the city itself, the architect had no longer to design the gateway of a fortress, but only to conceive a building that should be an impressive frontlet to the hill. Precisely in the middle of this western front the wall was pierced by five gates—one larger, two to either side smaller. To these gates ascends a flight of steps, and immediately outside them is a deep portico faced by six Doric columns supporting a plain pediment. The roof of this portico, whose ceiling moved Pausanias to admiration, is supported by six Ionic columns. The juxtaposition of the two orders is very pleasant; and nowhere better than here, where they stand so closely side by side, is the different character of their sharp and blunt fluting seen. To the west (inside) the gateway is faced by a narrow portico, again with six Doric columns. So much—*i.e.*, all the essential Propylaion was carried out, and still remains as Mnesikles conceived it. But with the large space at his command he saw his way to various splendid adjuncts; to either side, north and south, he planned a great, colonnaded hall opening on to the Acropolis, as a shelter against sun and rain and wind, for the crowds that gathered within the sacred precinct. Then, it may be that more room was needed, or, more probably, he shrank from leaving the long line of the back wall of these buildings unbroken, so he planned two wings—north-west and south-west—to back them and flank the stairway. Of all this great, subsidiary scheme the north-west wing (the picture gallery that Pausanias saw), and this only, was carried out in complete accordance with the original plan.

It may fairly be asked, How is all this known? If only the centre building and the north-west wing remain, how should we know Mnesikles planned anything else; and if he did, why did he not execute it? The answer is a somewhat long story, but one that seems worth the telling, the more so as it is almost unique, and has a distinct mythological significance. In studying many a mediæval building, much of the scientific interest consists in

tracking out the architect's original plan; the man who first planned seldom lived to execute the whole. Endless problems, therefore, arise as to what was the first intention, who modified it, and why. It is usually quite otherwise with the Greeks; they plan buildings so simple, so compact, that there is scarcely scope for alteration, either by curtailment or addition. The very limitations of their thought usually ensure completion. But the Propylaea is a Greek instance of a modified plan, and of modifications whose study has the fascination of an intricate problem.

That the original plan of Mnesikles had undergone modifications was long ago seen by every architect who made the Propylaea matter of serious study. As soon as the Turkish tower came down and released the south-west wing, it was clear to all that between the northern and southern wings there was a most striking want of correspondence. This, in a building otherwise of such exact symmetry, was inexplicable. It became, therefore, a commonplace of archæology that Mnesikles was prevented from carrying out his plan. What precisely was that plan, and *how* precisely it was modified, was a problem which long baffled ingenious conjecture. It was reserved for Dr. Dörpfeld, with the addition of absolutely no new material, by the mere force of his own peculiarly imaginative scrutiny, to reconstruct the plan in the brain of Mnesikles—a plan that probably few even of his own contemporaries ever fully knew.

But before beginning the fascinating question of the south-west wing, the great north-east and south-east halls to either side of the gateway must be finished with.

The evidence for the existence of the north-east hall is simple enough, and can be verified in a few minutes by any one on the spot. If the anta* of the eastern portico be examined

* It may be necessary—as a good deal of the following evidence is based on antae—to say a word of explanation to the non-professional reader. The anta presupposes the former existence of a mixed wood and brick or wood and stone construction. It is nothing but the wooden upright set to support the end of a brick or rubble wall. This in later constructions is translated into stone and serves a purpose rather decorative than actually structural. To an eye accustomed to mixed brick and wood structure its absence would no doubt have been painful. An anta is found in two different cases—either it ends off a wall beyond which nothing more is expected (in this case, regarding it as an upright plank, it naturally has its broad end to the wall which it is supposed to hold up), or it ends a wall beyond which a column or columns are expected (in this case it has the further function of supporting the beam which passes from the columns to the wall, and its broad end of course is turned on the one hand towards the wall supported, on the other towards the direction of the beam).

(fig. 5, E), it will at once be seen that it is double: there is an anta towards the east, justified, of course, by the architrave of the portico; there is an anta towards the north, justified by—nothing, unless we suppose an architrave coming from the north. This anta alone (shown in fig. 7, and more clearly in fig. 19) is quite sufficient to predicate a row of columns in a line with it, though of course it says nothing as to the number and extent of the columns. Fortunately we get a clue from the eastern wall of the north-west wing (the Pinakotheke). It juts on beyond the north-west wing in a manner wholly unmeaning; but if we

FIG. 7.—VIEW OF PROPYLAEA, SHOWING DOUBLE ANTA.

continue this unfinished wall on as far as the rock will allow, we have the probable limits of the projected north-east hall. Further evidence is found in the fact that the southern and western walls of this projected hall are furnished with a cornice, and this cornice extends even along the superfluous portion towards the north. This cornice is never present except for inside walls; just such a cornice appears in the inside of both the western wings. The exact size of the north-east hall is made the more probable by comparing it with the possible site of the south-east hall. Given that on either side the halls extend exactly to the rock, they are then of precisely the same size; this looks as if

Mnesikles had put the gate just in the centre, with a view to the exact correspondence of the two halls. Before leaving the north-east hall it must be noted that a series of large holes—one of very large size in the southern wall as for a beam, and a row of smaller ones in the western wall as for rafters—is inexplicable, except on the supposition that a wooden roof was part of the plan. The holes can clearly be seen above the cornice. On the south-east we again find evidence for a projected hall in the existence of a double-faced anta. It is very noticeable, however, that there is in this case no cornice on the corresponding inside walls, neither are there any holes for beam and rafters; this difference must be distinctly borne in mind.

The problem of the south-west wing remains. Before embarking on its statement it is necessary first to realise precisely what appearance was presented by the south-west wing when finished in ancient times—not, be it observed, what Mnesikles planned, but what he completed. This may be seen in the plan. The northern front corresponded with the front of the north-west wing exactly opposite; it consisted of three columns between two antae. So far all is regular, but here the correspondence ends. Behind this regular front there are, not two chambers, but one; this one chamber does not correspond in size with the portico of the opposite wing, and, unlike it, is closed only on two sides. Moreover—and this is the oddest part—the southern bounding wall does not project as far as the western anta of the porch, it stops short opposite the third column, and from this third column the architrave, supported by a narrow central pillar, passes to the southern wall. The anta-shaped corner pillar (B) of the front porch is thus left stranded, connected indeed by the architrave of the front portico with the front view of the wing, but having no relation to the western front. About a structure so eccentric and so unmeaning there can scarcely be two opinions; the architect was compelled to modify his plan.

Granting, then (as is now universally done), that the ancient structure realised does not represent the plan of Mnesikles, there remains the double problem—

1. What was the original plan?
2. Why was this particular modification adopted?

This solved, there follows the subsidiary question—What causes occasioned the modification? For the solution of the first double problem there is absolutely no literary material. Dr. Dörpfeld's

answer is based entirely on an examination of the architectural remains now extant. His solution is briefly this :—

(1) The original plan of Mnesikles for the south-west wing was as follows : a building of the same dimensions as the opposite wing, but with this difference — the south-west or open front, instead of being closed in by a wall, was to consist of four columns between two antae. The reason for this modification is plain : the western wall of the north-west wing abutted on a precipice ; the western side of the south-west wing looked towards the temple of Nike, to which, through the open portico, there would be easy access.

(2) The form of the building actually realised is governed in every particular, and all its eccentricities explained, by the hope that ultimately the original project would be carried out.

It might suffice to state these results, but the argument by which they are arrived at is so neat a piece of demonstration that it must briefly be stated.

The argument is mainly based on the examination of two antae—*i.e.*, the anta that ends the southern wall to the west (A), and the anta on the southern face of the detached wall pillar mentioned above (B).

It will be remembered that it was noted above that the proper function of an anta is either to end a wall completely or to end a wall which expects columns to follow, and that in this latter case it performs the further function of supporting the beam that rests on these columns. Further, it will be remembered that the broad face of the anta ends the wall, and when columns are expected the broad face is towards the columns.

Looking at the anta which ends the southern wall we find this principle in actual fact contradicted. The broad face of the anta ends a wall—so far, well and good—but the narrow face supports a beam coming from the north : the conclusion is that the original intention was contravened. If columns and a beam were expected at all, they were expected, not from the north, whence in actual fact they came, but from the west, the direction faced by the broad anta. Had columns been expected from the north the anta would have had two broad faces, north and west. Somewhere, then, in the exact line of the southern wall it is *permissible*, though not essential, to look for a column. In the case of the other anta (B) a like supposition is not only permissible, but necessary. The broad face of the anta to the east is accounted for by the architrave of the portico ; but there is a second broad face to

the south unaccounted for, and this, as it supports no back wall, presupposes an architrave coming from the south, supported by the columns. Produce the line of direction required by the two antae—they meet in the centre of the second conjectural column (C) $6{\cdot}56^{m}$ south of the outside edge of the corner pillar of the northern portico. We begin to see daylight; the southern wall is where it is, and nowhere else, because it must come symmetrically opposite a column that is to be, therefore the south-west wing is a little broader than the portico of the opposite wing and does not trouble itself to correspond.

But this position can be supported by another line of argument.

Supposing a colonnade (which, from the anta, we have every right to do), what is the probable distance between the columns? Undoubtedly the same as that between the columns of the northern front.

The distances for the northern front are:—

From anta to centre of first column, $2{\cdot}32^{m}$.
From centre of column to centre of column, $2{\cdot}50^{m}$.

Now the length of the corner wall pillar is $1{\cdot}76^{m}$, therefore the distance from the outside edge of the corner wall pillar to the first column of the western front $= 1{\cdot}76^{m} + 2{\cdot}32^{m}$, and the distance to the second $= 1{\cdot}76^{m} + 2{\cdot}32^{m} + 2{\cdot}50^{m} = 6{\cdot}58^{m}$ = the point of intersection of the two lines of direction of the antae.

But did the colonnade end there? Presumably not. We want a front as broad as the south-west wall of the opposite wing (the Pinakotheke). The Pinakotheke wall measures $15{\cdot}66^{m}$.

Suppose we try four columns and the regulation anta to end with. Then, bearing in mind that the fixed distance from anta end to centre of column is $2{\cdot}32^{m}$, and the length of the new anta to correspond $1{\cdot}76^{m}$, we have—

$1{\cdot}76 + 2{\cdot}32 + 2{\cdot}50 + 2{\cdot}50 + 2{\cdot}50 + 2{\cdot}32 + 1{\cdot}76 = 15{\cdot}66$ = breadth of Pinakotheke.

Evidence could scarcely be more conclusive. Having settled the original plan, and seen the reason for the exact form taken by the modification, it still remains to ask why any modification was made at all. The answer proposed can only be said to have a high measure of probability.

In making his great original plan Mnesikles seems to have disregarded not only the old walls, which as fortifications became superfluous he might expect would come down, but also two

sacred precincts—that of Artemis Brauronia to the east, and Athene Nike to the west. Against such intrusion it is very likely the priesthood rose and protested, and before even the foundations were laid, he had to give up, at least for the time, the whole of the south-east hall and a part of the south-west wing. But this explanation does not apply to the north-east hall. That Mnesikles went on hoping to complete this long after he gave up his project for the southern side is, Dr. Dörpfeld thinks, evident from the interior cornice and the holes for the beams and rafters. The obstacle that prevented him was probably in this case not religious, but political—the outbreak of the Peloponnesian war.

On the right hand Pausanias saw and briefly notes the temple of Wingless Victory (Nike Apteros).[11] Its modern history is a curious one. It was seen and described by Wheler. By Stuart's time it had disappeared, and he mistook the Pinakotheke for it; it had, in fact, been pulled down in the interval by the Turks and used as material for building up a bastion known as the "middle battery." Lord Elgin found a portion of the frieze built into a wall and brought it away; it is now in the British Museum. The rest of the temple was re-discovered by Ross in the bastion, and the whole structure was re-erected in 1835 under the superintendence of the architect Laurent, and now stands on its original site complete as to its architecture, with the exception of a few unimportant restorations. Some years later the slabs belonging to the balustrade round the northern side of the temple were discovered.

The temple (fig. 8) was built entirely of Pentelic marble, was of the Ionic order, and consisted of a cella with four-pillared porch, front and back (amphi-prostylos tetrastylos). As to its date, which is much disputed, it seems certain that it was at least *planned* before the Propylaea was complete (432 B.C.). Whether the sculptural decoration was set up at the same time is quite another matter, and must be decided from the internal evidence of the sculptures themselves. These consist of—

1. The sculptures of the frieze.
2. The sculptures of the balustrade.

(1) The sculptured frieze runs round the whole of the temple. Three sides represent battle scenes; the fourth, on the eastern front, is taken up by an assembly of the gods seated and standing. The individual figures are not recognisable, though it is conjectured—and probably the conjecture is right—that Athene stands nearly in

the centre with Zeus seated near her. The assembled gods are present as invisible spectators of a battle raging round them, the issue of which is in their hands. This conception is the same as the Theseion frieze, and, again, on the eastern front of the Parthenon, where the invisible gods await the procession of worshippers. It is much disputed whether the battle represents any actual fight or only the general idea of the contest of the Athenians with their foes. Greeks are represented as contending for the most part with Orientals, but also in some cases with Greeks; and this has led interpreters to think of the battle of Plataea, where this was

FIG. 8.—TEMPLE OF NIKE APTEROS, FROM THE SOUTH-EAST.

actually the case. It seems more consonant with the general manner of art representations of the time to suppose the fight an ideal one, with perhaps some touch of actual reminiscence. The representation of the actual and that of the ideal were not so sharply sundered in those days as now.

In judging of the style of the sculptures, their very small scale must be borne in mind. Allowing for this, which led to great precision of detail, it is scarcely possible to avoid seeing in them an echo of the manner of the Parthenon marbles. Speaking of the draperies, Mr. Murray says (ii. 183)—"Where they flow with the wind of movement they present a close parallel to those of the

west frieze of the Parthenon, no less than a contrast with the florid agitation of those of Phigaleia. Where they cling to and obey the form they are rendered with great truthfulness and refinement; but it is the truthfulness of skill and knowledge derived from the Parthenon rather than of poetic inspiration."

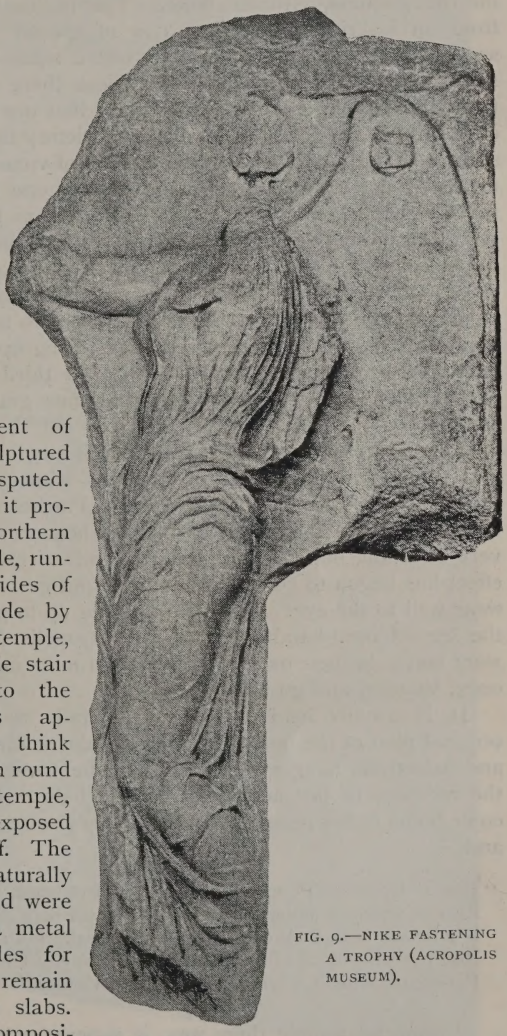


FIG. 9.—NIKE FASTENING A TROPHY (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

(2) The extent of the balustrade sculptured with reliefs is disputed. Some think that it protected only the northern side of the temple, running round two sides of the triangle made by the side of the temple, the rock, and the stair leading down to the main Acropolis approach. Others think the balustrade ran round three sides of the temple, in fact, all the exposed portion of the cliff. The reliefs would naturally face outwards, and were surmounted by a metal railing, the holes for fixing which still remain in some of the slabs. The general composition and intent is clear, though many slabs are wanting.

A number of winged Nikes are busy preparing the sacrifice for the goddess, Athene Nike. The regular victim, we learn from an inscription,[12] was a cow of special beauty; she was sacrificed in front of the temple, where traces of the altar-place still remain. On the balustrade frieze there were, it appears, two figures of Athene: it seems likely that one figure was seated on a throne, the Athene who brought victory by land; the other stood on the prow of a ship, the Athene of victory by sea. Fragments of two cows also remain; and as one cow only was the regular offering, we may suppose each Athene had a cow to herself. Probably in the very centre of the composition, in front of the figure of the goddess herself, was a Nike actually sacrificing the cow (*βουθυτοῦσα*),[13] and to either side various figures engaged in preparation for the act. One Nike (who, to my thinking, is the most beautiful of those preserved) is fastening up a trophy (fig. 9), another dragging along a cow (fig. 10), a third stooping—for all her beauty, with a somewhat self-conscious grace—to fasten her sandal.

These balustrade sculptures are manifestly later than the frieze, and though in the matter of motive—witness the dragging of the cow—they are not unaffected by Parthenon tradition, they have lost all the stateliness of the Parthenon manner. They are very beautiful, but they are restless, and a certain striving after effect has begun to corrupt both pose and gesture. They do not wear well to the eye. They are now set up to good advantage in the second right-hand room of the Acropolis Museum, but they were better in their own place, where a man might look at them once, wonder, and go by, up the steps.

It is usually held that the balustrade was no part of the original plan of the temple. Anyhow, the sculptures of the frieze and balustrade hang well together. The frieze shows Victory at the moment of her achievement; the balustrade shows Victory come home to her people when the oracle's voice shall be fulfilled,[14] and—

> "Justice divine shall quench the might of Insolence, the son of Pride,
> Ever at watch in ambush dire to bring down high things far and wide;
> For brazen beak shall clash with brazen beak, and all the sea
> Roll red with blood of battle. Then the day of Greece the free
> Far-seeing Kronides brings in, and lady Victory."

Within the temple there was, it appears, an ancient statue of Athene Nike. Harpocration [15] quoting the work of Heliodorus on

FIG. 10.—NIKE AND COW (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

the Acropolis, says that the xoanon of Athene Nike was wingless, and held in the right hand a pomegranate, in the left a helmet. This wingless Victory existing side by side with the familiar winged goddess greatly exercised the imagination of commentators, and of Greek worshippers, no doubt, when they had lost the clue. Pausanias[16] notes a Nike in the altis of Olympia without wings, and to account for it relates that Kalamis is said to have made it in imitation of the wingless Nike at Athens. At Platanistae[17] in Laconia Pausanias saw an old figure of Enyalios (a form of Ares) in fetters, and he says—"The idea of the Lacedaemonians about this statue is the same as that of the Athenians about their wingless Nike; they think that Enyalios, being in fetters, will never leave the Lacedaemonians, just as Nike will always stay with the Athenians because she has no wings to fly away." This is, of course, fanciful. The simple explanation of the wingless Nike is this:—Originally Nike (Victory) is only an attribute of Athene. Athene gives all things—good counsel (Boulaia), skill in handicraft (Ergane), and victory (Nike). Now some of these attributes of the goddess, being especially popular, separate off and become almost distinct individualities. From Athene Polias, invoked as Athene Polias Nike,[18] the personality of Nike separated off and developed attributes of her own, impossible when she was only a form of Athene. Such an attribute were her wings; these wings, an addition at once poetical and popular (the innovation of which was attributed to Archermos),[19] became necessary to the artistic conception of the goddess, and hence the antique wingless statue on the Acropolis was deemed anomalous and required a story to account for it. The old xoanon, with the pomegranate in one hand, the helmet in the other, takes us back to very early days, when Athene was near akin to the goddess of love and war, Aphrodite.

The existence of this xoanon has been used as an argument for an older temple on the same site. Athene Nike may from early days have had an altar or shrine on this commanding warlike point, but it seems simpler to think that the old statue stood as a votive offering in the precinct of Athene Polias, and that in later days only this separate temple was built for her. Athene and her other self Nike are seen together in charming conjunction in a beautiful fragment of a relief (fig. 11), now in the first right-hand room of the Acropolis Museum. Nike leans on the shoulder of Athene, and the two are about to crown a victorious athlete. The two are one in type, but Nike has the graceful distinction of wings.

The temple of Nike recalls to Pausanias the story of the death of Ægeus, to whom, he says, the Athenians have a shrine. It has been conjectured that the shrine was actually in sight, and that it suggested the story at the moment to Pausanias; if so, it would probably, like the tomb of Talos, be on the spot of the supposed downfall—*i.e.*, immediately below the Nike temple (close to the group of Troezene shrines). Dr. Lölling,[20] who supports this view, thinks the artificial niche in the rock immediately below

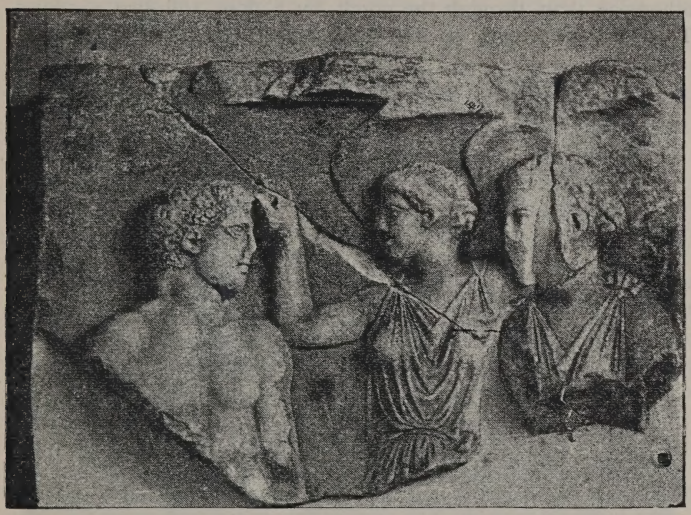


FIG. 11.—NIKE AND ATHENE CROWNING ATHLETE (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

the eastern front of the temple may be the remains of the shrine in question.

Pausanias passes on to the left side of the Propylaea and occupies himself wholly with the pictures contained in the left wing. To turn from the consideration of the architecture, where so much is actually left and so much more actually certain, is dreary work. There is no more thankless task, yet on none is ingenuity more microscopic expended, than the attempt to reconstruct from chance literary notices and hazardous vase-painting analogies these frescoes or easel pictures long since faded.

What can be said, however, must be said; and first, as to the history of the building itself.

The northern wing (seen in fig. 12) is still nearly perfect; it consisted of a porch and the actual chamber containing the paintings, which it has become customary to call the Pinakotheke. During the Florentine occupation it was the council chamber of the dukes. For this purpose the original, ground-floor hall was divided into two portions; traces of the division still remain. An upper story was also added, and the walls were decorated with Byzantine designs. There is no evidence that light was admitted otherwise than through the porch, by a door and two windows. This leads us to suppose that the building was not in any modern

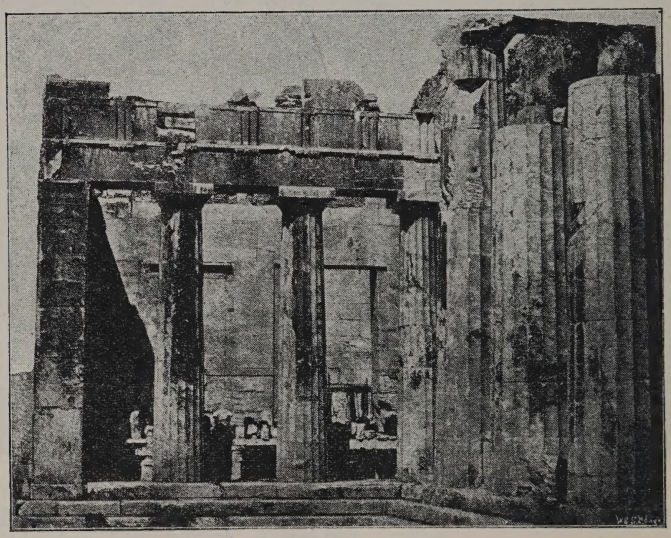


FIG. 12.—PINAKOTHEKE.

sense a picture gallery, but simply a building that, like many others at Athens, was decorated with frescoes or used for the preservation of easel pictures if such existed at the time. It would be natural to suppose that the designs seen by Pausanias were frescoes, but the walls show no trace of any preparation for painting such as exists in the Theseion. Considering, however, that the building was used by Frankish dukes, they may have carefully cleaned the walls to efface Pagan memorials. The whole question, hotly contested, as to whether the pictures were fresco or on wood does not seem to admit of solution.

The careless style of Pausanias leaves equally uncertain the authorship of the paintings. He divides them into two groups separated by the words "there are other pictures," but this may be merely a resumption after his parenthesis. The list is as follows :—

1. Rape of Palladion by Diomedes.
2. Odysseus with bow of Philoctetes.
3. Slaying of Ægisthus by Orestes, and of sons of Nauplios by Pylades.
4. Sacrifice of Polyxena.
5. (?) Achilles among the maidens of Skyros.
6. (?) Odysseus and Nausikaa with her maidens.
7. Portrait of Alcibiades with trophies of victory at Nemea.
8. Perseus bringing head of Medusa.
9. Boy carrying water-pots.
10. Wrestler, by Timainetos.
11. Portrait of Musaeus.

It will be observed that 5 and 6 are bracketed, and put as conjectural. All that Pausanias says is that Polygnotus painted these subjects. It may, of course, be plausibly presumed that Pausanias is speaking of paintings actually in the Pinakotheke, but this is a mere assumption. Still more rash is it to go on to assume that because Pausanias mentions Polygnotus as the artist of two pictures which it is not certain were in the building at all, he is also the artist of any of the remainder which certainly were there. To this doubly fallacious assumption some critics have been led by the desire to group together the whole series in certain corresponding relations—*e.g.*, it is assumed that the painting of Odysseus with the bow balanced that of Diomedes with the Palladion, that the slaughter of Polyxena balanced that of Ægisthus, and so on. It is perfectly true that Greek painting, so far as we know it from literary and monumental evidence, tended to symmetry of subject as well as design, but it is manifest that such fanciful arrangements, unless supported by other than internal evidence, are in the highest degree precarious.

Some of the subjects of this series of pictures occur not infrequently on vase-paintings, noticeably the rape of the Palladion, the slaying of Ægisthus, and the sacrifice of Polyxena; but it would be rash to use these vase-paintings for the reconstruction of the designs by celebrated artists. Unfortunately these paintings in the Pinakotheke are the subject of but scant literary

notice; only of the portrait of Alcibiades do we know anything fuller, and even here the references in other writers are only probable, not certain. Athenaeus,[21] quoting the account of Satyros, says—"When he came to Athens he dedicated two pictures, the work of Aglaophon, of which the one . . ., and in the other Nemea was represented seated and Alcibiades on her knees, and he was fairer in face than the women represented." Whether this refers to the painting in the Pinakotheke it is impossible to say with certainty, but it seems highly probable. Plutarch,[22] in his *Life of Alcibiades*, says—"When Aristophon had painted a picture of Nemea holding Alcibiades seated in her arms, the people crowded together to see it, but the elder men were annoyed at such things, as being lawless and tyrannical in their tendency." Tradition, it will be seen, varied as to who painted the picture, Aristophon or his son Aglaophon. As we learn from Ælian[23] that Aglaophon excelled in his painting of horses, possibly the reference may be given to him. If the picture in the Pinakotheke represented Alcibiades in the lap of Nemea, we are reminded of the group in the Lesche painted by Polygnotus,[24] of Thyia in the lap of Chloris, and, indeed, perhaps more strongly of the male figure on the woman's knee on the western pediment of the Parthenon. Such a group, strange to us as it appears, was, with its strictly symbolical meaning, quite consonant with ancient taste: Alcibiades triumphed at Nemea, so the nymph of the place, patroness of the games, holds him for her own.

One word remains to be said as to the sacrifice of Polyxena. There is an epigram by Pollianus[25] which describes a painting (πίναξ) of this scene by "Polykleitos." It is quite out of the question to suppose the sculptor Polykleitos executed the picture, and it is proposed to emend "Polygnotus." Given this emendation, it is very likely, though again not certain, that this epigram refers to the painting in the Pinakotheke. The epigrammist calls the painting "demonic" in its power; it represented Polyxena as Euripides pictured her, gathering about her the folds of her peplos that she might die in seemly maiden fashion. She prays for mercy; and the epigrammist ends in the overwrought fashion of the day—"In the maiden's eyelids is set the whole Phrygian war."

This picture of Polyxena is the only one to which Pausanias elsewhere refers.[26] Speaking of the paintings of Polygnotus he says—"Polyxena has her hair plaited after the manner of maidens. The poets represent her as slain at the tomb of Achilles, and I

have seen paintings of her death both at Athens and at Pergamos on the river Kaikis." From Harpocration [27] we learn that we have to regret the loss of a book by Polemon devoted to the description of the pictures in the Propylaea; it might have left us in a somewhat less unsatisfactory plight than we are now.

Mnesikles, it has been seen, might only bring to completion just about half the building he had planned; but that half was enough to stir the pride of the ancient Athenians and to move the modern world to wonder. About some ancient buildings, there is little doubt, we moderns make much more ado to-day than the Greeks ever did themselves. But this is not so with the Propylaea. That severe yet splendid structure seems to have vexed the soul of the comic poet Pherekides.[28] "People at Athens," he says, "do go on so about their myrtles, and their honey, and their Propylaea, and their dried figs." The orator had but to point to the Propylaea to make a cheap success. Demosthenes [29] names it with the Parthenon as one of those immortal possessions that abide for a memorial to the people of their victory over the barbarians; Epaminondas [30] exhorts his countrymen to carry off the Propylaea and place it as a frontlet on the brow of Thebes; and, greatest testimony of all, even Aristophanes [31] ceases for a moment to fool, when as the sound of the unbarring of the great gates is heard, they swing open on their hinges, and there, on his sacred rock, King Demos sits within.

ADDENDUM TO SECTION XIV

Page 351—The inscription belonging to the "statues of horsemen" has, Dr. Dörpfeld kindly informs me, just been found.

SECTION XV

HERMES PROPYLAIOS—PERSEUS BY MYRON

TEXT, i. 22, § 8; 23, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

i. 22, 8. THERE is a Hermes just at the entrance to the Acropolis called Hermes Propylaios, and there are also figures of the Charites. These are said to be the work of Socrates, the son of Sophroniscus, to whose wisdom the Pythian prophetess bore witness as greater than that of any other man. But to Anacharsis she refused the name of wise, though he was very anxious to win it and came to Delphi for the very purpose.

i. 23, 1. Among other tales, the Greeks have one relating that there were seven wise men, in which number they say that the tyrant of Lesbos and Periander, son of Cypselus, are to be reckoned. But Peisistratos and his son Hippias were more benevolent than Periander, as well as wiser both in the arts of war and political management, until the death of Hipparchos induced Hippias to use violent measures, especially against a woman called Leaina. The story has never previously been recorded, but is popularly believed at Athens.

i. 23, 2. After the death of Hipparchos, Hippias tortured Leaina till she died, because he knew that she was the mistress of Aristogeiton, and thought that she could not fail to be acquainted with his intention. In reward of her conduct, when the tyranny of the Peisistratidae was abolished, the Athenians set up a bronze lioness in memory of this woman, and beside it is an image of Aphrodite, said to be the offering of Kallias and the work of Kalamis.

i. 23, 3. Near by is a bronze statue of Diitrephes pierced with arrows. Various stories are told at Athens of the deeds of this Diitrephes. When the Thracian mercenaries arrived after the departure of Demosthenes to Syracuse, as they were too late to join the expedition Diitrephes led them back.

And when they reached the Chalcidian Euripus where was the city of Mycalessus in the middle of Boeotia, Diitrephes marched up against it from the seacoast and captured it. The Thracians slew not only the fighting men of the Mycalessians but all the women and children. This is the proof:—The cities in Boeotia from which the Thebans removed the population are still inhabited in my own day, because the people escaped at the time of the capture. Now if the barbarians had not slain all the Mycalessians before leaving the place, the survivors would subsequently have reoccupied
i. 23, 4. the city. A small point about the statue of Diitrephes which surprised me was that he was pierced with arrows, for the only Greeks who are a nation of bowmen are the Cretans. We know that even as early as the Persian wars heavy armour had been adopted by the Opuntian Locrians, though Homer described them as coming to Ilion armed with bows and slings. The practice of shooting did not continue even among the Malians. I believe that they did not know the art till the days of Philoctetes, and that they abandoned it not long afterwards.

Near the statue of Diitrephes (I do not mean to mention inconspicuous statues) are two images of gods—one of Hygieia, said to be the daughter of Asklepios; and one of
i. 23, 5. an Athena, also called Hygieia. There is also a stone, of no great size, but large enough for a small man to sit upon. Here the legend says that Silenus rested when Dionysos visited Attica. The name of Sileni is given to the more aged Satyrs.

i. 23, 7. Among other things that I saw on the Acropolis of Athens were the bronze boy with the sprinkling brush by Lykios, son of Myron, and Myron's Perseus after the exploit against Medusa.

COMMENTARY ON i. 22, § 8; 23, §§ 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7.

"Just at the entrance" to the Acropolis (*i.e.*, probably within the limits of the Propylaea) Pausanias notes—

1. Hermes Propylaios.
2. The Charites (Graces).

To these must be added a statue of great importance, which he mentions elsewhere,[32] Hecate Epipyrgidia (Hecate on the Tower). In his description of Ægina he says—"The people of Ægina honour Hecate most of all the gods, and have a yearly mystery in her honour, and they say that Orpheus the Thracian instituted her mystery here. There is a temple within the precinct, and

there is a wooden image of the goddess by Myron with one head only and one body. Alcamenes was, I think, the first who made three figures of Hecate attached to one another, which the Athenians call Hecate Epipyrgidia; it is set up near the temple of wingless Victory."

Pausanias gives no hint of the connection between Hermes and the Charites, and no clue as to their cult. As will be seen, there was a link, curious enough, between the Charites and Hermes on the one hand, and of a still more intimate kind between the Charites and Hecate on the other.

Hermes was Propylaios (guardian of the gates), and near the gates he must have stood, well in sight. Just such another Hermes of the Gate watched, it will be remembered, over the entrance to the agora. The old gate of Cimon would probably have its guardian Hermes too, and he may have stood where the marks of the shrine still exist, on the right hand of the old entrance. If we move him, as I am inclined to think we may, to the right hand of the new Propylaea, there is a niche between the central western hall of the Propylaea and the eastern anta of the south-west wing where he would very appropriately stand. There would be no sacrifice involved in this change; indeed, the slight would have been to leave him useless and unseen in his old corner. Now we happen to know [33] that a Hermes on the Acropolis bore the name of Ἀμύητος ("the Uninitiated One"); Clement of Alexandria [34] cites the Amuetos as an instance of those "false gods who were but stocks and stones." There was, as will be seen, another figure of Hermes on the Acropolis, an ancient xoanon; but as it stood within the most sacred precinct of the Erechtheion it could scarcely be called Uninitiated, so there seems to be a large presumption that the allusions are to the Hermes of the Gate. Why, then, was he called Uninitiated? From what mysteries was he excluded?

The worship of the Charites may help us out. And, first, a word as to their general character. The "Three Graces" call to the modern mind a picture, either of three women statuesquely grouped like the famous Siena Graces, perfectly nude with their hair elaborately dressed, or at best of three graceful girls posing with flowers in their hands. Pausanias had heard of these naked Graces, but he takes care to note that it was no such shameless representation that he saw before the Propylaea. In the chapter he devotes to the Graces [35] in his Boeotian narrative he says—"Who it was who first represented the Graces, whether in painting

or sculpture, as naked, I cannot find out, since in more ancient times both sculptors and painters alike made them wearing clothes." Next he enumerates a number of archaic representations, and among them "Socrates, son of Sophroniscus, made images of the Graces for the Athenians in front of the Acropolis, and all these alike (*i.e.*, all he has mentioned) are draped; but later artists—I do not know at what time—altered their fashion.

FIG. 13.—CHIARAMONTI RELIEF: CHARITES (VATICAN).

Anyhow, in my days both painters and sculptors represent them as naked." The fate of the Graces is a good instance of how the Greek conception is often blurred for us by the Romans. The name we borrow from them has come to mean too little to stand for the Charites. The Greek conception of these included, it is true, the modern notion of Graces, but much more; they were, in the fullest sense, "givers of all grace." "What is desirable for men apart from the Charites?" asks Theocritus.[36]

"Not even the gods without the leading of the holy Charites go to their joyous feast and dance; but they bear rule in heaven over all that is, so to mortals also all sweetness and love comes from them if a man be wise and fair and glorious. They love the fellowship of Dionysos, yet they will have measure in all things, therefore at the banquet let the first cup be drunk to the Charites." But it is the dance they love best; they dance at Delphi, and Artemis herself is fain to join them. Pan the piper is their "dear plaything;" he pipes to their dancing, and in the dance there is no god dares vie with them. "Hand upon wrist," they link their dance with the kindly Hours, with Aphrodite, and with Hebe.

It was as fair maiden dancers, holy and reverend, that ancient art knew the Charites. Five reliefs, of which three certainly and the other two probably were found in Athens, present the same type: three maidens, hand in hand, heavily draped, move to the left, the middle one usually turns full face. One of these reliefs, now in the Museo Chiaramonti * (fig. 13), is well preserved; the rest, of which three are in the Acropolis Museum (the front room to the right), are in fragments. It is very probable that all these reliefs are votive copies on a small scale of the group Pausanias saw. As to the story that Socrates made the group, it seems to have risen from a confusion of names. On the tetradrachms of Athens the three dancing Graces often appear as a magistrate's mark (fig. 14), and with them sometimes the name of the magistrate, Socrates. There is little doubt that in consequence of this the story got about that the elder Socrates, the philosopher, made the group in the Propylaea.

FIG. 14.—COIN OF ATHENS: CHARITES.

Behind these figures of the dancing maidens there is always the tradition of gifts of corn and wine and oil and flocks, earlier than the graces of song and dance. So at the Charitesia [37] in Orchomenos, where the Charites cult was earliest and most tenacious, the priests brought to the temple the tithe of the produce of the field; the worshippers, when their nightly dance was over, ate cakes of parched oats and honey. The Charites were in fact, like so many of the goddesses of primitive and

* I regret that I can obtain no photograph of the Chiaramonti relief, and must reproduce the wretched woodcut long current.

practical days, agrarian deities; and the dance their worshippers danced was, like the dance of the Maenads, a charm to waken the slumbering ground.

As gift-givers of the fruits of the earth, they hold, like the Nymphs and Horae, to whom they are so near akin, attributes of flowers and fruit in their hands. They are figured so in the well-known Thasos relief, discussed later, where a common worship of Apollo and the Nymphs, of Hermes and the Charites, is clearly evidenced. As agrarian goddesses, as lovers of dance and song, they had of course much in common with Hermes; he was just the god to lead their syrtos dance or to play with them in the cave of Pan.[38] It still remains to ask, What had they, the open-air, pleasure-loving goddesses, to do with mysteries into which Hermes might not be initiated—Hermes, who was himself called the "grace-giver," "leader of the Graces?"

Pausanias, as usual, gives no hint here; but long after, when he is in Boeotia,[39] he lets slip the clue all unknowing himself. "At Athens," he says, "before the entrance to the Acropolis, there are Graces who are also three in number, and near them they perform a ceremony that may not be repeated to the many." Some secret rite of early agrarian origin, one of the many mysteries connected with the fertilisation of the earth, was here, as at the Pandroseion, carried on in honour of the gift-givers. It is very likely that to this, as to the Thesmophoria, women alone were admitted. Anyhow, Hermes was not "in it," and we gather from our ancient writers that the god of the gates was the object of a good deal of no doubt rather scurrilous chaff in consequence (*χλευαστικὴ δὲ ἡ παροιμία*). If Hermes would dance with the Charites, he must seek them elsewhere than in their haunt near the Propylaea. But there was another goddess of the gates more fortunate, Hecate Epipyrgidia; she stood no doubt, where indeed only there was space for her to stand, south of the Nike temple.

Hecate is in many respects only the gloomy double of Artemis. She was more popular with the people than the poet, to whom, at least after she got her triple form, she must have been a stumbling-block. Every citizen of Athens in the days of Aristophanes had a Hecateion before his door.[40] It is no wonder that of votive Hecateia, little copies of these larger shrines, numbers simply countless remain; there is scarcely a museum in Europe of any importance that has not several of them, and at Athens (in the Central Museum) naturally they abound. There is little doubt that they are rough copies of the great, innovating statue of Alcamenes.

Most of them are actually in the round, some in relief. One of these last (fig. 15), of unusually good workmanship, is given; it is in the collection of Prince Metternich at Marienbad.[41] Within

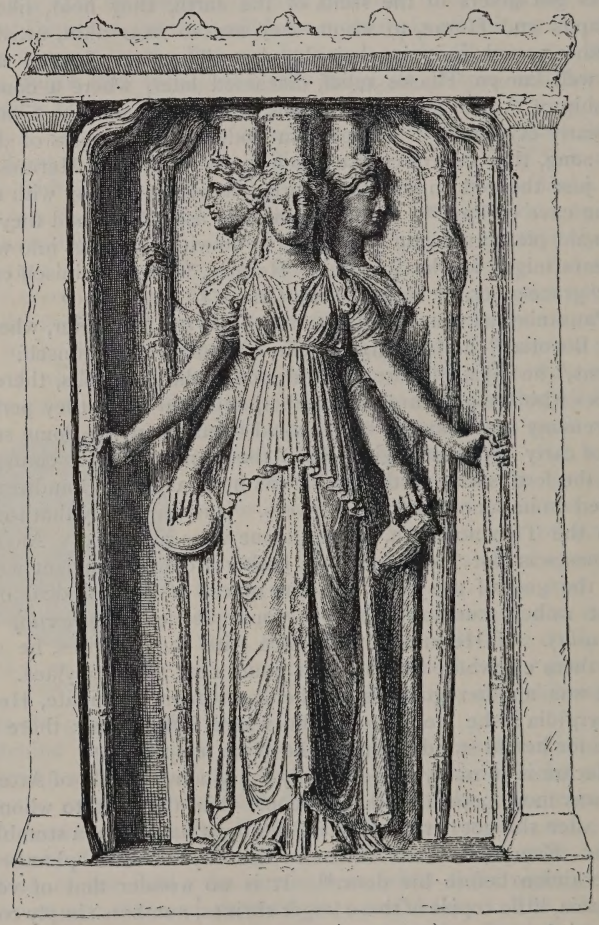


FIG. 15.—HECATEION (MARIENBAD).

a little shrine (*ναίσκος*) the triple-bodied goddess stands; each head wears the polos; one of the figures holds two long torches, the other a phiale and torch, the third an oinochoe and torch

These are the almost constant attributes of the earlier life. Later, in Roman days, when the goddess has become savage, she wears short drapery to the knee, and brandishes a dagger and a whip; with these representations we have nothing to do.

Next comes another type of special interest in fig. 16 (from the archæological collection at Prague). Round the figure of the goddess *dance* three maidens. There can scarcely be a doubt what name to give them; but if there were, a seat in the Dionysos theatre settles the question—

> Ἱερέως Χαρίτων
> καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος
> Ἐπιπυργιδίας
> πυρφόρου

—("Of the priest, the fire-bearer, of the Charites, of Artemis Epipyrgidia"). The inscription is not older than the second century A.D.

FIG. 16.—CHARITES AND HECATE (PRAGUE).

There, in that narrow space on the precipitous tower, once a fortress now a sanctuary, the Charites and Hecate had their joint worship. It may be that the Charites had separate rites in the hidden angle near the Pelasgic wall — there, if anywhere, they were safe from the eye of the profane; but this much is certain, they had rites in common with Hecate, and came out on to the tower to dance about her triple image. Many solutions of this triple form have been offered. I cannot withhold the opinion that the three dancing Charites suggested the type. Be that as it may, there is no doubt as to the intimate connection of the cults. The joint cult kept, no doubt, some of its early Charites elements, for in one of the Hecateia from

the modern collection at Venice a little figure of Pan with a plate, apparently of fruit offerings, is added to the group; a dog looks up to him, perhaps a Hecate hound; or Pan the shepherd may have had a dog of his own. There is also another little kanephoros-like figure opposite to Pan, whose meaning is not clear; she may be a worshipper.

One figure of the triple Hecate, though it is of late rough Roman workmanship, is of great value, because it gives some hints, unfortunately obscure, as to the worship of the goddess. The statue is of marble, 1·40 metres high; it is now in the Brückenthal collection at Hermannstadt. Where it was found, no one seems to know. One of the three figures is marked out from the rest by the crescent moon behind her shoulders, and also by the elaborate scheme of pictures down her dress (fig. 17); these seem to represent a series of scenes having to do with the ritual of Hecate. In the lowest row but one her triple image stands; in the same row an image, probably of Artemis, who was practically the single-bodied form of Hecate—that a temple image is intended, there is, I think, no doubt from the stiff, outstretched arms. These two representations may stand perhaps roughly for the Hecate of Alcamenes and the Hecate of Myron. The woman near the triple Hecate bears a basket on her head—she is no doubt, like the figure already noted, a kanephoros of the goddess; what the child is doing with the stump of the tree I am quite unable to say; the woman to the right seems about to slay a small animal for sacrifice; below, a chorus of maidens are dancing in honour of Artemis, who, however, turns her back to them. The third row (from the bottom) is less clear: in the middle a child seems to be undergoing baptism or unction, possibly with the blood of the slain victim that the right-hand woman holds; to either side victims are led up, a stag and an ox; behind, is the moon-goddess with her halo. In the next row above, Hermes, with abundant attributes—caduceus, cock, and tortoise—seems to receive a worshipper; she caresses a dog, no doubt the hound of Hecate; behind, a woman holds a child, perhaps waiting its turn for the ceremony accomplished below. As to the upper figures I can offer no connected suggestion. The whole series of representations want indeed a good deal more interpreting, but even half understood they are worth noting for the two Hecate images and the dancers. It seems to be also noteworthy that all the worshippers, so far as I can make out, are women. Is it the "rite" that might not be spoken of that they celebrate, the secret

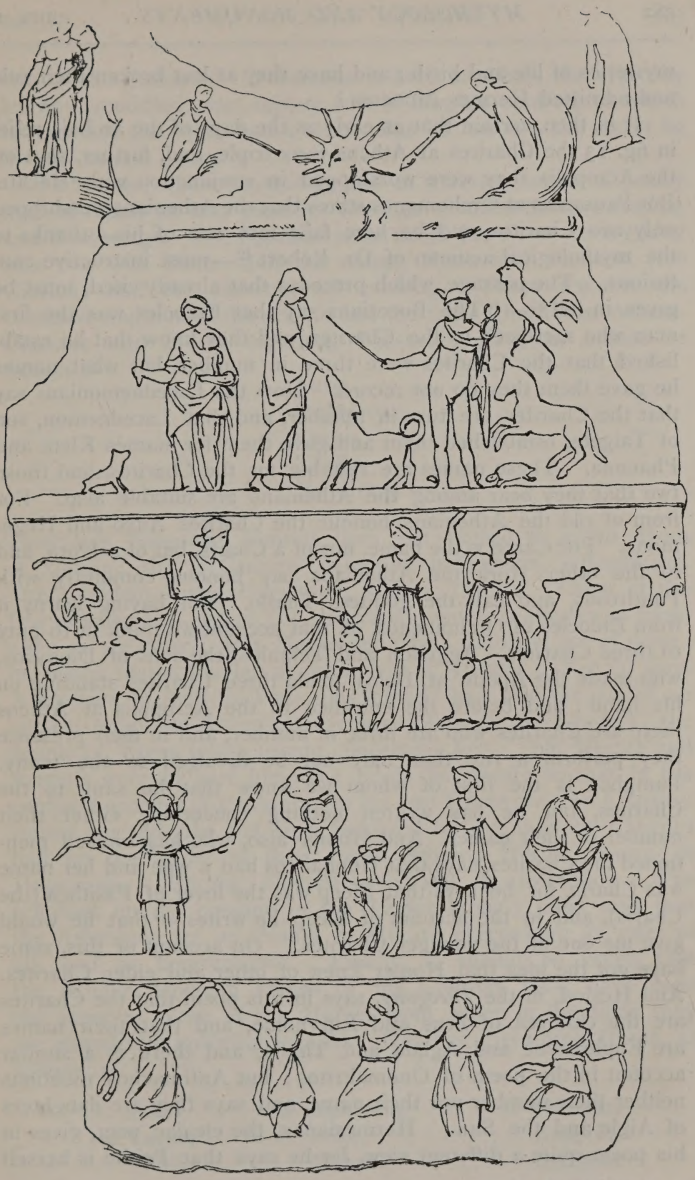


FIG. 17.—DESIGNS FROM ROBE ON FIGURE IN HECATEION (HERMANNSTADT).

mysteries of life and birth ; and have they at last broken their rule and admitted Hermes Amuetos ?

It is, then, certain that as early as the days of the archaic relief in fig. 13 the Charites at Athens *were* triple, and, further, that on the Acropolis they were worshipped in conjunction with Hecate. But Pausanias at Orchomenos states that the Athenians worshipped only two Charites, and he here falls into one of his—thanks to the mythological acumen of Dr. Robert[42]—most instructive confusions. The passage, which precedes that already cited, must be given in full[43]—"The Boeotians say that Eteocles was the first man who sacrificed to the Charites, and they know that he established that the Charites were three in number, but what names he gave them they do not record. Now the Lacedaemonians say that the Charites are two in number, and that Lacedaemon, son of Taigete, established them and gave them for names Kleta and Phaenna. These names are suitable for the Charites, and those two that they bear among the Athenians are suitable also. For from of old the Athenians honour the Charites Auxo and Hegemone. For Carpo is the name, not of a Charis, but of a Hora, and to the other Hora the Athenians pay honour conjointly with Pandrosos, and call the goddess Thallo. But having learnt it from Eteocles of Orchomenos, on that account we think fit to pray to three Charites. Aggelion and Tektaios, the sons of Dionysos, who made the Apollo at Delos, made three Charites standing on his hand ; and before the entrance to the Acropolis at Athens there are Charites who are three in number, and in their presence they perform a rite that may not be divulged to the many. Pamphos is the first of whom we know that he sang to the Charites, but he has written nothing concerning either their number or their name. And Homer also, who has himself mentioned the Charites, says that Hephaistos had a wife and her name was Charis, for he says that Sleep was the lover of Pasithea (the Charis), and in the account of Sleep he writes—'that he would give me one of the younger Charites.' On account of this, some have got the idea that Homer knew of other and elder Charites. And Hesiod, in the *Theogony*, says in this poem that the Charites are the children of Zeus and Eurynome, and that their names are Euphrosyne and Aglaia and Thalia, and there is a similar account in the poem of Onomakritos ; but Antimachos mentions neither their number nor their name, and says they are daughters of Aigle and the Sun. Hermesianax, the elegiac poet, gives in his poem quite a different view, for he says that Peitho is herself

one of the Charites." Pausanias is here, as often, the typically learned, muddled man replete with a tangled opinion, to which he has not the wit to find a clue. But he lets out the secret he himself cannot guess.

To Homer, whose mythology has in it always more of poetry than of ritual, we may yield his Charites of indeterminate number and diverse age. The Spartans must needs have two—everything was two with them—and the names Kleta and Phaenna (the Glorious and the Shining) tell nothing. There remains the confused tradition of the double and the triple Charites at Athens. Charites and Horae together, Pausanias gives us names as follows :—

Auxo,
Hegemone,
Carpo,
Thallo,
Pandrosos.

Pandrosos Pausanias himself does not regard as either Hora or Charis ; she is Cecrops' daughter, indigenous, self-sufficing. There remain Auxo, Hegemone, Carpo, Thallo. Three of the four are obvious—grace (*i.e.*, increase) names, analogous in form, alike in meaning. But Hegemone (the Leader) is not of these ; her name marks her out at once—she is Artemis. Not far from Acacesium in Arcadia Pausanias himself had seen the site of an ancient temple to Artemis Hegemone (Artemis the Leader) ; the people of Tegea told a legend concerning her. That Hecate and Artemis were in part identified needs no proof; so that in the confused account of Pausanias, in his two Horae and two Charites, comes out only the old story betrayed by art, that the Charites had for the leader of their dance Artemis Hecate, known as Hegemone. Hecate, like Artemis, was kourotrophos. The scholiast on the passage in the *Vespae* already cited says that the Athenians set up shrines of Hecate everywhere as ruler of all, and as kourótrophos. Finally, it should be noted that the regular Athenian names of the Charites must have been the same as those of the Horae, from whom in functions they are practically indistinguishable. Hyginus gives nine Horae, as follows :—

1.	2.	3.
Auxo,	Eunomia,	Pherusa,
Carpo,	Dike,	Euporia,
Thallo.	Eirene.	Orthosia.

Clearly, they are to be read downwards in threes. The first set give the Athenian tradition, the second three that of Hesiod, the third seem some learned variation—Pherusa, the bearing one; Euporia, the plentiful one; only the last, Orthosia, has a suspicion of Artemis (Ἀρτέμις Ὀρθιά) about her. In the beautiful Sosias vase (fig. 18) of the Berlin Museum the three Horae appear inscribed "Ὧραι," and we may take their lovely figures to represent our

FIG. 18.—SOSIAS VASE (BERLIN MUSEUM).

Charites. It is not, perhaps, too fanciful to see in each the attempt of the artist to express her several names—Thallo bears a branch; Auxo, in the left hand the young miniature pomegranate, still bound within its sheath, in the right the fruit burst into full ripeness; Carpo comes last, bearing a single apple in her hand. They do not dance this time; they only stand in the stately assemblage of the gods, with "Hestia" and "Hermes" and

"Artemis" and "dear Zeus," to welcome Herakles home to Olympus.

Pausanias now passes through the Propylaea (fig. 19), and it is with a distinct sense of relief that we hear the gates closing behind him. Our liability to error is now, at last, limited. Out of Athene's sacred precinct he cannot rashly wander, though within that precinct he contrives to leave us with as few landmarks as may be.

At first, however, all is clear. From the Propylaea he goes to the temenos of Artemis Brauronia. The entrance to this temenos

FIG. 19.—PROPYLAEA (EAST PORTICO).

is certainly at the flight of rock-hewn steps seen to the right hand as the Propylaea is left. The boundary, too, of the precinct is plainly marked by a terrace-wall, which lies to the right as one approaches the steps, and then turns south-east from the steps at an acute angle, soon turning south-west, and cutting the southern Acropolis wall almost at right angles. Between the eastern porch of the Propylaea and these Artemis Brauronia steps must be placed all the monuments he sees before entering the precinct, and among these monuments one, as will be seen, has its basis still *in situ*.

Before starting with Pausanias it may be well to state that the absolutely fixed points in his Acropolis walk are these—

1. The Propylaea, with the basis of Athene Hygieia, in front of the southernmost column of the eastern portico.
2. The entrance to the precinct of Artemis Brauronia.
3. The Ge monument north of the Parthenon.
4. The eastern entrance to the Parthenon.
5. The Erechtheion.
6. The steps to the cave of Agraulos.

Roughly, then, after going into the precinct of Artemis he went north of the Parthenon, entered it by the east, and (after going to some point, not absolutely fixed, of the southern wall) went to the Erechtheion, thence to the Agraulos steps, and back to the Propylaea. All else is matter of conjecture, though this conjecture often attains a high degree of probability.

Between the Propylaea and the temenos of Artemis Brauronia Pausanias noted—

1. Statue of Leaina.
2. Aphrodite by Kalamis.
3. Bronze statue of Diitrephes.
4. Statue of Hygieia.
5. Statue of Athene Hygieia.
6. Stone of Silenus.
7. Boy with the perirrhanterion, by Lykios.
8. Perseus slaying Medusa, by Myron.

Pausanias passes to the mention of Leaina *apropos* of Socrates being the wisest of men, and Hippias, the son of Peisistratos, being wiser than Periander, one of the reputed seven wisest. If his mention of Leaina stood alone we could scarcely be sure that the bronze lion in honour of the mistress of Aristogeiton really stood on the Acropolis. Fortunately, we have other and more explicit evidence. Plutarch, in the treatise on *Garrulity*,[44] after telling the story, and saying it was nowise unworthy of heroes to love such a woman, adds—"The Athenians had a bronze lion made without a tongue, and set it upon the gates of the Acropolis, signifying by the high temper of the animal her unconquerable spirit, and by its having no tongue her inviolable silence." Polyaenus[45] varies the story: "she feared," he says, "to give way under the torture, so she bit out her tongue."

If the juxtaposition of the statue of Aphrodite was accidental, it

was at least singularly happy. This statue has been identified—I am quite unable to see on what grounds—with the famous Sosandra of Kalamis, which is known to have stood on the Acropolis. A basis of Pentelic marble still lying to the right as one leaves the Propylaea has a connection much more probable.[46] The inscription runs—

Καλλίας Ἱππονίκου ἀνέθηκ[ε]ν
("Kallias, son of Hipponikos, dedicated it").

The basis is quadrangular; it still bears the mark of the statue set upon it. The inscription is carved on the front side, very

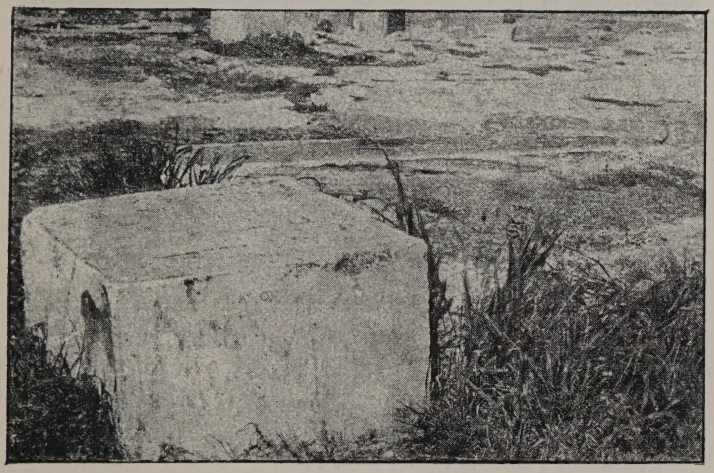


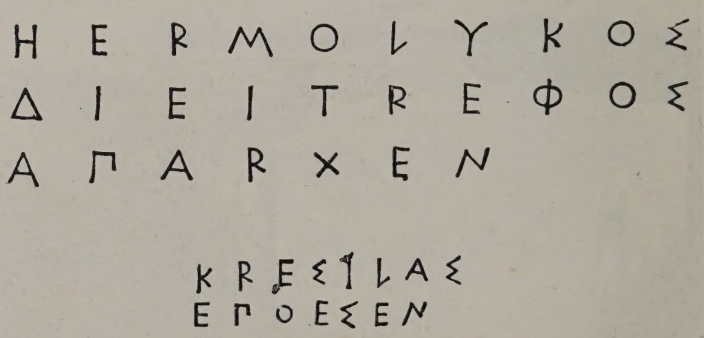
FIG. 20.—STONE WITH HERMOLYCUS INSCRIPTION.

close to the top of the stone; it begins about the middle, and there not being room enough it has to turn the corner downwards. The signature of Kalamis may very probably have been, according to archaic custom, on the statue itself. Kallias, son of Hipponikos, was the second of his name; he fought at Marathon, and bore the name Lakkoploutos (the pit millionaire). Plutarch,[47] in his *Aristides*, tells the story of how a Persian captive, mistaking him for a king from his long bow and his belt, revealed to him a treasure hidden in a pit; Kallias carefully killed the soldier, and took possession of the treasure.

There is, of course, no proof that this basis belonged to the

statue by Kalamis, but the letters accord well with his date. They date, according to some authorities, relying on the A and N, between 476 and 456 B.C.

The statue of Diitrephes seems to have been conceived as an old-world Sebastian. Fortunately a basis has been found which, it can scarcely be doubted, belonged to it. This basis, of quadrangular shape (height, 0·46 metres; length, 0·70 metres), is of Pentelic marble. It was found in the wall of a large cistern, in front of the western end of the Parthenon, in the excavation of 1839. It now lies a few yards to the east of the terrace, before the western end of the Parthenon; with it one or two other blocks, which form the little group in fig. 20. On the top of the basis are distinct marks of the statue having been fastened to it in two places. The inscription[48] is as follows:—



Ἑρμόλυκος | Διειτρέφους | ἀπαρχήν. | Κρησίλας | ἐπόησεν.

—("Hermolycus, son of Diitrephes [dedicated] the first-fruits. Kresilas made it").

It seems a little singular that Hermolycus should speak of a statue of his father as "first-fruits" (*ἀπαρχή*), but there is really no reason why he should not.

The death of Diitrephes falls about 409 B.C.[49] The letters of the inscription (notably the slanting *N*) point to a date not later than 444 B.C.; but then it must be remembered that the monument is not a public one, and that eccentricities in private writing went on long after public documents had attained a dreary uniformity.

The statue of Athene Hygieia gives a fixed point; its basis (fig. 21) is still *in situ*, in front of the southernmost column of the eastern portico, one fluted drum of which appears in the plan (fig. 22). It is certain, then, that at this point Pausanias is fairly out of the gates. The monuments he mentions up to this point —Leaina, Aphrodite, and Diitrephes—may quite possibly have been within the back portico.

The dedication of Athene Hygieia was closely connected with the building of the Propylaea. "While it was in process," Plutarch says in his *Life of Pericles*,[50] "one of the most skilful and hard-working of the masons lost his footing and fell down. He

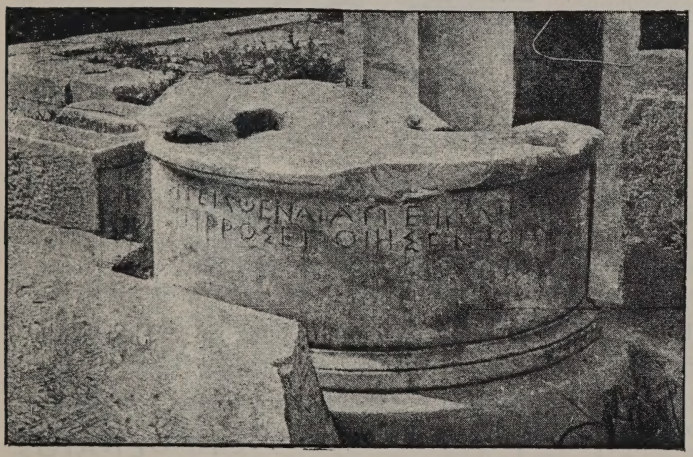


FIG. 21.—BASIS OF STATUE OF ATHENE HYGIEIA.

lay dangerously ill, and the doctors gave him up. Pericles was in despair, when the goddess appeared to him in a dream, and prescribed a remedy, by using which he easily cured the mason, and in consequence of this he set up a statue of Athene Hygieia on the Acropolis, near to the altar which, as they say, was there before." "The remedy," Pliny[51] says, "was an herb, which from that day on was called Parthenion, and held sacred to the goddess." The Parthenos of the Christians improved upon this; when the ladders broke, she held her workmen suspended in mid-air.

In 1839, when this corner of the Propylaea was being cleared out, a pedestal came to light, the position of which is best seen on

the accompanying plate (fig. 22). It is immediately in front of the column, and must have been set up after it was in place, as the

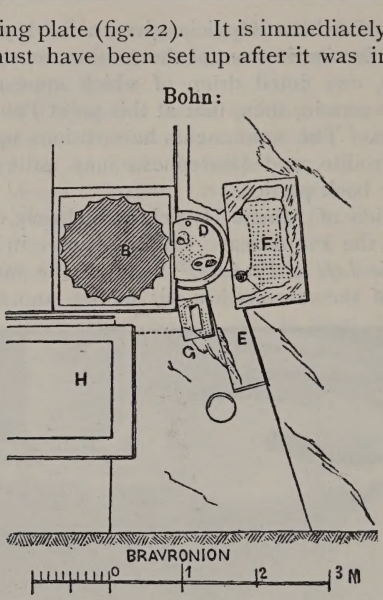


FIG. 22.—BOHN'S DIAGRAM OF HYGIEIA BASIS AND ADJACENT STONES.

back of the pedestal closes up a little gutter cut in the stylobate, and evidently meant for drainage. The inscription is as follows :—

ΑΘΕ ΝΑΙΟΙΤΕΙΑΘΕΝΑΙΑΙΤΕΙ ΥΛΙΕΙΑΙ
ΠΥΡΡΟΣΕΠΟΙΗΣΕ ΝΑΘΕΝΑΙΟΣ

Ἀθηναῖοι τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ τῇ Ὑγιείᾳ | Πύρρος ἐποίησεν Ἀθηναῖος.

—("The Athenians to Athene Hygieia. Pyrrhos the Athenian made it").

This inscription is cut so as to face (see the double lines on the plate), not due east, as would be expected, but slightly north-east, so that it may be taken as certain that the statue faced that way; the foot-marks on the basis indicate the same direction. Moreover, a large basis (F) planted in front of the statue, and no doubt in relation to it, has this orientation. This second large oblong basis has been the subject of much contention. Michaelis [52] has a tempting theory that on this basis was the statue of the mason for whose cure the Athene was dedicated. Pliny [53] refers

twice to this statue. He says, speaking of the story of the cure—"This was the slave who had his statue cast in bronze, that celebrated Splanchnoptes" (*i.e.*, the investigator of the entrails); and again, in another place—"Styppax the Cyprian is famous for one statue, the Splanchnoptes. This was the slave of Olympian Pericles represented as burning the entrails and blowing hard at the fire to make it blaze up." Nothing could be more delightfully appropriate than to put the slave crouching at the feet of the saviour goddess, blowing at the fire that burned to do her honour. There certainly is a basis, and if a statue is to go on it at all it must be a low one, as of a crouching slave, or it would hide the goddess herself. But then, again, it is possible, as Bohn suggests, that the large oblong basis supported, not the Splanchnoptes, but the table on which offerings were laid. It seems also remarkable that if the statue of the Splanchnoptes were so near, and the connection so obvious, Pausanias should not have mentioned it. Further, if Pyrrhos made the Athene Hygieia why not her worshipper also?

To the right of the statue (fig. 22) is a square basis (G), approached by a step. This is almost certainly the altar of Hygieia, near which the statue, according to Plutarch, was set up. The actual spot on which the statue stood would be determined by the place where the workman fell. The form of the inscription on the Pyrrhos basis points to the fact that the cult of Athene as Hygieia already existed; the Athenians dedicate the statue to Athene Hygieia. This previously existing cult is also clearly attested by a small red-figured fragment of vase-painting quite recently (1888) found on the Acropolis, inscribed as follows:—

. . . Ἀ[θην]αίᾳ Ὑγιεί[ᾳ. Κ]άλλις [ἐ]ποίησ[εν] καὶ ἀνέθ[ηκεν]

—("To Athene Hygieia. Kallis made and dedicated [this]"). The Θ of this inscription still has the cross, which goes out of use about 508 B.C. All of the design left is a shield, with a snake for device, and a fragment of drapery. No doubt Athene herself was represented.

The stone on which Silenus sat was probably a rock of naturally curious appearance, which required a legend to account for it.

Of the two next statues, by father and son, nothing is known. It has been suggested—and the suggestion is plausible—that the boy with the perirrhanterion, the vessel or brush for "holy-water

sprinkle," served a practical purpose by standing at the entrance to a precinct, probably that of Artemis Brauronia.

FIG. 23.—ATHENE HYGIEIA (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

The worshippers entering could asperge themselves from his bowl.

A statue of Athene found in the hieron of Asklepios at Epidaurus (fig. 23) is inscribed on the basis as follows:—

Ἀθηνᾷ Ὑγιείᾳ ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ σωτῆρος Ἀσκληπιοῦ,
Μᾶρ[κος] Ἰού[νιος] Δαδοῦχος τὸ
ῥπά.

("To Athene Hygieia, the priest of the Saviour Asklepios,
Marcus Junius the Torchbearer,
181"—*i.e.*, A.D.).

It is of too late date to bring into connection with the statue dedicated by Pericles, but it is of considerable interest as assuring the type of Athene Hygieia at a fixed date. It is now set up in the Central Museum at Athens. The goddess wears a helmet, which recalls the Parthenos type, and carries her shield; she moves impetuously to the right. Relying on the analogy to the Athene of the Madrid puteal, Dr. Petersen (*Mitt.*, 1886, p. 314) thinks that we have here an echo of the type of the new-born Athene in the east pediment. The new-born Athene would be a fitting type of Athene Hygieia in the precinct of Asklepios, who was god of child-birth as well as of healing generally. This seems to me far-fetched. When the east pediment is reached, it will be seen that my own view of the composition of the east pediment is that Athene was represented actually rising from the head of Zeus.

SECTION XVI

SANCTUARY OF ARTEMIS BRAURONIA—VOTIVE BULL OF THE AREOPAGUS COUNCIL

TEXT, i. 23, §§ 7, 8, 9, 10; 24, §§ 1, 2.

i. 23, 7. THERE is also a sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia, the image in which is by Praxiteles. The surname of the goddess is derived from the deme of Brauron, and the ancient wooden image, the Tauric Artemis as they describe it, is in Brauron.

i. 23, 8. The "wooden horse" is set up in bronze on the Acropolis. All who do not attribute absolute folly to the Phrygians know that the work of Epeios was really an engine for breaking down the wall. But the story says that the wooden horse had within it the bravest of the Greeks, and the shape of this bronze horse is in accordance with tradition, and Menestheus and Teucer are shown looking out from inside the horse; so also are the sons of Theseus.

i. 23, 9. Among the statues of men after the horse is one made by Kritias representing Epicharinos ready for the hoplite race. Œnobius was a man who behaved very nobly to Thucydides, the son of Oloros. He obtained a decree for the recall of Thucydides from exile. But the historian was slain by treachery on the way home, and there is a monument to him near the gate Melitides.

i. 23, 10. The stories of Hermolykos the Pancratiast, and Phormion, the son of Asopichos, have been related by others, and I therefore omit them. I have only the following anecdote to add about Phormion. Phormion was, like the better sort of Athenians, of an illustrious descent, but he was in debt. So he withdrew to the deme of Paiania, and lived there until the Athenians chose him as admiral. But he said that he could not sail on the expedition, for he was in debt, and could not inspire respect in his sailors till he had paid off his creditors. So the Athenians, who were determined that Phormion should lead the expedition at all costs, paid off all

i. 24, 1. his debts. Here there is also a statue of Athena striking Marsyas the Silenus, because he took up the pipes when the goddess meant them to be flung away.

Opposite the monuments I have described is a representation of Theseus and the bull called the Minotaur, which may have been a man, or, as is the prevalent story, a peculiar monster. In our own time women have borne much stranger

i. 24, 2. monsters than this. There is also a Phrixos, son of Athamas, who was carried away to the Colchians by the ram. He is represented gazing at the burning thigh-bones which he has cut from the ram, according to the Hellenic custom, after sacrificing it to some god, most probably the god called Laphustios by the Orchomenians. After this come other statues, then a Herakles strangling the snakes, according to the story. There is an Athena rising from out of the head of Zeus. There is also a bull set up by the Council of the Areopagus; the reason of the dedication is not known, but many conjectures might easily be made.

COMMENTARY ON i. 23, §§ 7, 8, 9, 10; 24, §§ 1, 2.

Nowhere perhaps is the silence of Pausanias so vexing as when he tells not a word of the cult of Artemis Brauronia. Standing within her very precinct, talking if he would to her priestess, he could surely, even at that late day, have learnt something that he might tell of the strange ceremonies that went on in her honour. Instead, he concerns himself only with the question of her various statues, and even here leaves us with only a troublesome problem, a confused tradition for the disentangling of which again thanks are due to the acuteness of Dr. Robert.[54] One of the archæological "mährchen" of which he has most ingeniously shown the inconsistency is the story of the original cultus statue of the Brauronian Artemis.

The story went thus—

From the passage under consideration now, all that can be learnt is—

1. In her sanctuary on the Acropolis there was an image of her by Praxiteles.

2. The ancient wooden image described as the Tauric Artemis was at Brauron.

Such was the Attic legend told to Pausanias on the Acropolis, and probably believed by him. When he gets to Brauron (i. 32, 1) he has seen reason to alter his view. He says—"Not far from Marathon is Brauron, and they say that there Iphigeneia, daughter

of Agamemnon, landed in her flight from the Tauri, bringing with her the image of Artemis, and leaving the image there, she went to Athens, and last to Argos. And indeed there *is* there an ancient wooden image (*ξόανον*) of Artemis; but who of the barbarians really have the image, according to my opinion, I will make clear in another part." This other part (*ἐν ἑτέρῳ λόγῳ*) turns out to be his account of Laconia. In describing a place called Limnaeum he says (iii. 16, 7)—"The place which has the name Limnaeum is the sanctuary of the Orthian Artemis, and her wooden image, they say, is the one that Orestes and Iphigeneia once upon a time stole from the Tauric Chersonnese; and they say that it was brought to their country when Orestes was king; and I think what they say is more probable than what the Athenians say." And then comes a bit of independent criticism on the part of Pausanias, of what value will be seen—"For what reason, forsooth," he asks sapiently, "should Iphigeneia have left the image at Brauron; or why, when the Athenians were preparing to leave their country, did they not put this image, among other things, aboard? For even to this day so great is the name of the Tauric goddess that the Cappadocians who dwell on the Euxine contend that they have the image, and those of the Lydians who have a sanctuary of Artemis Anaitis make the same contention, and yet they say that such an image was neglected by the Athenians and became the spoil of the Mede, that it was taken from Brauron to Susa, and finally, by the gift of Seleucus, in our own days the Syrians of Laodicea have it."

So far the position of Pausanias is this:—He believes the Artemis Orthia to be the true original Tauric image; and the first part of his argument is, "I do *not* believe the original image ever was at Brauron (though they have an old image there), for, if even Iphigeneia had left it there, the Athenians never could have let the Persians take it away. Take something away from Brauron they certainly did, for they have an image at Laodicea they claim to have got thence." In another book (viii. 46, 3) he again repeats the statement of the theft from Brauron. Talking of the practice of carrying off statues, he says—"We know that Xerxes, son of Darius and king of the Persians, besides the spoil he took from Athens, took from Brauron an image of Artemis Brauronia." In fact, Pausanias, of the two conflicting legends—that of Brauron and Laodicea—unhesitatingly accepts that of Laodicea, very probably because it enabled him to believe that the Limnaean image—which no doubt looked queerer and

older than the Brauronian, and about which he heard a strange and interesting tale that to his mind fell in with the Tauric attribution — was the authentic one. On the imperial coinage of Laodicea,[55] curiously enough, we have a type which can scarcely be other than an echo of this reputed Tauric Artemis (fig. 24). The goddess has on her head a modius, in one hand an axe; she wears long drapery; beside her are two stags. The coin is interesting in connection with the Laodicean legend—purely mythical, though, as it will be seen it is.

FIG. 24. — COIN OF LAODICEA: TAURIC ARTEMIS.

The second part of his argument is too curious and characteristic of the Pausaniac mind to be omitted. Not only, he goes on to argue, do I disbelieve the Brauronian legend, but I can bring up actual evidence (*μαρτύρια*) as follows to show that the Orthia at Lacedaemon is the wooden image of the barbarians. Very odd "evidence" it is, but no worse than that of many a modern mythologist. "First," says Pausanias, "there is this. When Astrabacus and Alopekos, the sons of Irbos (the son of Amplusthenes, the son of Amphicles, the son of Agis), found the image, straightway they went mad. Then another thing. The Limnatae of the Spartans, and the men of Cynosura and of Mesoa and of Pitane, when they were sacrificing to Artemis, fell into a dispute, and from that went on to bloodshed; and when many had died upon the altar a plague slew the rest. And after that a saying bade them let the altar be sprinkled with human blood; and instead of a person being chosen by lot to be sacrificed, Lycurgus instituted the flogging of young men, and thus the altar was sated with human blood. And the priestess stands close at hand, holding the wooden image, and ordinarily it is light on account of its small size; but if those who are flogging the youths spare them when they strike, on account either of their beauty or reputation, then straightway the woman feels the image getting heavy and hard to hold up, and she accuses those who are inflicting the blows, and says that it is on their account that she is oppressed —so persistently inherent is it in the image, on account of the sacrifices at Tauri, to delight in human blood. And they give to the goddess not only the title of Orthia, but also they call her Lygodesma (bound with willow), because it was found in a willow bush, and the willow bound about it made the image upright." To prove the Tauric identity, Pausanias tells a story which makes

straight against it. Local tradition knew nothing of Tauri. The goddess had not even the epithet Tauropolos; she was the upright one, she of the willow bush. The savage idol did not need to go to Tauri to acquire a taste for human blood.

The position of Pausanias, then, is at this final point as follows: —The Limnaean statue is the one true authentic savage Tauric idol. Laodicea has got an ancient image, and *has got it from Brauron* through the Persians, but it is not the true one. The poor Brauronians have not even an authentic image at all, only a copy of their own local god, but they think they have the Tauric image.

Now, if we turn to an early source, to in fact our main authority for the Tauric tradition, the Euripidean *Iphigeneia in Tauris*, it will be seen that the fifth century held quite another view. Athene gives her final mandate—a mandate, we may be sure, regarded as completely orthodox. She bids Orestes take his sister and the image and go to the farthest limits of Atthis:—

> "There is a certain holy place
> Called Alae by my chosen race,
> There set the image in a shrine
> Named Tauric for those toils of thine,
> Thy wanderings that then shall cease
> At length about the roads of Greece,
> And the Erinyes and their stings
> That drove thee to thy wanderings;
> So henceforth shall men sing of this
> By name of Tauric Artemis.
> And make an ordinance to be
> In generations after thee
> As often as the feast comes in
> For expiation of thy sin.
> A knife shall touch a victim's head,
> A man's, so that his blood be shed,
> Not to his hurt, but for a sign,
> And reverence due to the divine.
> But thou, Iphigeneia, where
> Climbs the Brauronian sacred stair,
> The goddess henceforth makes it thine
> To be the keeper of her shrine.
> There, too, at death shall be thy grave
> All decked about with garments brave,
> For woven raiment shall they bring
> Of women dead in travailing."
>
> (Euripides, *Iphig. in Tauris*, 1448.)

If one thing is more clear than another, it is that the Brauron tradition is followed. There epic story was fused with local

tradition. Euripides at least knows nothing of the stolen image. Had the Persians really despoiled the temple, he could not have omitted proleptic mention of it; the natural, stock theory would have been to make Athene foresee the rapine and prophesy a restoration, a point that would have brought down the house. The conclusion is plain. The story of the Persian theft is a purely ætiological myth invented to satisfy the vanity of Asia Minor cities; it became a convenient vehicle for local conceit. The Persians had made off with some statues, therefore wherever a local image desired fuller prestige, it too had been stolen from Greece proper. Brauron had her old image, never lost it; Lacedaemon had hers. Both had their savage attendant ritual; neither had originally any connection whatever with Tauri. Once the Tauric myth popularised, impressed on the educated imagination by the genius of a great poet, every local cult cherished its own analogous savagery and laid claim to possess the original image. It scarcely concerns us here to follow the rise of the Iphigeneia myth further, the image being here the chief concern; but it may just be indicated that the name Iphigeneia itself is a bye-title of Artemis—that, though the name sounds to us proper and peculiar, it and many another similar compound were common enough among the Greeks, and from the goddess-title itself might come easily enough the maiden sacrificed and the favoured priestess. Further, there is little doubt that the whole story of the return of Iphigeneia to Attica was added about the fifth century B.C., when the influence of the dramas of Æschylus had given to the myth of Orestes and the Areopagus judgment a widespread influence. To complete the Orestes story in a thoroughly satisfactory manner, the return of Iphigeneia was essential: there was a grave of a certain local Iphigeneia in Attica; there was an Artemis Tauropolos;[56] there was an ancient xoanon at Brauron—it all fitted together. A poet who could link a local cult to epic story and add a halo to an ancient image was free of his mythology.

The Brauronion on the Acropolis never laid claim to the Tauric image—it dare not, Brauron itself was too near, the tradition of Euripides too imminent; it contained, so far as can be gathered from Pausanias, only an image by Praxiteles. From a famous inscription,[57] however, now in the British Museum, it is certain there were two images, to either or both of which the women of Athens were accustomed to make offerings. These statues, after the careless manner of inscriptions, are not regularly each called

by a several formal title, but are loosely described, perhaps according to the fancy of priest, worshipper, or stone-mason. There being no doubt as to the distinction at the time, they were certainly not bound to consider our present perplexities. The descriptions are as follows :—

I.	II.
τὸ ἕδος	τὸ ἄγαλμα
τὸ ἕδος τὸ ἀρχαῖον	τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ὀρθόν
τὸ ἕδος τὸ λίθινον	τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ ἑστηκός
i.e.,	
the (seated) statue	the image
the ancient (seated) statue	the upright image
the stone (seated) statue	the standing image

The English word "statue" does not at all adequately represent ἕδος, and is only used because for consistency ἄγαλμα is translated here, as elsewhere, by "image." Further, it is only by implication that it is known the ἕδος was seated, because the other image is differentiated as standing. Ἕδος and ἄγαλμα, opposed to each other, can only mean that ἕδος was the old cultus image, ἄγαλμα a new votive image. The ἕδος was not a stone copy of the older xoanon at Brauron, which all tradition made standing. The statue by Praxiteles was the ἄγαλμα ; of it further we know—

a. For certain it was upright, standing.
b. For certain, by implication, it was not of stone ;
c. Not of bronze, as it was clad by the women in actual raiment.

It remains that the image was either of wood or gold and ivory. In either case it need scarcely be said it is very improbable that it was by the younger, almost certain it was by the elder Praxiteles.

Dr. Studniczka[58] has brought much ingenuity to bear on his attempt to show that we have in the well-known "Diana of Gabii" a copy of the image of Praxiteles. The goddess in the Gabii statue is represented as just fastening on her double chiton, which might agree with her title Chitone, and there is nothing to hinder its being a copy of a statue by the younger Praxiteles. There the evidence ends, and it is most probable its author has by this given up his own theory ; anyhow, it need scarcely be said it is considered inadmissible here. A much humbler but far more beautiful monument has probably preserved for us an echo of the Praxitelean image—a fragment of a votive vase[59] found not long ago on the Acropolis (fig. 25, *a*). The inside of the cylix (for

cylix it has evidently been) is decorated with a design in relief representing Artemis, a beautiful, archaic type of the goddess, her quiver on her shoulder, her bow in the left hand, a flower held delicately in her right—its whole feeling, as Dr. Hirschfeld first noted, and as every one who sees it must own, that of a cultus statue. The hands, arms, face, and feet are white; the whole of the rest of the figure was gilt, strong evidence in itself that it is a copy of some chryselephantine image. The flower was not in the fifth century B.C. the characteristic attribute of Artemis; it must therefore rest on some ancient, half-obsolete

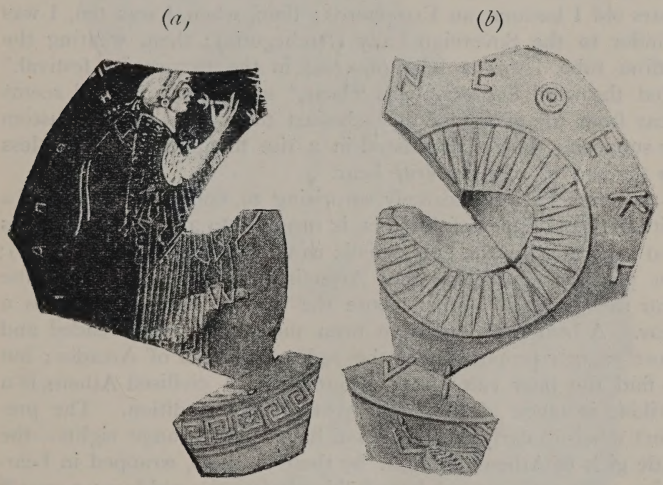


FIG. 25.—CYLIX: ARTEMIS—(*a*) INTERIOR; (*b*) EXTERIOR (MUSEUM OF ARCHÆOLOGICAL SOCIETY, ATHENS).

tradition. It is no chance invention of the vase-painter; he might put a flower in the hands of a chance mortal maiden, but not so lightly could he give it a goddess attribute-laden like Artemis. On the reverse (fig. 25, *b*) is the dedication, ια . . . [ἀ]νέθηκε[ν], which Dr. Robert restores conjecturally ['Α]ιά[ντω]. As there is no space for the name of the goddess to whom it is dedicated τῆι 'Αρτέμιδι), the name of some woman dedicator must naturally be supplied. The form of the A and N in the inscription points to a date about 470-460 B.C., the time when the elder Praxiteles was working, together with Kalamis, on the Acropolis.

But the image of the goddess must not wholly distract us from her cult. The later imported Tauric associations set aside, it remains to ask, What was the character of the worship of Artemis Brauronia? From an examination of traditions and inscriptions two things come out: she was worshipped with a service (ἀρκτεῖα) obscurely connected with bears; she was the recipient of an extraordinary amount of votive raiment, and was called Chitone.

The *locus classicus* about the "bear service" is the passage in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes (641-644), in which the chorus of women sing of the benefits they have received of the State, how they were reared at its expense—"As soon as I was seven years old I became an Errephoros; then, when I was ten, I was grinder to the Sovereign Lady (Archegetis); then, wearing the saffron robe, I was a bear (ἄρκτος) in the Brauronian festival." That the word ἄρκτος means "bear," not "consecrated," seems clear from the efforts of the scholiast to account for the custom by supposing that it originated in a rite to appease the goddess for the slaying of a favourite bear.

In Arcadia it is scarcely surprising to find that a maiden, a faithless worshipper of Artemis, is turned into a bear, specially as that bear goes by the euphemistic name Callisto (the fairest one); nor yet is it surprising that Artemis herself, who had a shrine near the grave of Callisto, bore the title of Calliste, and was a bear. A bear may well have been the thing most dreaded and most eagerly propitiated by the rude shepherds of Arcadia; but to find the bear cult on the sacred hill of civilised Athens is a striking instance of the tenacity of ancient tradition. The precinct must, in early days at least, have seen strange sights—the little girls of Athens, brought by their mothers, wrapped in bear-skins, to dance or crouch bear-fashion before the goddess; a goat [60] was sacrificed, and till the next Brauronia came round they were safe from marriage. They seem to have got ashamed of the rude ritual, for by the time of Aristophanes a saffron robe was substituted for the bear-skin, and henceforward we hear more of the dedication of raiment than of the dancing of bears. As the bear-skin had no doubt been sacred to the bear-goddess, so henceforth the peculiar raiment they wore on the consecration-day was offered to her as Chitone. The stele in the British Museum (already noted) still stands as a pathetic record of the raiment and toilette gear of the women. Some, as has been seen, gave their gifts to the new Praxitelean image; others—one hopes, the most of them—were faithful to the ancient seated stone image.

One offers a chitoniskos of carded wool, another her cloak, another her saffron robe, and yet another (young still, one likes to fancy) her mirror with an ivory handle. The list is a long one, and the goddess, if she wore all the dedicated raiment, must have had enough to do: she disdained nothing,

FIG. 26.—BRAURONIAN BEAR (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

however old and worn; here and there some cloak or shawl is noted down as a "rag." But the bear-goddess was not wholly out of mind. One woman—nameless, alas!—richer or more pious than the rest, offered to the goddess a small stone bear (fig. 26) seated comfortably on her hind legs. The bear was found somewhere on the Acropolis. A precise record of the place of finding

has not been kept, but she could scarcely have been dedicated to any other than the Brauronian Artemis; she stands now (1888) in a corner of the front left-hand room of the Acropolis Museum.[61]

The precinct of Artemis Brauronia has now (1889) been thoroughly excavated, and it is disappointing to find that no certain remains of her temple have come to light. Substantial foundations have been laid bare, of which a view is given in fig. 27, but it is quite certain they belonged, not to a temple, but merely to a colonnade. The actual temple as opposed to a precinct

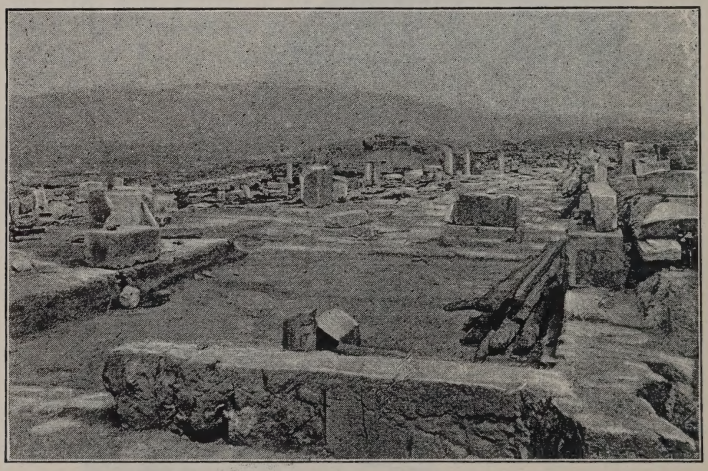


FIG. 27.—FOUNDATIONS EXCAVATED WITHIN THE PRECINCT OF ARTEMIS BRAURONIA.

may never have existed, or, again, it *may* have been destroyed during the Frankish occupation.

Next are mentioned in order—

1. The bronze copy of the Trojan horse.
2. Statue of Epicharinos.
3. Statue of Œnobius.
4. Statue of Hermolykos the Pancratiast.
5. Statue of Phormio.

To the position of the Trojan horse Pausanias gives no clue; but as the statues are mentioned in consecution as next after it, it may be supposed they were all near together.

There are strong reasons for placing the Trojan horse *within* the precinct of Artemis.

In the *Birds* of Aristophanes, when the new wall of the city of Nephelokokkygia is built, the messenger reports it as so big and wide that two hundred chariots could pass along it

> " with steeds
> As big as the wooden one."

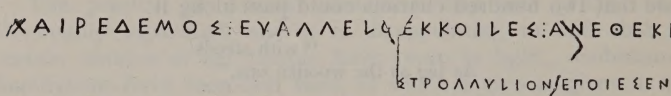
The scholiast [62] on the passage remarks that Aristophanes is probably not alluding in a general way to the mythical Trojan

FIG. 28.—BLOCKS OF BASIS BY STRONGYLION.

horse, but that he refers to the actual bronze one on the Acropolis, for a " wooden horse " was set up on the Acropolis with this inscription—" Charidemos, son of Evangelos of Koile, dedicated it."

The scholiast read one line of the inscription, what was in his days the top one, and left out the lower one, the sculptor's signature. Two blocks of the basis [63] of this very bronze horse have been found; they lie in the precinct of Artemis, a good deal to the right as you go in; their position now (1888) is shown in the view (fig. 28). They are not *in situ*, but it seems unlikely such very heavy blocks should have been dragged far. Fate,

however, has turned them upside down. If the scholiast were wandering round nowadays he would probably copy the sculptor's signature and leave the dedication, hidden in grass and nettles, unread—



Χαιρέδημος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκεν | Στρογγυλίων ἐποίησεν.

—("Strongylion made it"). They were wise to choose Strongylion, for, as Pausanias tells us elsewhere, he was the best man at doing bulls and horses. The *Birds* was brought out 414 B.C., and the letters of the inscription fall a little before this date (note the Σ). It would be quite in the manner of Aristophanes to allude to the horse as a recent novelty. Finding the slabs here in the Artemis precinct, it is tempting to suppose Pausanias saw them there. Moreover, at a certain festival of the rhapsodes Hesychius [64] tells they came to recite Homer within the precinct, and it seems likely the horse may have been a votive offering connected with this festival.

The basis of the statue of Epicharinos [65] has also been found in the excavations of 1838 between the Propylaea and the Parthenon. It is of Pentelic marble, quadrangular (height 0·31, length 0·63, breadth 0·92). It bears traces of colour, and has marks which show it supported a statue. The inscription runs—

Ἐπιχαρῖνος [ἀνέ]θηκεν ὁ - - - - -
Κριτίος καὶ Νησιώτης ἐπο[ιης]άτην.

—("Epicharinos dedicated it the . . . Kritios and Nesiotes made it"). We have, of course, to emend the Kritias of Pausanias to Kritios. It shows how the traditions of art were fading, that a pair of sculptors so famous as Kritios and Nesiotes should be so handled—the name of one omitted, of the other misspelt.

The only difficulty about the inscription is the word following "dedicated" (*ἀνέθηκεν*); it should naturally be the name of the father. Wilamowitz [66] thinks that the "hoplite racing" (*ὁπλιτο-*

δρομεῖν) of Pausanias came from a misreading of the inscription into ὁπλιτοδρόμος—a mistake made, first by Polemon, then copied by Pausanias, who probably supplemented his personal information from Polemon; but the supposition is scarcely necessary, though very ingenious. If the statue was of a man in the attitude and attire of a hoplite racer, Pausanias would so describe one, whatever the inscription.

No trace of the other three statues has been found. The excavations, which have now reached the precinct (1889), have not brought their bases to light. The "others" who have written about Hermolykos and Phormion[67] are, of course, Herodotus and Thucydides. Herodotus (ix. 105) says, in speaking of the battle of Mycale—"In this contest the Athenians, of all the Greeks, behaved with the greatest valour, and among them Hermolykos bore off the palm. He was the son of Euthymos, and a man famous as a pancratist. This Hermolykos afterwards fell in the war between the Athenians and Carystians. He was killed in a fight near Cyrne in the country of the Carystians, and was buried near to Geraestos." Both as pancratist and patriot his statue fitly stood on the Acropolis.

Taking up the sequence of monuments from the statue of Phormion, Pausanias next enumerates—

1. Athene striking Marsyas.
2. Theseus and the Minotaur.
3. Phrixos watching the sacrifice of the ram.
4. Herakles strangling the snakes (and other statues).
5. Athene springing from the head of Zeus.
6. Votive bull offered by the Areopagus Council.

As to the first of these, Pausanias only says, after speaking of Phormion—"Here there is also a statue of Athene striking Marsyas." The Theseus he introduces with the words—"Opposite those (monuments) I have described" (*τούτων πέραν ὧν εἴρηκα*).[68] How far the *ὧν εἴρηκα* goes back, it is hard to say, possibly to the wooden horse. Where and how the monuments to be discussed must be arranged depends on the answer to be given to a question that has to be raised in the next paragraph.

(1) *Athene striking Marsyas.*[69]—Where exactly this group stood cannot be described. But some notion of its general conception may be got from several echoes of the group in marble statues, vases, etc. The principal of these are as follows:—

(1) Bronze coins of Athens.
(2) Relief from a marble vase at Athens.
(3) A red-figured oinochoe in Berlin (no. 2418).
(4) Marble statue in the Lateran.
(5) Bronze statuette in the British Museum.

The first three represent the whole group, the last two the figure of the Satyr only. One of the coins is of considerable interest, because, struck as it was at Athens, it is on it we may look with most certainty for an echo. Athene to the left drops the flute and turns averse; the Satyr to the right is in an attitude of surprise. The coin is, however, badly preserved, and so late as to be of no use in reconstructing style. The Berlin vase gives a more vivid picture of the scene: Athene, in helmet and ægis, leans with her left arm on her long spear; her right, outstretched, drops the flute with a dignified gesture of contempt; the Satyr stands back in amazement. The drawing is careless, but full of vigour. On the marble vase relief the positions of Athene and Marsyas are reversed (fig. 29). Athene is to the right;* she carries a large shield, and instead of standing calmly, she also starts away. Of the two statues in the round the marble statue is certainly nearer in manner to the "time" of Myron; it retains something of the archaic manner; but, as Myron is not known to have used marble for statues, it can at best be but a marble copy. Its chief use is not for reconstructing the style of Myron, but to give us an idea of how the Satyr starting back would look in the round.

It occurs of course to every one that neither the coin, relief, nor vase representation tallies closely with the words of Pausanias. Pausanias says distinctly he saw "a statue of Athene *striking Marsyas*, because he took up the pipes when the goddess meant them to be flung away." In all three representations the action is quite otherwise. Athene stands quietly, or at most (in the relief) moves away; she makes no sort of gesture to strike. There is another account of the Myron group by Pliny which accords much better with the copies cited. Pliny says (34-57)—"(Myron) fecit . . . et Satyrum admirantem tibias et Minervam." The words taken alone, without monumental evidence, might be taken three different ways: (1) Myron made two separate statues —a Satyr wondering at the flutes, and another statue (quite distinct) of Minerva; (2) Myron made a statue of a Satyr wondering

* In the cut the positions are reversed.

at two things—*i.e.*, the flutes and Minerva; (3) Myron made a group consisting of a principal figure—of a Satyr wondering at the flutes, and Minerva standing by. As this last rendering admirably fits in with the monumental evidence, and does no violence to the Latin, it seems reasonable to accept it.

But we are not out of the Pausanias difficulty yet. Did he see

FIG. 29.—MARBLE VASE: ATHENE AND MARSYAS (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

on the Acropolis the group of Myron described by Pliny, and well according with the copies we have; and if so, why did he describe it so differently? Why does he say Athene is striking the Satyr; and why does he say the Satyr has taken up the pipes, when the copies represent Athene as just dropping them? These difficulties, added to the fact that Pausanias never mentions Myron as the author of the group, have led some archæologists to reject the

evidence of the copies altogether; this does not seem necessary, and, in the face of the coin types, is a strong measure. A probable explanation is this. In the first place, we need not trouble about the omission of Myron's name; Pausanias does not say who made the copy of the wooden horse, but we do not doubt it was Strongylion. In the second place, we have abundant evidence that Pausanias was an inaccurate observer and a slipshod describer. Suppose that he saw a group in the round corresponding with the scene on the vase. In a group in the round the flutes necessarily lie on the ground. Pausanias supposes the Satyr has dropped them, not Athene; he starts back in an attitude of fear. Her right hand, not needed in the round for the flutes, may have held the spear, or, far more likely, was upraised in a gesture of contempt and anger. Pausanias, seeing the panic-stricken attitude of the Satyr, thinks the goddess is about to strike; there is nothing far-fetched in such a supposition. The myth of Athene and Marsyas was dear to Athenian pride; it was to them the constant symbol of the select superiority of their own artistic instinct, and of their revolt against barbaric license. A fragment of the comic poet Melanippides, preserved by Athenaeus,[70] well expresses the contempt of the lyre-loving people for the orgiastic flutes—"And Athene cast away the instrument from her holy hand and said, 'Perish, shameful thing, insult to my body, for I will not lend myself to the like baseness.'" One is almost tempted to think the poet's words were inspired by the sculptor's group.

(2) *Theseus and the Minotaur.* — It would be beside the mark to refer here to the endless compositions depicting the famous combat; some of those that occur on vase-paintings have already been given. It is allowable, however, in connection with this Acropolis group, to direct attention to the coin types (three in number) on which the fight appears. One of these is given here (fig. 30). Theseus, with the club in his right hand, kneels with his left knee on the half-prostrate Minotaur.

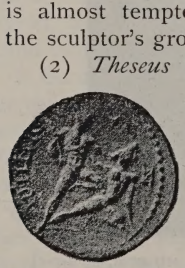


FIG. 30. — COIN OF ATHENS: THESEUS AND MINOTAUR.

(3) *Phrixos watching the sacrificed ram.*—Pausanias does not say how he knew the statue to be Phrixos. It may, of course, have had a dedicatory inscription, but one is tempted to suppose that the statue was, like the boy with the laver, merely a genre subject, the representation of a sacrifice, and that Pausanias made

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up his own mythology. Phrixos and his whole legend are foreign to Attica. Zeus Laphystios, about whom Pausanias makes his learned conjecture, is, if we take him to mean Zeus the "swallower," better suited to the wilds of Boeotia than to the hill of the Acropolis. At Coronea, near the mountain Laphystium in Boeotia, Pausanias[71] saw a stone statue of the god, and that was the spot, he notes, where Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle. The scene of the burning of a sacrificial victim while priests and deity look on is not uncommon on vase-paintings.

(4) *Herakles strangling the snakes* occurs, though rarely, on vase-paintings. It was not one of the "canonical" labours; and probably the story arose with a later desire to glorify the childhood of the hero by some premature exploit.

It can scarcely have been accidental that the two monuments seen by Pausanias (no. 5 here, and one to be mentioned later) represent the subjects respectively of the eastern and western pediments of the Parthenon. It is noticeable also that the group Pausanias saw, representing the birth of Athene, stood near the western end of the Parthenon, where the contest with Poseidon is represented, whereas the group with the "showing" of the olive and the water stood near the eastern pediment, which had the birth of Athene. This may have been accident, or, as some archæologists have conjectured, it may have been a "tactful" arrangement to avoid challenging immediate comparison. It is more important to note that if we follow Pausanias we must own that the group representing the birth of Athene, whether it was in the round or in relief, showed her actually *rising out* of the head of Zeus. It has been usual to suppose that this motive was too unsculpturesque for the composition of Pheidias, but where tradition is urgent it is dangerous to lay down any such rigid canons of taste. Further, it may be remarked here that Pausanias, in describing the later monument, makes no mention of a contest; probably the peaceful exhibition of the "semeia" was represented as on some terra-cotta reliefs.

(6) *The votive bull.*—This bull was of bronze, and seems to have gone by the name of "the bull of the citadel." There seems to have been somewhere near this bull, and accounted a wonder like the Trojan horse, the figure of a ram, probably in silver[72] bronze, with very big horns—"outrageously" big horns, the comic writer Plato said. There is an epigram[73] preserved in which these two—the ram and the bull—are repre-

sented "going on" at each other in somewhat pot and kettle fashion :—

> " 'Y're a bull, why don't you plough, you lazy beast,
> Instead of lying up there, a queer sort of guest at a feast?'
> 'Why aren't *you* off, you ram, to the pastures green?
> Standing a silver image, a sight to be seen.'
> 'I stand here mute
> Just to shame you lying there, you idle brute.'"

Epigrams of this sort, put into the mouth of the votive offerings, were very popular, and it is to them we owe a good deal of our knowledge of ancient statues.

Very possibly not far from here may have stood the famous heifer of Myron.

ADDENDUM TO SECTION XVI

DR. DÖRPFELD writes to me :—

Page 405—"Two other blocks of the Strongylion basis have been found—the one to the north of the Chalkotheke, the other near the north-west corner of the Parthenon. I believe that the horse stood north of the Chalkotheke."

SECTION XVII

LACUNA PASSAGE—ZEUS POLIEUS

TEXT, i. 24, §§ 3, 4.

i. 24, 3. I HAVE mentioned before this that the zeal of the Athenians in religious matters greatly exceeds that of the other Greeks. It was the Athenians who first gave Athena the name of Ergane, and who first made the incomplete figures of Hermes, and in the temple with them is a Daimôn Spoudaiôn (Fortune of the Zealous).

Persons who prefer works of skill to antiquities will find the following worth seeing:—There is a man wearing a helmet, done by Kleoitas, and Kleoitas has made his nails of silver. There is also a figure of Earth praying Zeus to send rain upon her, either because the Athenians were themselves in need of rain, or because there was an universal drought throughout Greece. There are statues also set up there of Konon's son, Timotheos, and Konon himself. A group representing Procne resolved upon her design against Itys, together with the boy, was dedicated by Alcamenes. There is also a representation of the exhibition by Athena of the olive branch

i. 24, 4. and of the wave by Poseidon. There are two images of Zeus—that of Leochares, and one called Zeus Polieus. I will describe the ritual observed in sacrificing to this god, but will not give the reasons assigned for it. Barley and wheat, mixed together, are placed on the altar of Zeus Polieus, and no watch is set over it. The ox which they have made ready for sacrifice, and are watching, strays to the altar and eats some of the grain. One of the priests is called the ox-slayer, and there he flings down the axe, according to the custom, turns, and flees away (?) * Then, as though in ignorance of the man who did the deed, they bring the axe to judgment. This is their ritual.

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* The story appears to be imperfect.

Commentary on i. 24, §§ 3, 4.

The next section takes us from the Areopagus bull (of which, be it remembered, the position is not yet known) to the eastern front of the Parthenon. The list of monuments is as follows :—

1. A temple, the mention of which may follow a lacuna.
2. A statue by Kleoitas.
3. Earth praying for rain.
4. Statues of Konon and Timotheos.
5. Procne and Itys.
6. Athene and Poseidon.
7. Zeus Polieus.

The great question of this section is—What is the temple Pausanias saw, if he did see one? Where did it stand? To whom was it dedicated? Two[74] views are eagerly maintained—

(1) The old view of Dr. Urlich, according to which the temple seen by Pausanias was the temple of Athene Ergane standing within a precinct immediately succeeding that of Artemis Brauronia — bounded, in fact, on the west by the Artemis precinct, on the east by the steps leading towards the Parthenon.

(2) The new view maintained by Dr. Dörpfeld, according to which the temple seen was the ancient temple of Athene, the foundations of which he has himself discovered between the Erechtheion and the Parthenon.

I am unable myself to give an adherence to either view.

Before entering on this discussion it is most desirable that the point at which Pausanias has arrived should be, as far as possible, fixed. At present we are hanging in the air between the precinct of Artemis Brauronia and the eastern end of the Parthenon.

Most happily no. 3 of the present list gives us a point absolutely fixed. This is so important that it will be best to leave the strict order hitherto observed and consider it first.

Cut in the living rock,[75] *in situ* for ever, about 9 metres north of the seventh column of the Parthenon (counting from

the west), is the inscription given in facsimile in fig. 31 —Γῆς καρποφόρου κατὰ μαντείαν— ("Of Earth the fruit-bearer, according to the oracle"). The letters are of about Hadrian's time, not later, as Pausanias saw the monument. It was Heydemann who had the happiness to make this great discovery.

FIG. 31.—FACSIMILE OF GE INSCRIPTION.

In front of the inscription is a basis hollowed in the rock, clearly intended to hold a votive statue :—

A.

B.

The inscription is a little difficult to find, as, for protection against the feet of travellers, it is now (1888) covered up by a small capital. It is best found by following the regular path from the

Propylaea to the eastern end of the Parthenon, along the north side, keeping the modern wall to the left; a good landmark is a huge Doric capital turned upside down. The inscription is to the right of this as you look east; the view shows it in the left-hand corner, with, of course, its covering lifted away (fig. 32).

No trace of any copy of the Ge statue is discoverable, but it is natural to suppose she was represented on the pedestal B emerging with piteous face and uplifted hands, just as she appears on the Aristophanes vase, where she prays for the life of her children the giants. There could scarcely be a reasonable doubt that this

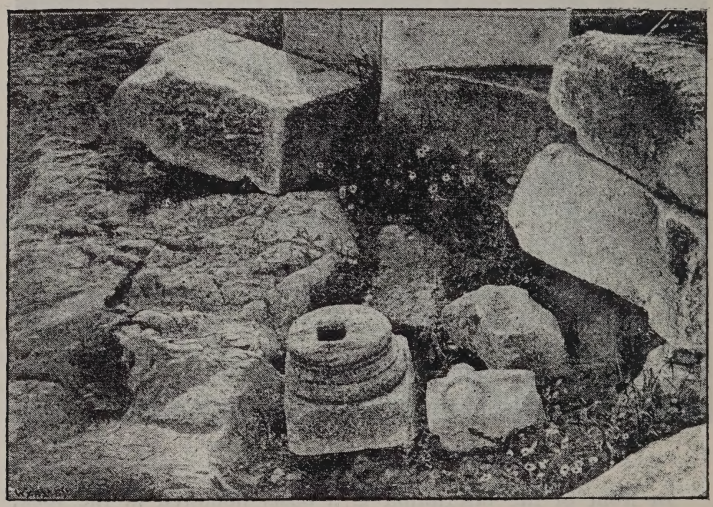


FIG. 32.—GE KARPOPHOROS AND KONON INSCRIPTIONS.

inscription stands where Pausanias saw the statue, but the site is still further confirmed by the discovery of a portion of the basis[76] of the statues he saw next, of Konon and Timotheos. It is noticeable that Pausanias mentions the son before the father, and Heydemann thinks, from the position of the basis, that this is the order in which he saw the statues; but this seems an accuracy needlessly pedantic, and, moreover, the stones, as may easily be seen, are not *in situ*. The inscription is a good deal overgrown with moss; it is on the curved surface of two blocks lying close together; they form a curve, about half of which is still missing. The two blocks lie almost immediately to the right (facing east)

of the Ge inscription ; they are included in the view (fig. 32) to the right :—

Κόνων Τιμ[ο]θέου Τιμοθέος Κόνω[νος].

("Konon, son of Timotheos ; Timotheos, son of Konon.")

Pausanias then, almost immediately after his mention of the "temple," stands probably close to the spot of the Ge inscription ; between the two there is only the statue by Kleoitas. On the other hand, between his mention of the sanctuary of Artemis Brauronia and the temple are a long list of monuments, some of which stood opposite (*πέραν*) to the others, suggesting an avenue lined on either side. Between the Propylaea and the Parthenon there was one regular, broad road. On either side of this would stand statues, shrines, votive offerings, and the like. Of the places hollowed in the rock to receive such monuments, there are abundant traces. It seems probable, though not certain, that, as Dr. Dörpfeld supposes, Pausanias described first all the monuments on one—*i.e.*, the *right*—side, and then turned back and described those on his left, which, of course, were opposite to the other series (*τούτων δὲ πέραν*).

Of this state of the case Dr. Dörpfeld avails himself to plead for his "old temple." But it should be distinctly noted that though the Ge monument is not far from the south side of the "old temple," Pausanias on coming out from the temple would not naturally find himself at the monument ; Dr. Dörpfeld in his plan has to make him double back to reach it. Pausanias usually went in at the principal entrance of a place, and he would far more naturally have cleared off all the monuments between the Parthenon and it before beginning his account of the "old temple." Therefore, as regards the route of Pausanias it seems to me that neither the Ergane nor the "old temple" theory fits in comfortably. There are, however, other and more positive reasons for rejecting the Ergane theory, and these must be stated at once to set that alternative entirely out of the question :—

First, the existence of a temple to Athene Ergane is pure hypothesis. I would guard against misunderstanding. Ergane was a *title* of Athene ; that admits of no question ; but the title Athene Ergane no more presupposes a temple to Athene Ergane than does the title Hygieia a temple to Athene Hygieia. Indeed not so much : Athene Hygieia had an altar, and hence a cult ; of Athene Ergane not even so much can be certainly said. Five inscriptions are known in which the title occurs ; three of them

are dedications, but an actual cult cannot be deduced from these any more than a cult of Athene Parthenos. Of these inscriptions only one was found actually within the so-called precinct of Ergane, a second to the south-west corner of the Parthenon, a third in the Propylaea, a fourth and fifth east and west of the Erechtheion. On inscriptions [77] which can easily be dragged to and fro but little reliance can be placed. If any inference is to be drawn from these five, it is simply that, the whole Acropolis being a precinct of Athene, a votive offering might be set up anywhere there to her under any of her titles.

Second, as regards the precinct it must further be noted that, as Dr. Dörpfeld points out, it cannot rightly be called a precinct at all; it is not divided, but rather joined to the Parthenon terrace by a *flight of steps*. One more point to which, I believe, attention has never yet been called—the temple of Athene Ergane, if it ever existed, was a very old one, full of archaic works. Now, accustomed as we are to the Parthenon on the south side of the Acropolis, we associate this side with the worship of Athene; but the early associations of Athene gather to the opposite side of the hill, round the site of the early Erechtheion. The very site of the Parthenon had to be in at least half its extent created. There is indeed ample room for a small temple near the Artemis precinct on a site where the rock comes nearly to the top, but it seems to me it would have been about the last site that would naturally have been chosen for an Athene temple.

Last, the negative evidence of recent excavations tends against the Ergane theory. The whole so-called Ergane precinct has been thoroughly excavated; not a trace of the temple has been found. Moreover, not only has no temple been found, but the foundations of a large stoa-like building are seen to have occupied a considerable portion of the supposed precinct; from its structure it was clearly a civil building, and may very likely have been the Chalkotheke.

The Ergane theory may, I think, be finally dismissed. I have noted the two principal opposing views as to the enigmatical naos, because they are of great interest and importance; but they neither of them are necessarily implied by the words of Pausanias, and it remains to examine briefly exactly what can be gathered from him apart from his commentators.

First, it must be noted, the lacuna presents two difficulties which the MSS. offer no material for surmounting.

(*a*) The translation of ὁμοῦ δὲ σφίσιν is uncertain; it may

refer back to the Athenians, and mean "they also have in the temple," or it may mean "together with them"—*i.e.*, together with other deities aforementioned.

(*b*) The reading Σπουδαίων is doubtful as it stands at present; it seems to refer back to the σπουδή of the previous clause, the daemon Zealous, or of the zealous on account of their zeal, but the meaning is not clear. Of the various emendations, Βουτάδων ("Of the Boutadae"—*i.e.*, ox-tenders) is, as will appear in connection with the Bouphonia, the one which would be most acceptable did the MSS. authorise it. For the present all that can be said is that the whole sentence after the lacuna, if a lacuna exists (see Translator's Note, p. 609), is uncertain in meaning, and that no argument—*e.g.*, as to the antiquity of the contents of the temple—can be based on the "daimon Spoudaion."

Taking, then, the passage as a whole, immediately after his mention of the Areopagus bull, possibly even in consequence of it, Pausanias begins a perfectly general statement, made previously by him *apropos* of the altar of Mercy in the market-place (p. 141), as to the especial piety, and, if the expression may be permitted, a certain religious "curiosity," of the Athenians.* For convenience' sake I have separated off the bull into the last section, but it is perfectly possible that the bull itself may be the cause of the general statements; Pausanias distinctly says many things might be conjectured concerning it. Of the special and curious piety of the Athenians he gives two stock instances—that they first gave to Athene the title of Ergane,[78] and first made or worshipped the limbless Hermae. Both these instances are distinct commonplaces; they

* Dr. Dörpfeld, in a letter received since the above was written, kindly draws my attention to another possibility which I had overlooked, and which certainly, if accepted, makes strongly for his view. Possibly the statement about the especial piety was suggested by the sight of an altar of Aidos. This altar Pausanias had mentioned in the previous parallel passage about the altar of Mercy, but he did not say where it was. It happens that the other Pausanias (the lexicographer) states distinctly, as quoted by Eustathius (*ad Il.*, x. 451), that there was an altar to Aidos and Apheleia near to, or connected with, the temple of Athene Polias (*περὶ τὸν τῆς* Πολιάδος *Ἀθηνᾶς νεών*), and Hesychius *sub voc.* *Αἰδοῦς βωμός* confirms the statement. He says—"At Athens, in the Acropolis, there are altars of Aidos and Apheleia near to the sanctuary" (*πρὸς τῷ ἱερῷ*). That Pausanias saw this altar and made his remark in consequence, I think highly probable; but then the altars, it should be distinctly noted, were *near*, not *in*, the precinct; and no one denies that Pausanias, as he so soon mentions the Ge monument, must have been alongside the "old temple." It does not at all follow that he at that moment went into or described it.

both also deal with the delicate differentiation of deities—a peculiar title for Athene, a peculiar form for Hermes. Some other instance of this specially delicate piety Pausanias must have cited in the lacuna, some divinity or divinities nicely differentiated who were to be seen in a temple somewhere. It does not, cannot, in the least follow that Pausanias saw that temple, or saw anything at the moment; the whole clause, lacuna and all, may simply be a generalisation called out by the sight of the monument of piety, the bull of the Areopagus, about which he refrains to conjecture. On the other hand, the lacuna and its accompanying clauses may refer *forward.* Pausanias may make a fresh start with his general statement, as he does when about to describe the Polias figure. In this case he may have just passed within a precinct sacred to Zeus Polieus, in which there were commingled many things, old and new—new, the image of Kleoitas; new, to judge by the inscription, the image of Ge; very old, the one image of Zeus Polieus; very strange, and matter for much curious conjecture and conservative piety, the ceremonies in his honour. Anyhow, I feel bound to state that not only does it seem improbable that at this point in his route Pausanias entered the Athene temple, but the lacuna passage seems to me a *most* inappropriate introduction to any description of it. The worship of Athene Polias was straightforward enough; it was no matter of delicate nuance or inexplicable archaism, like the Ergane and the Hermae. If the temple is seen and described here, it must have been, not for the interest of the Polias worship, but for that of some other deity or delicate nuance of deity whose worship was incorporated with hers.

My position is, therefore, that though I believe the "old temple" existed in the days of Pausanias and was mentioned by him, I do not believe that he described it at this point.* I therefore reserve it for discussion after the Erechtheion.

The next monument mentioned after the lacuna is the *statue by Kleoitas.* Kleoitas was famous for having invented a particular method (no doubt a mechanical one) for starting horses at the

* I am well aware that in discussing this passage I have necessarily done scant justice to Dr. Dörpfeld's position. This can only be appreciated when arguments I have been compelled to sunder—such as that of the several passages in Pausanias, the question of the opisthodomos, etc.—are all gathered together. The whole argument is cumulative; but my business was to comment on Pausanias, not to support or refute a particular theory, however fascinating. Dr. Dörpfeld's views are fully stated in the numbers of the *Mittheilungen* cited in the notes.

Olympian games, and this he noted on a statue, very likely the one Pausanias saw at Athens. In his description of Elis, Pausanias [79] says "he was proud of this invention, as we see from the inscription on the statue he made at Athens :—

> 'I was made by the man who invented the start for the racers
> At the Olympian feast—Kleoitas, Aristokles' son.'"

It would be just like such a man to take pleasure in silvering the nails of a statue.[80]

After the image of Ge and the statues of Timotheos and Konon, already noted, comes the group of Procne resolved upon the plot against her child, and Itys; it was dedicated and (presumably) made by Alcamenes. Michaelis thinks we have the group in a statue of Parian marble found walled into the west bastion in front of the Propylaea (1830); it now stands in the first right-hand room of the Acropolis Museum. A stately woman is represented, of matronly build, wearing chiton and diploïdion; the head and right arm are gone; the left arm is broken off a little below the elbow. Against her right knee is pressed the figure of a naked boy; from what remains of his body it would seem he was intended to be struggling to hide himself in the folds of his mother's gown; some premonition comes to him of her fierce intent. The group has been variously explained [81] as Pandrosos and Erichthonios or Ge Kourotrophos, but the struggling action of the boy is against this. The whole conception suits well with the words of Pausanias; it is not the slaying of Itys, not even a group of Procne and Itys, but it is distinctly Procne resolved upon the murder, and, as a mere appendage, Itys. The statue gives one the impression of good tradition but indifferent execution; it is thoroughly uninteresting. The general pose of the figure and disposition of the drapery recall the maidens of the Parthenon frieze, and noticeably the Munich "Eirene," but when details are examined it is an unsatisfactory bit of work. The right leg is uncomfortably short; the body of the boy is cut actually out of it, which, though it might be very well managed in relief, has a very unpleasant effect here, and looks as if the sculptor were short of marble. It is hard to have to connect such a work with Alcamenes, but then Pausanias distinctly says he "dedicated it" (ἀνέθηκεν). It would seem natural and right for a sculptor, if he felt much about it, to make the statue he dedicated; but Alcamenes may have been pressed for time, and put it into the hands of an inferior man.

The group, already mentioned, of Athene and Poseidon was presumably close to the Polieus statues. The juxtaposition was, though Pausanias apparently is not aware of it, intentional, as according to one version it will be seen Zeus was umpire of the contest, and when the votes of the citizens of Athens proved equal, Athene promised to Zeus a sacrifice if he would give to her his casting vote.

FIG. 33. — COIN OF ATHENS: CONTEST OF ATHENE AND POSEIDON.

On the coins[82] of Athens, to which it is natural to refer for a reminiscence of famous groups, the contest is represented in two ways. In the one there is an actual contest; both Athene and Poseidon are manifestly in hostile action (fig. 33). In the other (fig. 34), they dispute indeed, but in no such violent fashion; they show their tokens (σημεῖα), and seem to abide the issue quietly; Poseidon, with his left foot raised on the rock (the typical late Poseidon pose), seems to be calmly awaiting the issue. If the group seen by Pausanias was really connected with Zeus Polieus and the decision by voting, it is probable it was conceived after some such peaceful fashion, and that there may be an echo of it in the more tranquil coin type. In speaking of the pediment composition, Pausanias distinctly notes that the strife (ἔρις) was represented, and this would be in accordance with the more violent coin type.

FIG. 34.—COIN OF ATHENS: ATHENE AND POSEIDON.

A peaceful type of the contest which it is tempting to connect with the group in question is seen on a terra-cotta now in the museum at Smyrna[83] (fig. 35). To either side of a small table, about which is curled a snake, stand Athene and Poseidon; behind, a winged Nike counts out the votes. The olive tree is well in evidence, but the only sign of a "token" of Poseidon is a dolphin coiled round an anchor as exergue to the composition. This voting scene is just what is wanted in connection with Zeus Polieus and his table (see p. 424); but if the group was thus conceived, the description given by Pausanias—"the exhibition by

Athene of the olive branch, and of the wave by Poseidon"—is scarcely adequate. It is scarcely needful, I think, here to suppose with Dr. Robert that Pausanias borrowed his description from some literary source, which he confused with the group in question ; he may simply, in passing the group, have made a note as a modern archæologist would, "Contest, Athene and Poseidon," and

FIG. 35.—TERRA-COTTA : ATHENE AND POSEIDON VOTING (SMYRNA).

then filled in—as he clearly did not realise the connection with Zeus Polieus—with somewhat illusive detail.

The last monuments mentioned by Pausanias before he enters the Parthenon are two of Zeus—one called Polieus, the other by Leochares. There is little doubt that they both represented the god in his aspect of Guardian of the City (Polieus). The old original statue would probably be a xoanon, or at least an archaic copy on stone ; the later statue by Leochares would be itself a votive offering to the xoanon. It has repeatedly been seen how

side by side stood the old cultus image and the later idealised representation by some artist of note—the ancient figure of Dionysos Eleutherios with the later Dionysos of Alcamenes; the Aphrodite of the Gardens, by the same artist, with the old Herm of Aphrodite Ourania; the ἕδος of Artemis Brauronia with the statue by Praxiteles.

The bronze coinage of Athens gives us, besides a seated type of Zeus, two standing types, which may with great probability be referred to these two statues. In the one (fig. 36), a Zeus of thoroughly archaic fashion strides forward, the left hand extended, the right drawn back and grasping the thunderbolt in the act of hurling it. This may very likely be a rough copy of the old Zeus Polieus. The supposition is made more probable because the type closely corresponds in pose and gesture with the accepted type of the kindred goddess Athene Polias.

FIG. 36.—COIN OF ATHENS: ZEUS POLIEUS (?).

A second coin type gives the god, still as the thunderer, but in the softened manner of later days; it may well represent the statue by Leochares. Zeus stands in an easy attitude, the left knee bent, the right hand holding the thunderbolt half down, the left extended over an altar, round which is entwined a snake. This altar probably represents the altar at which the ceremony described by Pausanias (at the Bouphonia) took place.

The account of the Bouphonia or Diipolia, as the ceremony seems to have been indifferently called, is supplemented by Pausanias himself in his account of the law courts[84] of Athens. He there mentions the law court of the Prytaneion, "where suits are laid against iron and all other similar lifeless things," and says that the custom had its rise there. "When Erechtheus was king over Athens, the Bouphonos (ox-slayer) slew for the first time an ox on the altar of Zeus Polieus; and he leaving the axe there fled from the country, and the axe was immediately summoned for judgment, and from that time is regularly judged year by year." The longest and fullest account of the whole ceremonial is given by Porphyry[85] (quoting from Theophrastus in his treatise on abstinence), as follows:—"It is said that in olden times, when there was a public sacrifice at Athens, a certain man called Sopatios, not a native by race, but working as a husbandman in Attica, when the cake and the wafers were lying openly on the altar ready to be sacrificed to the gods, saw one of the oxen

coming in from his work, who ate up some of the cakes and trampled on others; and Sopatios, being very angry at what had happened, and there being an axe ready sharpened lying to hand, caught it up and struck the ox. And when the ox died . . . he buried him, and being banished as an impious man, he took flight to Crete. And a terrible drought and barrenness of the land having ensued, they made a public supplication to the god. And the Pythia made answer that the fugitive in Crete should put an end to these things, and that when they had taken vengeance on the murderer and brought back the dead to life, it should be better for them in the future—in the very sacrifice in which he had died—to partake of the dead and not to restrain the murderer. Hence search being made, and Sopatios having been found . . . and he, thinking that the difficulty about himself as being an accursed thing would be at an end if they became participators in the same deed, said to those who came to fetch him that a bull must be slain by the city. They being in difficulty as to who should strike the blow, he promised them he would do this if they by making him a citizen would become sharers in the slaughter. They agreed to this, and returned to the city, and he then enjoined on them the act, which has been regularly performed ever since. They chose out maidens as water-carriers (hydrophoroi); these bring water, that the axe and the knife may be sharpened. And when it has been sharpened, one person hands it and hits the bull and another slays it, and those who skin it afterwards all partake of it. When this has been done, they sew up the skin of the ox, and they stuff it with hay and set it up, looking just as it did when it was alive, and yoke it to the plough as if it were going to draw it. And when judgment is held about the slaying, they all cry off on to the others who shared the deed. Those who brought the water accuse those who sharpened the knife, rather than themselves; those who sharpened the knife, him who handed it; he who handed it, him who struck; he who struck, him who slew; he who slew, the knife itself; and the knife, as it cannot speak, they condemn. And from that time to this at Athens, on the Acropolis, at the Diipolia, those I have spoken of (*i.e.*, the participators in the sacrifice) carry on the sacrifice of the ox. For when they have placed the wafer and the cakes upon the brazen table they drive round the chosen oxen, and the one of them who tastes (the cakes) is slain. And the race of those who perform these functions still goes on: those who are descended from Sopatios, who struck the ox, are all called Bouphonoi (ox-

slayers), and those who are descended from the man who drove the ox round are called Kentriadai (goaders), and those who slay the ox are called Diastroi (feasters), from the feast that takes place on the division of the flesh; and when they have filled up the skin and are taken to trial, they drown the knife."

A scholiast[86] on Aristophanes (*Pax* 419) says that the feast of Diipolia took place on the 14th day of the month of Skirophorion, and adds that it was "an imitation (ἀπομίμημα) of what happened about the cake and the oxen." In the festival calendar of the Metropolitan Church the month Skirophorion is marked by the figure of the Bouphonos about to strike with an axe a diminutive ox standing in front of him (p. 153). It is not surprising that the ceremony of the Bouphonia struck the Athenian of the days of Pericles as somewhat antiquated. When, in the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, Justice has told of the ancient and austere method of education she loved, Injustice makes answer, "Oh yes, that's all old-fashioned and Diipolia-like, and full of grasshoppers, and of kekydes, and of the Bouphonia." In fact, the whole ritual is stamped with antiquity, and the story of Sopatios is obviously archæological. The elements of undoubtedly ancient ritual are :—

1. The bloodless sacrifice of cakes.
2. The bloody sacrifice of the ox.
3. The trial of the inanimate axe.

The bloodless sacrifice of cakes was what the later civilisation approved; it needed no apology; it was the teaching of good King Cecrops. On this same hill of the Acropolis, in front of the Erechtheion, was an altar of Zeus Hypatos (Most High), on which no living thing was sacrificed, cakes only and wine. Why, then, on the altar of Zeus Polieus—a god with title less splendid and ceremonies possibly less august, a god whose functions were more and more overshadowed by those of Athene Polias—should the sacrifice of an ox be suffered? An apology was clearly needed, and one was quickly found. The ox had himself transgressed; he had sacrilegiously eaten of the sacrificial cake, he must die. So, year after year, an ox was driven up, compelled to transgress, that so he might righteously be slain. But still the religious mind was not wholly at rest. In part the bloody sacrifice on the altar of Zeus made it uncomfortable; but bloody sacrifices were so common, the believer might have got over that: but the ox was the sacred *plougher*, associated with the Bouzygion, with countless agricultural ceremonies, neither field nor mankind could hope to bear

fruit without him, a curse rested on the slayer. Ælian[87] speaks of the primitive Attic convention—"For this is an Athenian law, that whoever comes by chance upon the unburied body of a man, do by all means cast earth upon him, and bury him looking towards the west; and this is forbidden among them, that if there be a ploughing ox labouring under the yoke, either drawing the plough or the waggon, that such an one they by no means sacrifice, for he is a husbandman and sharer in the labours of men." With this curse of the plough (*βουζύγιος ἀρά*) upon him, how might the Bouphonos escape? His very name carried condemnation with it; he was not *βουθύτης* (the ox-sacrificer), he was *βούφονος* (the lawless ox-slayer); the festival was not a sacrifice, but a slaughter.[88] He must accuse his fellow-sacrificers, and all at last must condemn the inanimate axe, and drown it deep in the sea; and even that was not enough—the ox must rise again, must stand with the semblance of life and do his sacred service in the plough. Thus, by a curious and complex ritual, Zeus of the Mountain-top got the bloody sacrifice he loved, and no man bore the ploughman's curse, and the sacred cakes were appeased. There could be perhaps no better instance of the crossing and conflict of ritual custom, fertile for the issue of complex mythological tradition.

The one constant element in the whole story, take what form and give what names it may, is the apology for the ox-slayer; this enters curiously into the question of the moot supremacy of Zeus and Athene. How far back the worship of Zeus at Athens goes, it is impossible to say; Zeus the Rainy, Zeus the Portent-giver, may have been worshipped from the earliest days, like so many Baals on each mountain peak. What *is* certain is that very soon the worship of Athene obscured that of Zeus, that the Panathenaia were more, far more, to the Periclean Athenian than any Bouphonia. And yet Olympian Zeus was supreme in some other parts of Hellas; moreover, he was supreme in the Homeric system. The local cult of Athens, with its local Athene, had its moments of uneasiness in the face of this Olympian supremacy. Zeus Polieus could not hold his own before the Polias, but the Athenians built for Zeus Olympios a splendid temple in their city below, and linked it with ancient traditions of Deucalion and honey cakes; and more than that, they tried to make Athene herself responsible for that repugnant Bouphonia. No blame to Zeus Polieus, for when Athene and Poseidon strove together, Athene vowed to Zeus Polieus a sacrifice should she prevail.

And Athene won the day, and sacrificed the ox, and hence arose the expression "the vote of Zeus" (Διὸς ψῆφος). Hesychius tells the tradition when he explains the words θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί (seats and dice). Hence, no doubt, the group of Athene and Poseidon, to be discussed later.

It seems to me perfectly possible that the sacred ox, about whom so much ado was made, may have had a sort of shrine on the Acropolis, or that he may have lived in a shrine belonging to Zeus Polieus. Some such arrangement is suggested by a curious black-figured vase-painting from a hydria (fig. 37). To

FIG. 37.—HYDRIA: OX IN SHRINE (BERLIN)

the right, actually within a small Doric shrine, stands an ox; in front, a blazing altar; outside stands a woman, who must be a priestess; and to the left is seated Athene, with her helmet in her left hand, a phiale in her right. Her sacred snake uprears himself in front of her. It might be said this merely represents the sacrifice of an ox to Athene, as in fig. 53, p. 457. It is, however, noticeable that the ox here is within the temple, and seems to be the object of reverent attention; the goddess is without: the ox is not bound, as usually for sacrifice, but free and stately. I cannot avoid the idea that this represents the sacred ox in his Boukoleion, whether it be the building below the Acropolis

or some shrine of the Polieus, and that the goddess Athene is there to recognise his sanctity and pay some tribute, as on the occasion of her first sacrifice to Zeus. Further, it seems to me possible that the votive gift of the Areopagus may have been connected with this Polieus hieron, and that the much-disputed naos mentioned by Pausanias may have been a small shrine set up in connection with the Bouphonia. Pausanias has of course himself no suspicion of the connection of the sequence of monuments he now enumerates; but, after what has been said, it need scarcely be noted how well in place is the image of Ge praying for rain to that very Zeus Polieus who in old days removed the drought and famine. The connection of Procne is less obvious, and only seen when it is remembered that her father Pandion has no existence save as the eponymous hero of the Pandia,[89] the all-Zeus festival, which, like the Bouphonia, paled year by year before the Panathenaia. Close at hand, if indeed not actually containing this group of monuments, must have been the hieron of Pandion, which, from two inscriptions[90] (restored, with high probability), it is conjectured must have stood on the Acropolis.[91]

SECTION XVIII

THE PARTHENON

TEXT, i. 24, §§ 5, 6, 7.

i. 24, 5. THE whole subject of the pediment over the entrance to the Parthenon is the circumstances of the birth of Athena, and that of the pediment at the back is the contest of Poseidon with Athena for the land. The image itself is made of gold and ivory. In the centre of the helmet is a figure of a sphinx (the story about the sphinx I will relate when I come to my account of Boeotia), and on each side of the helmet are

i. 24, 6. gryphons wrought upon it. The gryphons, according to Aristias of Prokonnesos, fight with the Arimaspians, beyond the Issedones, about the gold; this gold, which the gryphons guard, comes up from the earth. The Arimaspians, he says, are a race of one-eyed men, while the gryphons are creatures resembling lions, but with the wings and beak of an eagle.

i. 24, 7. Enough of the gryphons. The image of Athena stands upright, clad in the long chiton, and upon the breast is wrought the head of Medusa in ivory. She holds a Nike about four cubits high, and in the other hand a spear: at her feet lies a shield, and close beside the spear is a snake; this snake is probably Erichthonios. On the pedestal of the image is a representation of the birth of Pandora. Hesiod and others have related how Pandora was the first woman; before her birth the race of women did not exist. There is only one statue there, as I can testify, that of the Emperor Hadrian. In the entrance is one erected, for many remarkable actions, to Iphikrates.

COMMENTARY ON i. 24, §§ 5, 6, 7.

For the Parthenon, as for the Dionysiac theatre, it will be necessary strictly to define the limits adopted. The "Parthenon

marbles," save in so far as they are mentioned by Pausanias, will not be dealt with; discussion of the metopes and the frieze, their style, subject, and general relation to art, the various architectural perfections of the structure, the history of its ruin, must be sought, and can readily be found, elsewhere. It will perhaps be not amiss for once to look at the building through the eye of an ancient traveller and correct the somewhat strained and falsified perspective induced by the accident of preservation and national possession.

Following Pausanias, it will be necessary to consider briefly—

1. The east pediment;
2. The west pediment;

in greater detail—

3. The chryselephantine statue of Athene Parthenos;

and, in accordance with the general scheme of this book—

4. Such points relating to the plan and structure of the building as are either matter of quite recent and important discovery, or seem to throw light on mythological questions.

I. The East Pediment. — To Pausanias is owing the sole literary notice we possess of the subject of these marbles—"The whole subject of the pediment over the entrance to the Parthenon is the circumstances of the birth of Athene" (ἐς τοῦτον ἐσιοῦσιν ὁπόσα ἐν τοῖς καλουμένοις ἀετοῖς κεῖται πάντα ἐς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἔχει γένεσιν . . .). The πάντα ("whole subject") is important, because, as only the subordinate figures of the composition have survived, it might otherwise have been doubted whether they did in reality represent the birth.

What remains is as follows:—

a. Five figures from the south angle.
b. Four certain figures from the north angle.

A fifth figure, that usually known as Nike, has been attributed to this pediment; but, as the attribution is uncertain, it will not be considered here.

In November 1674 the Marquis de Nointel, stopping at Athens on his way home, saw and admired the Parthenon marbles, and, at the price of a quarter of a hundredweight of coffee and six yards of scarlet cloth, got leave to have drawings made. In the space of one fortnight Jacques Carrey made twenty-two sheets of sketches, among them those of the east and west pediments

as reproduced here (figs. 40, 41, and 43). The originals were bought for the Bibliothèque Nationale (the department of the Cabinet des Estampes) in 1797, where they now remain. As regards the east pediment, what these drawings add to our knowledge as to the originals in the British Museum is *their position.* Unhappily, by some accident—possibly when the Parthenon was converted, either (in the fifth or sixth century A.D.) into a Christian church, or in 1458 into a mosque—the whole of the central group had perished before Carrey made his drawing. It is otherwise, as will be seen, with the western group, which remained in the main intact until after Carrey's time, when in 1687 the great explosion took place, and subsequently the horses of Athene were

FIG. 38.—BLACK-FIGURED VASE: BIRTH OF ATHENE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

detached and shattered while they were being lowered at the orders of Morosini.

The whole, then, of the centre group of the eastern pediment is matter of conjecture; all that can be done is to turn to other and minor works of art, and note traditional treatment. Here vase-paintings are of the utmost value: they for the most part precede or are just contemporary with the work of Pheidias, so they can in no way be held to be copies or even echoes of the pediment composition, but they give some general notion of how the birth was conceived and who were the orthodox spectators; and, before the extant figures are considered, it is necessary this should be realised.

A vase in the British Museum (Cat., B. 53), of which the obverse is seen in fig. 38, is a good instance. It is of the finest early black-figured style, not later than the time of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. In the centre is Zeus (I . . .) seated sideways,

grasping thunderbolt and sceptre; straight from his head leaps Athene (AΘHNAIA) full-armed, one foot already free. In front is Eileithyia (HIVEIΘYA); behind, Apollo (NOVOΠA) playing on his lyre. Behind Apollo comes Poseidon (ΠOΣEIΔON) with Hera (HEPA); Poseidon is characterised by his trident. Last (to the left) Hephaistos (ΣOTΣIAΦƎH), grasping his hammer, makes a hasty escape. To the right Herakles and Ares (both uninscribed) watch the scene.

This straightforward, to us somewhat grotesque, telling of the story persisted down to the times of red-figured vase-paintings. The vase-painting in fig. 39, also in the British Museum (Cat., E. 364), is an instance of this kind. Zeus (IEYΣ) is seated full but with his head turned to the side, but just in the same direct fashion Athene (AΔENA) springs from his head. Hephaistos (EΦAIΣTOΣ) to the left, Eileithyia (AYΘ . . . IH) to the right,

FIG. 39.—RED-FIGURED VASE: BIRTH OF ATHENE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

are the nearest spectators, followed on either hand by Artemis (ΣIMƎTPA) and Poseidon. To the left is a little winged figure, either Nike or Iris, followed by a youth whose name is uncertain, Dionysos, and a simple citizen spectator, who balances a similar figure to the right. The whole design runs right round the vase.

All that can be learnt from these two vase-paintings and from countless others that might be added is, as regards the pediment —(1) that archaic art up to the time of Pheidias frankly faced the fact of the birth from the head, and simply and directly depicted it. It is not denied that in one instance, even on a black-figured vase, Athene is represented as standing full-grown (*i.e.*, after the birth), but that does not affect the fact that the usual type depicts the moment of the birth. (2) That beyond the necessary actors—*i.e.*, Zeus and Athene—Hephaistos and Eileithyia were constant spectators and indeed secondary actors. Poseidon, from his interest in the goddess, would not be absent, and

the space would be for the rest filled as convenient with other important Olympian gods and goddesses.

How Pheidias treated the subject is of course another question. It is usual to say that to represent the Athene actually emerging from the brain of Zeus would be "contrary to plastic feeling;" it is no more so than the constant treatment of the creation of woman in mediæval art. Critics have resort to one of two subterfuges—they maintain that Pheidias represented one of two other moments, the moment immediately before or immediately after the birth. The idea that the moment before is represented seems to me too absurd to need confutation; that the moment after was chosen, gains some slight support from the fact that so the birth is figured on such late Roman work as the Madrid puteal, where Zeus is seated, and in front of him stands, or rather darts away, the full-grown, full-armed Athene. My own distinct conviction is that Pheidias represented the actual moment; that Zeus was seated in the centre of the pediment—and, though seated, admirably filled the pediment space—because from his head emerged the figure of Athene. Some object that to seat Zeus in the centre would be to give him undue prominence in a temple dedicated to Athene; but as he would be there merely as vehicle for the miraculous birth, this can scarcely be urged. If Athene were simply represented as standing full-grown near Zeus, the situation would to my mind be ambiguous. Anyhow, in the centre the scene of the birth must have been depicted.

It remains to give name and meaning to the eight angle figures that still survive. This is not the place to detail the whole controversy of their interpretation, though it is scarcely too much to say that the history of that controversy is the history of the development of archæological *method* during the past fifty years. The data have remained fixed, but the whole system of interpretation has altered. It is felt now that it is not enough to give a possible name to each individual isolated figure, but that each name must be considered in close and intimate relation to the rest; further, any system of interpretation adopted must be consonant with the spirit of the time of Pheidias, and with the traditions of pedimental composition as known from other contemporary temples. The two portions of the east pediment are given in figs. 40 and 41, after Carrey's drawings; the west pediment in fig. 43, after the drawing of the Nointel Anonymous.

It is the lasting honour of Professor Brunn that he first lighted on the true method, and to Dr. Waldstein[92] is due its

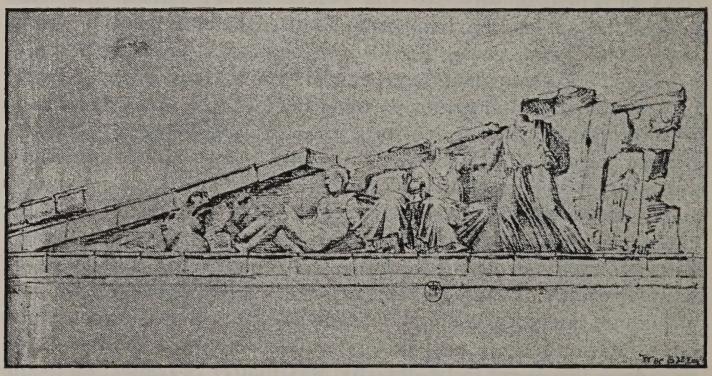
severe and studied application to the figures of the east pediment. The full satisfaction of this method it is impossible to express briefly, because it is so intricately bound up with the peculiar characteristics and special development of the Greek mind at the time; but its results must be stated, with some indications, by the way, of its value.

Thus much may be said by way of general preface. A comparison of contemporary pediments the main outline of whose whole composition has survived—*i.e.*, the west pediment of the Parthenon, and the east and west pediments of the temple of Zeus at Olympia—has led to this conclusion. The structural idea of a pediment composition in the mind of the artist of the days of Pheidias was that the centre should contain the main action, the angles the background and spectators of this action. Once stated, considering the form of the space, this seems almost a truism, but its neglect has been at the bottom of most errors of interpretation. Further, it must be borne in mind as a canon of interpretation that a delicate symmetry was always maintained, both in form and idea, between the two sides of a pediment—a symmetry which in archaic days (*e.g.*, when the Ægina pediments were composed) was rigid and architectural, but which it was the characteristic of the mature period to make subtle and plastic. This symmetry in *form* has always been recognised, the surviving marbles compel that much; the subtle correspondence of idea has, until quite lately, been not sufficiently borne in mind. Last, if the interpretation is to be satisfactory, it must have common sense on its side. The event to be depicted was matter of conviction to the sculptor, and he would express it with a reality of person and circumstance which should make it actual to the spectator; he would not disturb the imagination by the introduction of vexing anachronism. Numbering the east figures from left to right, they are as follows (fig. 40):—

1. *Helios and his Horses.* — Here we are on firm ground. The rising horses and the charioteer can be no other than the sun-god and his team; this attribution has never been disputed. By all the laws of balance and correspondence of measure, group 9 is Selene and her horse. The birth of Aphrodite on the base of the statue of Olympian Zeus was in like manner bounded on the one side by "Helios, who had mounted his chariot," on the other by "Selene riding away her horse." Previous to Pheidias this boundary type cannot be traced; he seems to have made it fashionable for birth scenes; and, later, other artists overrode the

fashion, and we cannot have a "Judgment of Paris," or, more ridiculous still, Theseus cannot descend into the depths of the sea to fetch a ring from Amphitrite, without the sensational and unmeaning circumstance of the rising of Helios. In the Blacas vase Helios and Selene have a beautiful fitness, but this is an isolated instance.

2. *The Mountain Olympus.*—The scene of the birth of the goddess is bounded by a cosmical setting, and this gives the key-note for interpreting the rest. One male figure reclining next to Helios has been called Theseus—a name that sins against every canon of congruity, for how should Theseus, the hero of the late synoikia, the representative of advanced politics, be present when



1 2 3 4 5

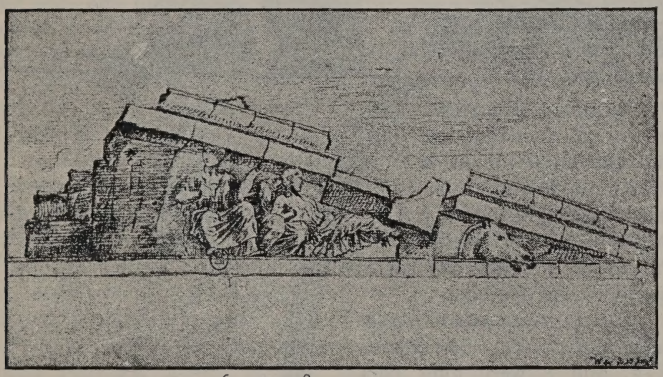
FIG. 40.—EAST PEDIMENT.

the goddess herself, the founder of his State, was yet but just born? It has been called Dionysos—a name less absurd, but still impossible, for if Dionysos was present, as on the vase in fig. 39, surely he might have the grace to face round and salute the goddess; what should he do lolling there watching the sunrise? The figure is a mountain, so he may well lean solidly on the earth; and he can be but one mountain, on whose sacred top Athene was born, and over whose steep, day by day, Helios must climb. His best analogy in art is the mountain god in the Esquiline Lastrygonian painting.[93]

3 *and* 4. *The Horae.*—With respect to these two figures it has escaped no one that, whoever they are, they are closely linked; hence they have been called Demeter and Persephone, Aphrodite

and Peitho, Thallo and Auxo. Setting the law of symmetry aside for the present—the force of which cannot be seen till we come to the corresponding right-hand figures—our system of interpretation yet imperatively demands some names that should have a reason; the two figures must be two women-goddesses in close, particular relation to Olympus. There are two such. Homer—from whom, as will be seen, Pheidias so often drew his inspiration—twice tells [94] who kept the gates of Olympus—"Self-moving groaned upon their hinges the gates of heaven, whereof the Horae are warders, to whom is committed great heaven and Olympus, whether to throw open the thick cloud or set it to."

5. *Iris.*—Almost all interpreters agree that the swiftly moving



6 7 8 9

FIG. 41.—EAST PEDIMENT.

figure is Iris the messenger; she is about to pass from the central action through the gates of Olympus to tell the good news to mortals. The Horae half turn to listen as she goes, and thereby with their half-gesture link the full-face centre to the profile angle.

9. *Selene and her Horse* (fig. 41).—It is best to begin with the certain angle figure, and work again to the less determined centre. Selene has never been doubted, but, till quite lately, it was thought that she drove a biga. Mr. Cecil Smith,[95] from an examination of vase-paintings representing the goddess Selene, has seen that (1) the type of the goddess in art is usually that of a horsewoman, not the driver of a biga; (2) that the sideways position accords better both with the allotted space and also the

arrangement of the drapery of the torso remaining. His sketch in fig. 42, an adaptation to the pediment of a figure of the riding Selene from the Ruvo Gigantomachia vase, carries conviction. It has indeed been urged that there are actual remains of the second horse on the pediment, and this can only be contravened by a careful examination on the spot, no very easy matter; but even in Carrey's time there appeared to be, to the spectator below, only a "formless remnant." It will at once be felt that the horsewoman is a far more beautiful, because less rigid, balance to the figure of Helios than the more symmetrical correspondence of the biga.

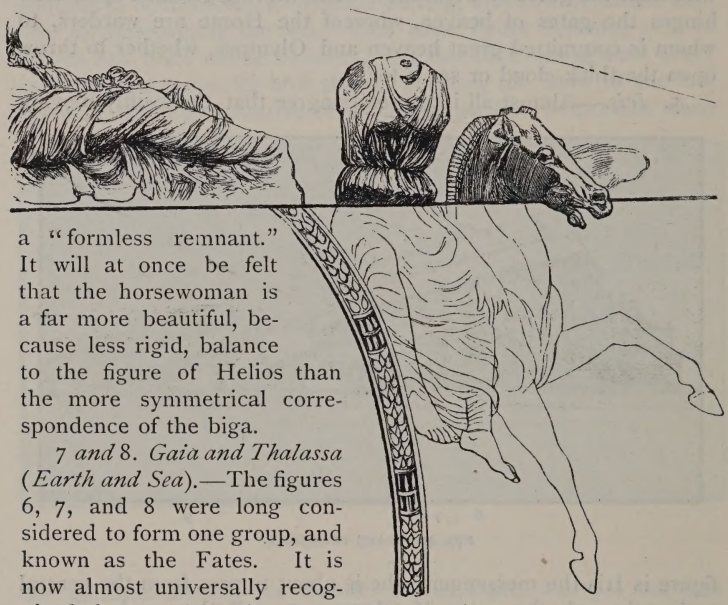


FIG. 42.—SELENE RIDING; ADAPTED FROM A VASE.

7 *and* 8. *Gaia and Thalassa* (*Earth and Sea*).—The figures 6, 7, and 8 were long considered to form one group, and known as the Fates. It is now almost universally recognised that to place the Fates at the birth of Athene is to follow Graeco-Roman rather than Periclean feeling. It is also recognised that the three figures are not all closely linked—that 7 and 8 form one group, and that 6 is independent. Helios and Olympus, it has been seen, stand in close relation; so much may be expected from Selene and figure 7. For the interpretation of 7 and 8 some pair of goddesses in the closest possible relation is needed, and that relation must be such that the one goddess might fitly recline on the knees and breast of the other. The group is no piece of accidental posturing; every tradition of the art of the time

demanded that such a group should be explicable by some definite motive. The one goddess (7) sits firmly upright, secure on her seat, the whole composition dominated by vertical lines ; the other is in every line an impersonation of "fluid" rhythm. By the scheme of interpretation laid down we must have some impersonation of the setting of the picture, some spectator whose interest is remote. Every condition is fully answered by Dr. Waldstein's beautiful interpretation of the figures as Gaia and Thalassa. Gaia, it has been seen, had a shrine at the entrance of the Acropolis, and a votive offering close by the very Parthenon ; and though she is here conceived after a wholly different fashion—not as the earth-mother uprising as suppliant, but as the steadfast land, the continent of the sea—her figure would seem actual and alive to the Athenian, where to us at first it seems but an abstraction. Thalassa was perhaps a conception less deeply rooted in the popular mind, but at Corinth Pausanias in the pronaos of a temple saw statues, not only of Poseidon and Amphitrite, but one of Thalassa, and on Graeco-Roman reliefs she is no uncommon feature.

6. *Hestia* (?).—The remaining figure is less certain ; her place corresponds to that of one of the Horae. She is still on the outside of the scene, not one of the central gods immediately concerned in the birth—still a personification rather of the setting than the action. This part Hestia would fill well. She is not so much one of those "who dwell in Olympus" as the personification of the hearth and home of Olympus, in its domestic sense Olympus itself; she alone, when all the other gods go forth in their chariots, abides by the hearth. The quite-seated, half-interested, midway figure would suit her well, but I do not regard the interpretation as certain.

It remains to note the beautiful lax balance of the two pediment halves—Helios and his quadriga over against Selene as horsewoman ; Olympus reclining, but isolated, against Thalassa reclining, but closely joined to Gaia ; the two Horae, closely joined, against Hestia and Gaia, both seated, but apart. This cross rhythm alone is strong reason for separating Hestia and Gaia, for, conjoined, they would make a too formal balance.

Probably to most modern minds this cosmic interpretation of the pediment figures will seem at first far-fetched, and to such literary tradition will come as a help to its realisation. Pheidias, it is known, was wont to draw his inspiration, though in no slavish fashion, from Homer; probably from the time of Peisistratos on, no artist of mark could escape this epic impulse.

The east pediment is but the Homeric hymn[95a] to Athene in stone :—

"Pallas Athene, glorious goddess, now will I sing.
Sea-gray eyes, ready mind, heart to remember a thing,
Worshipful maid, Ward of the City, valiant in war;
Tritogeneia, daughter of Zeus the Counsellor,
Born from his sacred head, in battle array ready dight,
Golden, all glistering. Fear took hold of them all at the sight—
Them, the Immortals; but she, before Zeus of the ægis-shield,
Burst and flashed and leaped in birth from the deathless head,
Shaking a sharp-edged spear. And high Olympus reeled
At the wrath in the sea-gray eyes, and Earth on every side
Rang with a terrible cry, and the deep was disquieted
With the tumult of purple waves and outpouring of the tide.
Suddenly, and in heaven, Hyperion's bright son stayed
His galloping steeds for a space—long, long it seemed, till the maid
Took from immortal shoulders the godlike armour they had,
Pallas, our Lady of Athens. And the counsellor Zeus was glad.
Then hail thou thus, to whom, with the Father, the shield belongs;
But I will make mention of thee yet again in my holy songs."

II. The West Pediment.—The subject was, according to Pausanias—again the sole authority—"the contest of Poseidon with Athene for the land." The western pediment, facing as it did towards the Propylaea, was naturally more exposed to the chances of war; the result is that only one torso that quite certainly belongs, remains in good condition, with six very imperfect fragments. To make up for this, the drawings by Carrey and by the Nointel Anonymous of the western pediment are far more complete (fig. 43); the main composition of the central group was still fairly recognisable, but still not sufficiently so to place the precise character of the action beyond dispute.

With respect to the composition in general, it will be at once noted that it presents a very marked instance of the principle noted above (p. 435)—*i.e.*, the division of the pediment design into principal actors and accessory spectators. The two chariots to right and left bound the central scene. The charioteers turn their backs on the angle figures, in itself a sufficient indication of severance; the distinction is far clearer than in the eastern pediment. Within the limits of the bounding chariots lies the main scene of strife. That it is, as Pausanias noted, a strife (ἔρις), not a mere quiet voting scene as on the terra-cotta (fig. 35), is clear from both drawings. The rival god and goddess start violently

asunder in manifest revulsion ; their chariots await their coming, and each chariot has a standing attendant as well as seated charioteer ; between the feet of the charioteer of Poseidon is a sea-monster. The whole is backed by an architectural structure, which must represent some Acropolis building, possibly the "house of Erechtheus."

The composition may, I think, fairly be further restored by reference, if not too closely pushed, to a vase from Kertsch in the Hermitage Museum (fig. 44). The connection of vase and pediment has been hotly disputed, but, considering the close analogy of the figure of Athene in both compositions, I believe it still to hold good. The figure of Poseidon is not so closely copied, but still near enough to suggest a reminiscence. The vase represents

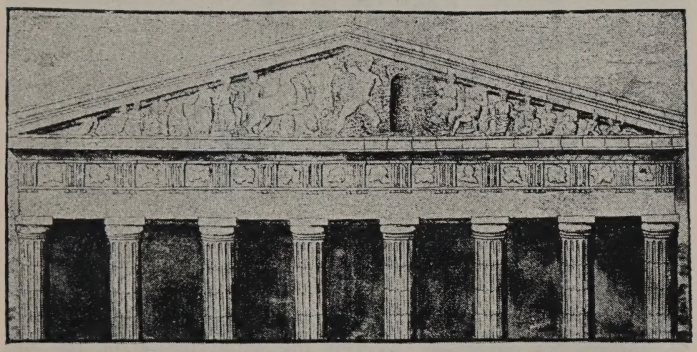


FIG. 43.—WEST PEDIMENT (NOINTEL ANONYMOUS).

the supreme moment when the rival gods have produced their σημεῖα (tokens). Athene has struck the earth, and the olive tree has sprung up ; from above it floats down a Nike to crown her. Poseidon has also struck the rock, and from it a salt sea spring gushes up, the spring being figured by the serpent darting out of the ground. The serpent in this composition is usually supposed to belong to Athene and to be attacking Poseidon ; I believe him to be the symbol of Poseidon's spring. The remaining figures are unimportant accessories added by the vase-painter in the style and to suit the taste of his day ; that they are subordinate in interest is clearly shown by the fact that they are merely painted, whereas the centre group is in fairly high relief. The little temple in the right-hand corner, I believe, is intended to convey the notion that the idea is taken from the Parthenon ; it is the

vase-painter's way of acknowledging his debt. Such borrowing would certainly be out of the question in the time of the severe

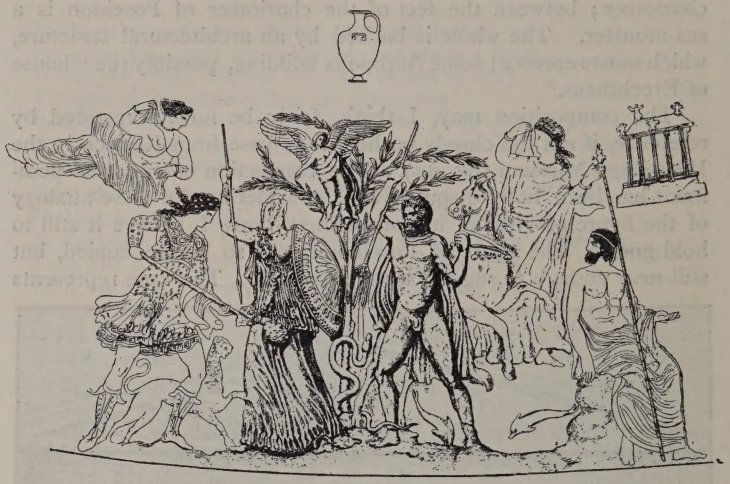


FIG. 44.—VASE: CONTEST OF ATHENE AND POSEIDON (HERMITAGE).

style of vase-painting, but in the fourth century B.C., and on a vase either actually made abroad or intended for export, it would be a perfectly permissible thing. I am inclined to think that even the small figure of the descending Nike may have been present; she would admirably balance the flying Athene of the eastern pediment. This, however, is of course mere conjecture.

FIG. 45.—COIN OF ATHENS: ATHENE.

The figure of Athene herself suggests other analogies. On the coinage of Athens a type of Athene frequently appears, in which the goddess moves rapidly to the right (instead of, as on the vase, to the left); on her left arm the shield, her right extended. An instance is given in fig. 45.

To the left of the design are her token (the olive) and her attribute (the owl). She has rather, as on the west pediment, the

air of triumphant hostility than of flight. Very similar in pose is

FIG. 46.—EPIDAURUS STATUETTE: ATHENE (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

the statuette given in fig. 46, found, like the statuette (Hygieia) in fig. 23, at Epidaurus. Owing to the analogy of both statuettes

to the figure of the new-born Athene on the Madrid puteal, it has been usual to associate this type of the goddess in rapid motion with the birth rather than the contest pediment. I attach little value to the puteal depiction. The artist, I think, shrank from a straightforward representation, and, wanting a full-grown figure, used any type that came to hand; it happened that he took what I believe to be the contest type.

Setting aside, then, the central group bounded by the chariots, it remains to consider the subordinate spectators of the angles. If the Anonymous drawing may be trusted, their effect can never have had that nobility and largeness which characterises the eastern pediment. The constant impression on the eye is that of restlessness and crowded action, and the number of small children figures is noticeable. Of these figures no consistent and clear explanation has yet been offered; all that can be done at present is to indicate the lines on which any future interpretation must be made.

(1) As before, the angle figures behind the chariots on either side must be spectators rather than actors.

(2) It was formerly usual to suppose that among the spectators or among the actors there was a strife (ἔρις)—*i.e.*, that those to the right were of the train of Poseidon, those to the left the following of Athene. I do not believe this could have been the case. It was all very well to have the actual strife in the centre, that was essential even to the glory of Athene, she must fight that she might conquer; but there could be no division of either space or feeling into two separate and opponent halves, that would have been analytically as displeasing as religiously unorthodox.

(3) From the analogy of the Olympian pediments, it may be taken as certain that the extreme angle figures are river gods. The scene of the strife was the Acropolis; the rivers, by all analogy, must be the boundary rivers of the sacred hill. It has been universally supposed that these are necessarily the Cephissus and Ilissus. Since Dr. Dörpfeld's discovery of the course of the Eridanus, already noted, it becomes extremely probable that one of the river gods is the Eridanus. The Cephissus has gained for us, through the *Œdipus Colonos* of Sophocles, a perhaps somewhat exaggerated prestige; it was, after all, only a remote boundary of the Acropolis. In the days of Plato the two rivers of Athens are the Ilissus and Eridanus; they run, as the analogous Kladeos and Alpheios at Olympia, at about right angles to each other. It seems possible that 17 may be the Eridanus uprising from the springs, still clear in the days of Strabo, the recumbent Nymph personifying the source; the Ilissus

would then be 1, the figure usually known as Cephissus. In connection with this hypothesis it may be noted—

(4) That Professor Brunn, carrying out his principle of topographical explanation, has seen in the various figures to left and right personifications of the mountains and coast-line of Attica —Kithaeron, Parnes, Cape Kolias, and the like. He yet keeps figure 1 as Cephissus. His interpretation seems to me to be cold and lifeless, and to lack all inherent probability. The strife was on the Acropolis, local, narrow, for Athens rather than Attica; half the vitality of the picture goes if we spread it far and wide over coast and mountain. The essential condition of interpretation is, to my mind, that the spectators be Attic gods, heroes or places within the limits of the bounding rivers—*i.e.*, close about the Acropolis rock. Last, it may be noted that figure 14, which a time-honoured interpretation calls Aphrodite in the lap of Thalassa, is undoubtedly *male*. I say undoubtedly, not because I think the evidence even of the original drawings conclusive—the artist might have looked and drawn carelessly—but because I do not believe there exists any Attic tradition which could make an artist of the date of Pheidias place a full-grown nude figure of a woman in a pediment composition. The nude male figure in the lap of mother or parent-city is natural enough; the analogy of Alcibiades in the lap of the Nymph Nemea has been pointed out by Dr. Löschke.[96] His ingenious suggestion that 14 and 15 are Herakles and Melite, though it is full of interest, fails to convince me. All that can, I think, with safety be said is that it is highly probable that 2 and 3 are Cecrops and his faithful daughter Pandrosos; 4, 5, and 6, Herse, Erichthonios, and Agraulos; to 13, 14, and 15 I feel quite unable to put names.[97]

Following Pausanias, all discussion of the metopes is omitted here. It is enough to say that the metopes of the east—*i.e.*, principal—front represented a Gigantomachia, of which the two central ones immediately over the entrance depicted the contests of Zeus and Athene with giants. Those of the south and north sides have combats of Lapiths and Centaurs and scenes from the Ilionpersis; those of the west an Amazonomachia. Of the frieze some mention will be made when Pausanias reaches the Panathenaic ship.

III. The Chryselephantine Statue of Athene Parthenos.—The image of Athene Parthenos is described with a detail rare for Pausanias, and the particulars he gives can be supplemented by the accounts of other writers, and by various monuments which are more or less distinct echoes of the original image. Though

these technical matters are mythologically of minor importance in the case of a masterpiece by Pheidias, the interest is exceptional, and what is known of the Parthenos must briefly be gathered together before the question of the origin of her art-type and its relation to other aspects of the goddess can be discussed. From Pausanias we learn that Athene stood upright, clad in a cloak to the feet; on her breast the head of Medusa, on her head a helmet adorned with gryphons at the side and surmounted by a sphinx; in one hand she held a Nike four cubits high, in the other a spear; and at her feet was set a shield, and near her spear a snake. On the pedestal was represented the birth of Pandora. Pliny[97] supplements the account with some important details; he passes over the splendour of the figure which was accredited, and its height of twenty-six cubits, and calls attention to its remarkable accessories as testimony to the skill of Pheidias—"He worked on the convex side of the shield the battle of the Amazons, on the concave the battle of the gods and giants, on the sandals the battle of the Lapiths and Centaurs. . . . On the basis the subject carved is what they call 'the birth of Pandora,' and the gods present at the birth (*nascenti* for *nascentes*) were twenty in number." Connoisseurs specially admire the Victory and the snake, and the bronze sphinx under the very crest. From other passages and inscriptions it is known that the face, feet, and hands were, as would be expected, ivory, and the pupils ("the middle of the eyes") of precious stone; that the figure of Nike wore a golden wreath; and that the spear held by the goddess was made of a reed, presumably gilt. To these literary sources the following works of art must be added:—

(1) The Varvakeion statuette in the Central Museum at Athens, discovered 1880 (fig. 47).

(2) Certain Athenian coins (fig. 48, *a* and *b*).

(3) The Lenormant statuette in the Central Museum at Athens, discovered 1859 (fig. 49).

(4) The Strangford shield in the British Museum, discovered 1864 (fig. 51).

(5) The medallion of the Hermitage, discovered 1830 (fig. 52).

It must not be supposed that this list exhausts the probable copies of the Parthenos. The four monuments to be discussed present, however, all the actual details that can be recovered from monumental sources.

A. The Varvakeion statuette (fig. 47), though its value was at first much over-estimated, gives the most complete notion of the

FIG. 47.—VARVAKEION STATUETTE: ATHENE PARTHENOS (CENTRAL MUSEUM).

pose and general appearance of the statue. The statuette is of Pentelic marble, and bears traces of colour and gilding; its height is about 3 feet 5 inches. The goddess is clad, as Pausanias describes her, in a talaric chiton; she wears the crested helmet, surmounted by a sphinx; on her breast the ægis with the Gorgon's head; her right hand, extended, supports the figure of Nike, who, holding out something—presumably a wreath—in her hands, half turns towards the goddess. This right arm is supported by a pillar; the left hand rests lightly on her shield, beneath which the snake is curled.

Accepting the figure as an adequate suggestion of the pose and accoutrement of the goddess, it must be noted (1) that the pillar must be thought away. It is inconceivable that Pheidias would have introduced this clumsy, obtrusive support. It required no impossible mechanical knowledge adequately to strengthen the

FIG. 48.—COINS OF ATHENS.

right arm so as to bear the weight of the Nike, which certainly need not be supposed to be a solid figure.

The evidence of those coins which clearly echo the statue is divided (fig. 48, *a* and *b*). From the time that Praxiteles began to make his statues loll about, in order to indulge his own love of complex curves, supports became fashionable; but the sense of dignity and restraint in sculpture like that of Pheidias makes such an arrangement for a cultus image to my mind quite unthinkable. It should be noted that the statuette is singularly destitute of those delicately finished accessories which Pliny noted with so much approval. Neither on the concave nor convex side of the shield is there any trace of carving, save the central head of Medusa; the high sandals show no tracery, and the basis is quite bare.

B. The Lenormant Statuette (fig. 49).—Far less complete on the whole than the Varvakeion figure, this statuette is grander in

pose, and, though it is much smaller in scale, far larger in manner. Of the style of Pheidias all that can be gathered will be noted under *D*; but the Lenormant figure stands alone in one matter, it represents, however imperfectly, the fact that there were sculptures on the base. The carving is too much worn away to allow of the composition being reconstructed, but, from the analogy of

FIG. 49.—LENORMANT STATUETTE (CENTRAL MUSEUM).

an almost contemporary vase (British Museum Cat., D. 62), it may safely be concluded that the myth was depicted somewhat after this fashion:—In the centre, Pandora, a figure half-alive, uprising from the ground; to the one side Athene, to the other Hephaistos, her creators; on either side, the remaining (according to Pliny, eighteen) gods disposed as spectators.

But even the Semite knew of Mary the Mother as well as Eve the temptress, and for the Greeks there was another Pandora, called by a new name, Anesidora—the first woman, mother earth, bride of the sky, she who sends up "the fruits of the ground for man." "For these," says the author of the *Menexenus*,[99] "are truer proofs of motherhood in a country than in a woman; for the woman in her bearing and nurture of children is but the imitation of the earth, not the earth of the woman." The identification of Anesidora with the earth is no mere fancy; Hesychius[100] expressly says—"Anesidora, the earth, from her sending up (ἀνιέναι) the fruits." His etymology, it is possible, may be wrong; but that matters little, the identification is the point. That Demeter bore this same title,[101] Anesidora, is only further confirmation. Earth herself bore the title Pandora (Giver of all Gifts), as she bore the title of Pambotis (All-feeder); but the title Pandora is so associated with the mischievous woman who opened the box, the woman whom every coward and sensualist figured as a "great plague" to men, that the new name of the vase-painter is a welcome relief. No nobler subject could be found for the basis of Athene's statue than the creation of the first woman, the gift-giver, the great mother, nor, with this end, than the decking of her to make her fair. The gods, Athene herself, could do no better than to deck and dower her, a grace to mortals.

C. The Strangford Shield (fig. 51).—As has been already noted, Pliny states that on the convex side of the shield of the Parthenos was an Amazonomachia. Plutarch, in his *Life of Pericles*, adds that one charge against Pheidias was "that on the shield he had introduced his own figure as a bald old man raising a stone in both his hands, and a very beautiful portrait of Pericles fighting against an Amazon. And the arrangement of the hand holding a lance in front of the face of Pericles was adapted ingeniously to conceal in part the likeness which yet appeared on either side." On the shield in question, which was acquired in Athens by Viscount Strangford, there are two figures which simply correspond to this description—*i.e.*, the bald old man, with both arms uplifted, about to slay an Amazon, and a fighting Greek close to him with the uplifted arm partly across his face. The shield has a Gorgon's head in the centre, like the Parthenos shield. A fragment of a similar shield exists in the Vatican.

About this portrait of Pheidias on the shield, traditions were afloat, so curious that if they were not repeated by several authors of good repute they would be considered mythical. Aristotle says

that the likeness was so arranged as to be connected by some secret mechanism with the image, in such a fashion that if the portrait were taken out the whole image would go to pieces. Valerius Maximus, Apuleius Ampelius, and Cicero give the same account. Fabulous though this sounds, it must be remembered that the building up of a great chryselephantine statue was always a complex problem in mechanics. Dr. Waldstein [102] ingeniously conjectures that in some way the weight of the Nike

FIG. 51.—STRANGFORD SHIELD (BRITISH MUSEUM).

on the right hand of the statue was balanced by a corresponding weight in the shield on the left, the two being connected at some central point on the image itself. If so, the statement of Aristotle was no doubt literally true; take away the point of connection on the shield and the Nike would collapse, probably pulling down much of the main structure in its ruin. Such an arrangement would have the further advantage that it would abolish all necessity for the clumsy pillar-support. It seems even

possible, if a further conjecture may be hazarded, that, as such mechanical arrangements must have been for chryselephantine statues common enough to be easily credible, Pheidias spread the report purposely, fearing the abstraction of the portrait.

D. The Hermitage Medallion (fig. 52).—Here we reach not only the most minute reproduction of the technical details of the head of the Parthenos, but also the only monument for which it

FIG. 52.—MEDALLION: HEAD OF ATHENE PARTHENOS (HERMITAGE).

may be fairly claimed that it is of almost contemporary date and echoes with some distinctness the style of Pheidias.

The medallion formed an ear-pendant which had belonged to a calathus; it was found in a tomb at Kouloba lying on the breast of the dead woman.[103] Athens was the principal export town for these South Russian colonies, and in all probability the medallion came straight from thence. First, as to the technical

details it supplies. The central sphinx is there, as on the Varvakeion statuette; to either side is a Pegasos, not noted by Pausanias, but probably present, as the worker of the medallion would be unlikely to add superfluous detail. The cheek-pieces, with the gryphons in relief, are probably just as Pausanias saw them. It should perhaps be noted that both sphinx and gryphons —to find a meaning for which causes Pausanias some anxiety— were there in a decorative capacity. For the mythology of the sphinx we may be content with Pausanias to wait till he arrives at his account of Boeotia. In front of the helmet is a row of ten animal busts, five gryphons and five deer. It has been often noted that on the Parthenos image, as we know of it, no place was found for the sacred bird of Athene, the owl; on the medallion she is most happily introduced, perched on the right-hand cheek-piece. It cannot of course certainly be said that the bird was so perched on the original image, but it seems very probable; and a careless observer like Pausanias, especially if he stood to the left, might easily overlook it. Nor are the descriptions of Pausanias ever exhaustive. The goddess wears a rich necklace—a most useful adjunct in a chryselephantine work, where the object would be to break up the surface as much as possible, out of place of course in a marble copy. In one of the serpent coils to the right there is a straight, stiff object involved, and this might well be the spear; if lightly held by the left hand that rested on the shield, this serpent coil would be an efficient additional support. The hair is worked in spiral-threaded coils, no doubt just after the fashion of the golden hair of the image. And yet, minute as the technique is, the head is large in style; perhaps the best evidence of this is that, if enlarged to colossal size, the medallion maintains its grandeur. Its greatness is nowise impaired by its fineness and delicacy. The type of face may not be quite what the modern eye looks for as beauty, but no one can deny to it a somewhat sullen majesty. Curiously enough too, the Varvakeion head, though much vulgarised, has something of the same air; and more close still is the resemblance of the head of the beautiful bronze plaque recently found on the Acropolis.[104]

From the technique of the statue it is time to pass to a consideration more important for mythology, its art-type. A conception like that of Pheidias did not spring full-grown from the artist's brain, it had grown up slowly to a complex perfection, deep-rooted in manifold tradition; it was the last outcome, almost crowded with multiplex associations, of national belief.

Some misconceptions as to the character of the image must first be set aside. It has often been urged—and the idea was of commendable ingenuity—that the Parthenos statue was not a cultus image at all; that it was a votive offering to the older Polias image in the Erechtheion; that it was rather the expression of certain feelings about the goddess than a thing actually to be worshipped. This hangs together with a most pernicious and widespread error as to the Parthenon itself: the Parthenon, some urge, was not a cultus temple, it was a museum, a bank, a treasure-house, a place for festival assemblies, but the real cultus temple was the Erechtheion. What the Erechtheion was, and what were its relations to the Parthenon, will be discussed later; for the present it is sufficient distinctly to state that from the time the Parthenon was finished it was *the* temple, the place of the cult of Athene Polias, and that the chryselephantine statue was *the* cultus image of Athene Polias.

It is worth noting that the Parthenos was called, not only agalma, but ἕδος. This word ἕδος has no English equivalent; it means "settlement," "foundation," "seat." It came probably at first to mean a *seated* statue, and ultimately any temple-statue; it is never used of a mere portrait-statue, an εἰκών.

We think of the chryselephantine image essentially as Parthenos; but Parthenos was, after all, only a by-name, a title given to distinguish this particular statue, as the title was given to Athene to distinguish one aspect of her character. Athene at Athens was always and everywhere Polias (Goddess of the State), but she was called also Parthenos; so her great temple image was *ipso facto* Polias, but had also the sub-title of Parthenos, which ultimately prevailed in common parlance. Athene *as Parthenos* had no special cult; she was worshipped as Polias, as Nike, as Hygieia; in these special aspects she had separate altars and sacrifices. But this is not the case with her as Parthenos; as Parthenos she has no separate priestess, no separate altar, no peculiar ritual. As Parthenos she is Polias; in like manner, as Ergane she is Polias: Ergane and Parthenos are simply attributive complimentary sub-titles. This view is strongly borne out by the fact that on inscriptions the statue is τὸ ἕδος simply, or τὸ ἄγαλμα, or τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, or τὸ ἕδος τὸ χρυσοῦν. Pausanias himself does not here call the image "the Parthenos," but elsewhere, describing the chryselephantine Zeus at Olympia, he speaks of "the statue called the Parthenos on the Acropolis at Athens"; but the very form of words he uses (τὴν καλουμένην Παρθένον) shows it was no regular, formal title. It may be taken, then, as certain that the

Parthenos was the new *cultus* image of Athene Polias. It remains to see what was the art-type of Athene Polias before the time of Pheidias, and from which his Parthenos was necessarily derived.

Fortunately, votive offerings and vase-paintings leave no doubt as to the matter. We should expect, as Pheidias made his Parthenos standing, that the old type was a standing one; and this turns out to be the case. A seated type of Athene does indeed appear—that there was such a type in early days is indeed shown clearly enough by the Athene of Endoios (p. 479)—but in regular scenes of worship and sacrifice Athene Polias is standing.

FIG. 53.—AMPHORA: SACRIFICE TO ATHENE POLIAS (BERLIN MUSEUM).

There could be no better instance than that of a black-figured amphora (fig. 53) at Berlin (Cat., 1686). The image of Athene Polias stands to the right; she wears the high helmet, her shield on her left arm, her spear upraised in the right; in front of her an altar; to it approaches the priestess, upraising her lustral twigs; three attendants bring up a cow tethered for the sacrifice; behind, on the reverse, come two players on the flute, followed by two with the lyre. That we have here a scene of solemn sacrifice cannot be doubted; that the sacrifice is to the great temple image of the Acropolis, is almost equally certain. There is no indication of a temple, and probably this is intentional; the great sacrifices to Athene took place on the great altar of the goddess

in front of her temple, from which it is conceived she comes forth. If the vase stood alone, doubt might be possible; but it does not. On the archaic plate[105] already noted in connection with the Dionysiac festival, just such a scene is depicted in like fashion—

FIG. 54.—BOURGON VASE (BRITISH MUSEUM).

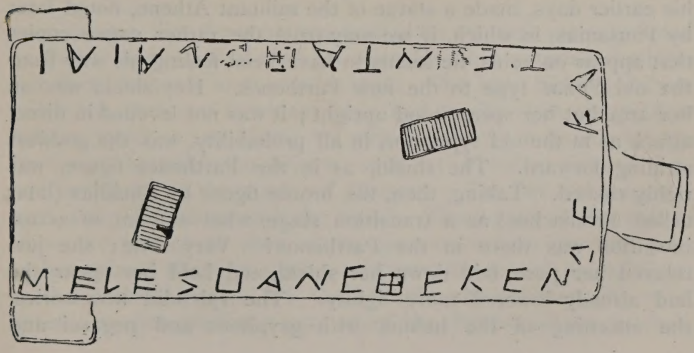
the standing goddess with shield and outstretched spear, the altar (this time surmounted by a mantic bird), the priestess bearing a tray laden with offerings on her head, the tethered cow, the flute-player; a Doric column only indicates a temple.

To the evidence of these actual ritual scenes comes that of the Panathenaic vases, the earliest of which—known as the Bourgon vase, and in the British Museum (Cat., B. 1)—is given in fig. 54. The type remained fixed down to the latest specimen we have. Surely it would be unreasonable to suppose that the goddess was figured any otherwise than after the type of her great cultus image. Pillar fashion (*κίονηδον*) down the side of the vase is inscribed *τῶν Ἀθήνηθεν ἄθλων εἰμι*—("I am of the prizes from Athens"). The same armed Polias type occurs also on the coins of Athens (fig. 55).

FIG. 55.—COIN OF ATHENS: ATHENE POLIAS.

Further, the recent excavations on the Acropolis have brought to light no fewer than five votive bronzes which repeat the type. The best preserved is given in fig. 56. Round the basis of the figure runs an inscription—

FIG. 56.—BRONZE ATHENE POLIAS (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS).



which tells, in letters of the sixth century, that the figure was dedicated to Athene—Μελησὼ ἀνέθηκεν δεκάτην τ' Ἀθηναίᾳ ("Meleso dedicated me as a tenth to Athene"). The title Polias is not expressed, but of course understood.

When this type of the armed and militant Athene came in, it is not possible to say. My own impression is that very possibly it was an outcome of the influence of the Homeric poems; the actual art-type may have been borrowed from abroad, where the armed idol of Aphrodite or Hera was common enough. Athene, at a time it is hard to fix, emerged from the rather domesticated, agrarian character she seems originally to have had at Athens, and for which the old, seated xoanon amply sufficed, and became a stranger and more warlike personality; she became Pallas as well as Athene. Of the Palladion, Homer knows nothing; but when the story became rife by the influence of the cyclic poets, it is interesting to see that the Athenian vase-painter pictures the Palladion as his own Athene Polias. Fig. 57, taken from a vase by Hieron in the Hermitage, on which the rape is represented, shows Odysseus making off with the Palladion, a figure none other than a little stiff Polias. The sacred image of Troy was a seated figure, for Theano laid the robe upon her knees, but the vase-painter is no scrupulous archæologist.

FIG. 57.—CYLIX BY HIERON: PALLADION (HERMITAGE).

Returning to Pheidias, it cannot be forgotten that he, too, in his earlier days, made a statue of the militant Athene, noted later by Pausanias, in which, if we may trust the rather vague copies that appear on coins, he seems to have been feeling his way from the old Polias type to the new Parthenos. Her shield was on her arm, but her spear stood upright; it was not levelled in direct attack as in the old type, nor, in all probability, was the goddess striding forward. The shield, as in the Parthenos figure, was richly carved. Taking, then, the bronze figure by Pheidias (later called Promachos) as a transition stage, what amount of actual invention was there in the Parthenos? Very little; she just relaxed her pose, laid down her shield, and held her spear she had already lowered more lightly. The splendid accessories, the adorning of the helmet with gryphons and pegasoi and

sphinx, were his; but the main conception, the standing goddess with spear and shield, was, as it should be, of the old traditional Polias. This nowise detracts from the genius of Pheidias; reverently to keep the old yet add the new, to touch so little and yet transfigure so much, this is the proper quality of genius.

It is interesting to note that vase-paintings after the time of Pheidias adopt for Athene the Parthenos type; from that time on she was to the Athenian the true Polias. In a fragmentary vase of the British Museum (Cat., E. 788)[106] there is a good illustration of this (fig. 58). A sacrifice is going on, possibly offered by a grateful vase-painter; he has dedicated a statuette, which stands

FIG. 58.—FRAGMENT OF VASE: SACRIFICE IN PRESENCE OF PARTHENOS (BRITISH MUSEUM).

on a column, like the countless dedicatory columns recently found on the Acropolis; above, on an olive tree, are suspended tablets (pinakes), probably to denote his craft. The artist himself is there to the left, with two attendant boys, and to the right the goddess Athene looks on to bless, "a type evidently inspired by the Parthenos herself," the Athene such as Pheidias created her, nowise inferior to the words of Homer—"The fair maiden, gray-eyed, lofty, girt about with the ægis." The details of the helmet alone are enough to show where the vase-painter got his idea; he has echoed the high sphinx, and even the row of animal busts on the forehead-piece. Mr. Cecil Smith, who publishes the vase, dates it as soon after 437 B.C., when the Parthenos was finished.

To depict or even indicate the new statue was an ingenious method of ensuring popularity.

IV. Certain Points relating to the Plan and Structure of the Parthenon.—An outside view of the Parthenon from the east end in Turkish times is given in fig. 59; as it now stands, in fig. 60; the general aspect of its ruined interior looking east is seen in fig. 61. Its past splendour and its present beauty alike can only be realised on the Acropolis hill itself, and are best realised there by the less searching light of the moon. Away from the actual ruins the ground-plan of the temple can be quite as con-

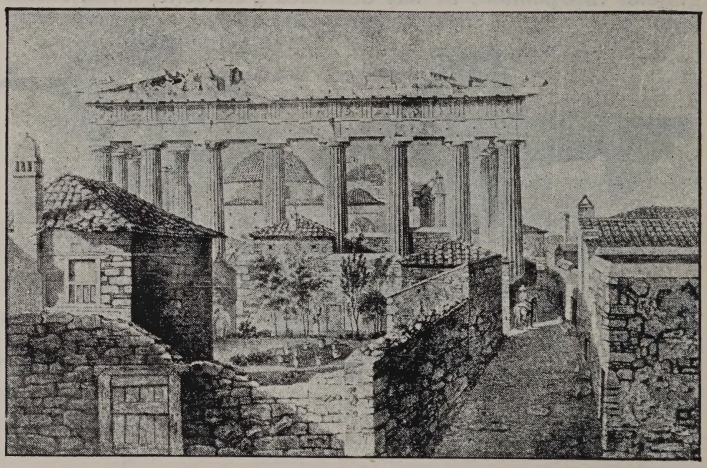


FIG. 59.—EAST END OF PARTHENON IN TURKISH TIMES.

veniently studied; and as this plan happens to be closely involved with certain questions relating to the earlier temple of Athene Polias, it must be discussed in somewhat unusual detail. It is given in accordance with Dr. Dörpfeld's restoration in fig. 62.

We are accustomed to call the temple "the Parthenon," but such was not, could not ever be, its *official* name. Its full title was "the temple of Athene Polias" (ὁ νεὼς τῆς Ἀθήνας τῆς Πολιάδος). For short it was known as *the* temple (ὁ νεώς); for distinction from the older and smaller one, ὁ νεὼς ὁ μέγας. That it bore the title of "temple of Polias" down to quite late days is perhaps more

FIG. 60.—PARTHENON, FROM THE EAST.

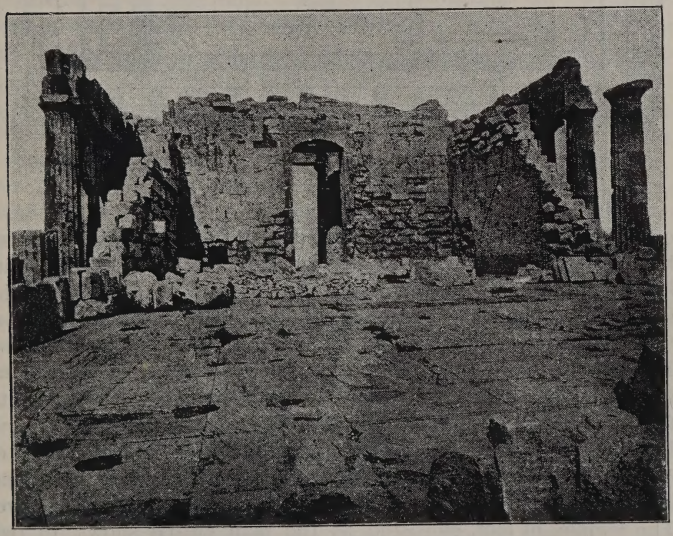


FIG. 61.—INTERIOR OF PARTHENON, LOOKING EAST.

vividly shown by a passage of Lucian than anywhere else. Lucian (in his capacity of Parrhesiades the Free-speaker) is to be tried by Philosophy and a company of the true philosophers of olden times. He suggests they should all go up to the Acropolis, where they could get a good view of the city. Arrived there, Philosophy says, "Now I suppose we had better decide the cause here in the pronaos of the Polias. Let the priestess set seats, and meantime we will go in and pay our devotions to the goddess." The pronaos of the Parthenon would be just adequate to such an assembly ; the pronaos of the Erechtheion, or even the old temple, would be most uncomfortably crowded. A priestess would of course be on the spot in the Parthenon, which was very improbable in either of the other two. At the end of the dialogue

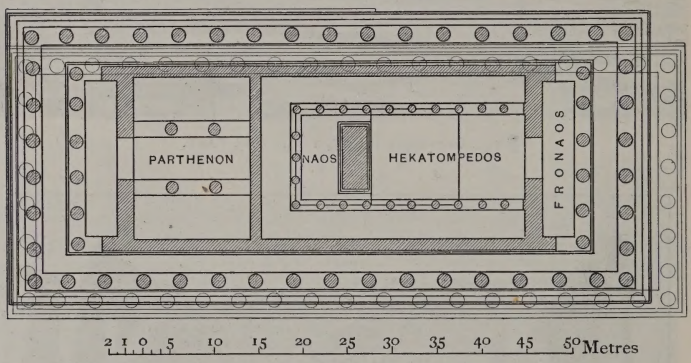


FIG. 62.—PLAN OF THE PARTHENON.

comes further and quite undesigned confirmation. Parrhesiades borrows from the priestess a few figs and a little gold ; he baits his hook and sits down on the Acropolis wall to fish for the false philosophers. Philosophy, seeing him hanging over, says, "Parrhesiades, what are you fishing for?" "Stones from the Pelasgikon." Now the Pelasgikon extended from the Areopagus to the Asklepieion, so that from the pronaos of the Parthenon to the wall that overhung it would be but a few steps. The name Parthenon was, then, a sub-name given to the great new temple of Athene Polias comparatively late, and derived, like the title Hekatompedos, not from the whole, but from a portion of the structure. The temple, in fact, consisted, as the plan clearly shows, of two main parts, distinct, and without internal communication : the

larger and eastern half was called the Hekatompedos, and was fronted by a pronaos; the smaller, western half was called the Parthenon, and was itself fronted by a pronaos or posticum. The back or western chamber of a temple was usually called the Opisthodomos. It is natural to ask why an exception was made in the case of this particular temple. The answer is simple. After the new temple was built, there still existed and was in use another Opisthodomos—*i.e.*, that of the old temple. To avoid confusion with this *the Opisthodomos of the new temple was not called Opisthodomos, but for distinction Parthenon* (*chamber of the Virgin*). The great importance of this statement, the demonstration of which is entirely due to Dr. Dörpfeld, will be seen when the old temple is reached. The new temple, then, had no Opisthodomos; or, rather, the chamber which was in fact the Opisthodomos was called the Parthenon. Within this Parthenon, in the narrow, special sense, were kept, as is known from inscriptions, vessels used for the sacred processions, furniture, clothes, jewels, decrees, and fragments of every description, single leaves from crowns, feet of beds, and the like—in fact, such things as were best kept in a chamber easily closed, and accessible, as a rule, only to State officials, and for the public exhibition of which there was no adequate reason. We have the official list[107] of these objects year by year from 419 to 406 B.C.; in it are comprised such things as a gold crown, gold cups, uncoined gold, a golden drinking cup with a sacred silver stand, two silver-gilt nails, a silver-gilt mask, silver cups and a silver horn, gilt blades, gilt corn ears, a gold image on a pillar, and the like. In no case is money registered, therefore the idea must be given up that the Parthenon was a State bank. The same great inscription from which these details are taken gives the State accounts of the Hekatompedos and the Pronaos, all separately kept. Glancing over those of the Hekatompedos, they are on the whole of a different order from those of the Parthenon proper; they are things suitable for exhibition, votive crowns, and votive objects generally; we do not find the mass of furniture and broken rubbish: the same applies to the record of the Pronaos. The very same stewards of Athene (*ταμίαι*) who register these accounts for the Pronaos, Hekatompedos, and Parthenon, register accounts also for a place they call Opisthodomos; it would be absurd to suppose that by this they mean only a second statement of the accounts of the Parthenon. For the Opisthodomos is left only the back entrance-hall of the "Parthenon." Con-

sidering that the treasure registered there is the State money, not only is the space of the chamber inadequate, but, as it is an open space, it would have been most insecure. It will be seen, when the old temple is reached, that the Opisthodomos of the State registers is not in the new temple at all, but in the old.

The term Hekatompedos requires a word of explanation. Hesychius says—"Hekatompedos, the temple on the Acropolis built for the Parthenos by the Athenians, larger than the one built by the Persians by 50 feet." The remark of Hesychius seems to refer to the *breadth* of the temple: the stylobate of the Parthenon is $30{\cdot}87^{m}$; the foundations of the old temple (*i.e.*, after the Persian wars, and without the peristasis), $13{\cdot}45^{m}$; the difference is $= 17{\cdot}40^{m} = 53$ Greek feet of $0{\cdot}327^{m}$. Hesychius is not very precise. As to the name Hekatompedos, it was due to the fact that the cella of the new temple, including its walls, was 100 Æginetan feet (without the walls, 100 Attic feet). This is precisely the length of the old temple without its peristasis, so that it may very well have also borne the name of Hekatompedos.

It remains to fix the exact place where the chryselephantine statue stood within the Hekatompedos. The question has been much complicated by the Byzantine alterations on the back wall of the Hekatompedos. In Christian times two small doors were broken through into the Parthenon behind, north and south. Dr. Bötticher believed these to be of classical date, and thought that the doors were put to either side because the great image occupied a niche in the centre. Dr. Dörpfeld[108] has shown triumphantly that these two doors never existed till Christian times, and with them falls away all reason for placing the image against the middle of the wall. His argument is too detailed and too technical to be given here, but it should be read, and read on the spot, as a fine example of the actuality of his method.

It will at once be seen how much the image gains by leaving its niche against the wall and coming clear out into the nave; it could thus not only be approached from the front, but examined, like the Aphrodite of Praxiteles at Cnidus, from either side and from the back, though undoubtedly it would, like the image of the Olympian Zeus, be enclosed by a barrier, traces of which are still to be made out. It seems indeed to have been the examination of the bathron of the Olympian Zeus, the remains of which are fortunately very distinct, that set Dr. Dörpfeld on the track of the true position of the Parthenos. It is peculiarly satisfactory and

convincing to find that the experience gained at Olympia was utilised at Athens. Allowing for the difference of shape necessary for a sitting and standing figure, the scheme of the two bathra were closely alike; both had for basis an oblong pavement of poros stone surrounded by Pentelic marble.

Last, there is a distinct gain in advancing the figure somewhat nearer to the entrance-door. If we give up, as Dr. Dörpfeld does, hypæthral and every other form of lighting save through the door, it was well that the great glory of the temple, the sight that every worshipper and every traveller must see, should not be too remote. When the great doors were flung wide open, the light would be enough, reflected as it was from marble pavement and cella wall and a hundred glittering objects, enough for the shimmer of the white ivory and gold and precious stones, but subdued enough to leave about the goddess a veil of awe and mystery.[109] It would seem indeed as though no sunlight or lamp were needed in the temple, for the radiant goddess herself was the light thereof.

There, in the cool darkness of the shut temple, we must leave her, and pass out with Pausanias.

In leaving the temple Pausanias mentions nothing but a statue of Hadrian and of the famous Athenian general Iphikrates. He turns, as will be seen, to his right on his way to the south wall, and in so doing he must have passed that corner (south-west) of the temple where the sub-foundations of Cimon are most clearly visible.

These foundations have been the subject of much controversy, and the view adopted here must be distinctly stated. The foundations of an earlier temple preceding the present Parthenon are clearly seen in the plan; this older structure was somewhat longer, but much narrower. Mr. Penrose believes that all the architectural fragments built into the north wall belonged to this early temple. Dr. Dörpfeld maintains, on the other hand, as will be seen later, that the marble fragments, drums of columns, *do* belong to this temple, but that the poros fragments of architrave, triglyphs, cornice, and metopes do *not*. The marble drums are unfinished, and it may safely be concluded that the temple for which they were destined was never completed. The recent excavations to the south of the Parthenon have shown beyond a doubt the date of the foundations. In fig. 63 is shown the south-west corner of these foundations as they were exposed in the spring of 1888; at this point the rock lay lowest, and the depth

of the foundations is at its greatest. Between the south wall of the Acropolis (which is of later date) and the foundations is a second wall, parallel to both and midway between them ; this wall

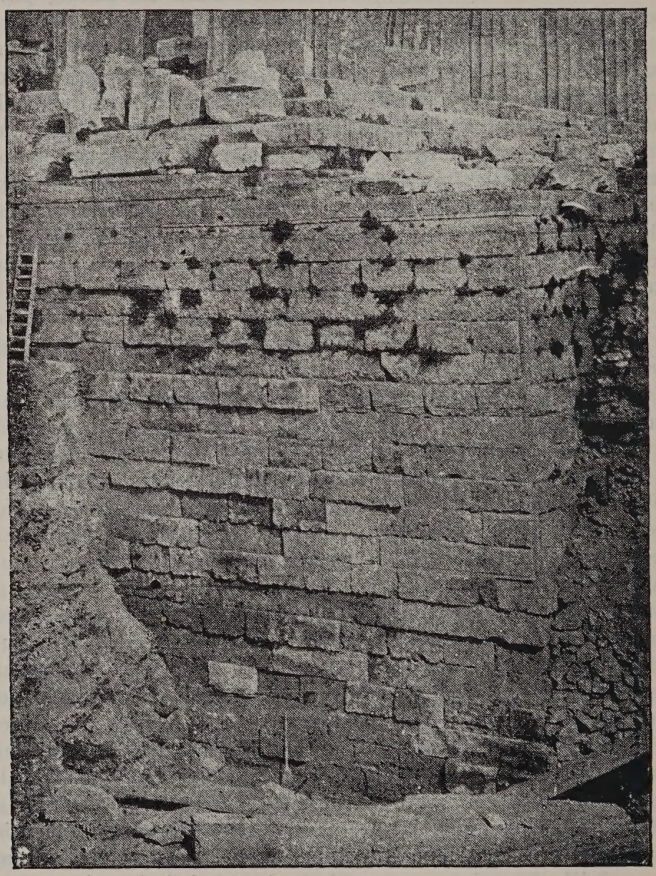


FIG. 63.—SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF FOUNDATIONS OF CIMŌN'S PARTHENON, AS SHOWN BY THE EXCAVATIONS (APRIL 1888).

is of the same date as the foundations. It is clear, from the character of the fragments and *débris* used to fill up the intervening space, that the foundations and this wall were laid soon

after the Persian war—*i.e.*, presumably under Cimon. He evidently planned a new Parthenon, and to receive it the south slope of the Acropolis was to be levelled up. Somewhat later the south Acropolis wall was planned, and then the space between it and the intermediate wall had to be filled in;[110] this space, instead of being filled with *débris* of the Persian war—*i.e.*, terra-cottas, bronzes, poros sculptures—is almost entirely filled with simple earth and splinters of marble. The south wall itself was probably not complete till the time of Pericles. The important fact to be borne in mind is, that this sub-structure of the Parthenon, though of course preceding it, is comparatively of recent (*i.e.*, Cimonian) date, and cannot at all compete as regards antiquity with the old temple near the Erechtheion.*

* Since I wrote the above (1888) the south side of the Parthenon has been completely cleared out, and the precise sequence of the various walls and foundations more clearly made out. By the kindness of Mr. Ernest Gardner I am able to add the following particulars of what has been discovered since I left Athens and up to May 1889:—"It has been found that when the great basis on which the Parthenon rests was being constructed, a plan was adopted on the south side, where its height above the rock on which it was founded is very great, to avoid the difficulty and expense of an extensive scaffolding. A limestone wall ('terrace wall' on the plan) of irregular construction (about 12 inches distant from the basis of the Parthenon at the eastern end and somewhat nearer at the west) was built between the outer wall of the Acropolis and the structure in course of erection. Thus, without too great expenditure of earth, the space between the wall and the basis could be filled up as every few courses were added to the latter. Thus, we find at the bottom here a few feet of very early undisturbed earth, containing finds of the Mycenae period; above this is a succession of layers of pottery, fragments and rubbish alternating with chips from the construction of the great basement of Peiraeus limestone. The articles contained in these layers seem to belong, without doubt, to the period immediately following the Persian invasion. Most important of all is a thick layer composed of fragments of sculpture in rough stone, with extensive remains of colour. . . .

"Where the long supporting wall of polygonal stones joins the fragment of early wall, already mentioned, opposite the south-west corner of the Parthenon, a rough staircase (marked on the plan) is left between the two. This must have served for convenience of access to the various terraces while they were still at different levels—that is to say, before the great 'Cimonian' wall was made the boundary of the terrace around the Parthenon, and the whole surface was levelled up to the bottom step of the temple. That this was done later is proved by the fact that to the south of the intermediate supporting wall, between it and the outside wall of the Acropolis, numerous fragments of marble and other materials have been found which come from a slightly later era in the architectural history of the Acropolis than the filling close to the basis of the Parthenon. Other supporting walls are found to the west of the south-west angle of the Parthenon; one of these continues the line of the

rock-cut steps, and contains several blocks from the stylobate of the early temple south of the Erechtheion, which has already given rise to so much discussion. . . .

"Between the Parthenon and the south wall of the Acropolis an oblong building (marked on the plan) has also been discovered of rough construction, partly built of neglected drums of the earlier Parthenon. The erection of this building seems to have been contemporary with that of the Parthenon, and it was covered with earth as soon as the Parthenon was finished. The very probable suggestion has been made that this was a workshop used during the construction of the Parthenon."

SECTION XIX

BRONZE APOLLO PARNOPIOS—ATHENE BY ENDOIOS

TEXT, i. 24, § 8; 25, §§ 1, 2; 26, § 4.

i. 24, 8. OPPOSITE the temple is a bronze Apollo; the image is said to have been made by Pheidias. It is called Parnopios, because, when a plague of locusts was laying waste the land, the god promised to drive them out of the country. The fact that Apollo drove them away is certain, but the means he used is not related. I am myself acquainted with three different ways in which locusts that had come from the mountain of Sipylos were destroyed. Once they were driven away by a violent gale which fell upon them; another time they were destroyed by excessive heat following on rain; and again they were overtaken by sudden cold and so perished. These things happened to them within my experience.

i. 25, 1. On the Acropolis of Athens there are statues of Pericles, the son of Xanthippos, and of Xanthippos himself, who fought against the Persians in the sea-fight at Mykale. The statue of Pericles is on one side, while on the other, near that of Xanthippos, is Anacreon of Teios, the first poet, after Sappho of Lesbos, to write principally love-poems. The attitude of the figure is suggestive of a man singing in his cups. The female figures near were made by Deinomenes, and represent Io, daughter of Inachos, and Kallisto, daughter of Lykaon. The legends told of these two are altogether similar, relating the love of Zeus, the wrath of Hera, and transformation in one case into a cow, in the case of Kallisto into a bear.

i. 25, 2. Near the south wall are figures of about two cubits in length, representing the war with the giants, who dwelt of old round about Thrace and the isthmus of Pallene; the war of the Athenians against the Amazons; the action at Marathon against the Persians; and the destruction of the Galati in

Mysia. All these groups were set up by Attalos. There is also a statue of Olympiodorus.

. . . . . .

Digression about Olympiodorus.

i. 26, 4. Near the statue of Olympiodorus is a bronze statue of Artemis called Leukophryene. This was dedicated by the sons of Themistocles, for the Magnesians over whom Themistocles was put to rule by the Great King honour Artemis Leukophryene. But I must go on with my account if I am to give an equally full description of all Greece. Endoios was an Athenian by birth, but being a pupil of Daidalos, when his master fled on account of the death of Talos, he followed him to Crete. The seated figure of Athena is done by him, and bears an inscription to the effect that Callias dedicated it and Endoios made it.

COMMENTARY ON i. 24, § 8; 25, §§ 1, 2; 26, § 4.

In passing out of the Parthenon Pausanias must have stood actually face to face with the little temple to Rome and Augustus. Its foundations have recently been laid bare just 25 metres to the east of the Parthenon. The building was of white marble, circular, and with a peristyle of nine Ionic columns; the diameter is 7 metres. Close at hand there still (1888) lie two great fragments of the epistyle,[111] bearing the dedicatory inscription, set up not earlier than 27 B.C.; it is in four lines, and states that the people set up the temple to the goddess Rome and to Cæsar, in the archonship of Areos. Among the honorary seats in the Dionysiac theatre is one to the priest of the goddess Rome and Cæsar, and there is another inscribed with the joint names of the Demos, the Charites, and Rome.

On his way to the south wall, where at a point approximately fixed he sees the votive groups of Attalos, Pausanias notes—

1. Bronze statue of Apollo Parnopios, by Pheidias.
2. Statue of Pericles.
3. Statue of Xanthippos, father of Pericles.
4. Statue of Anacreon.
5. Statue of Io } By Deinomenes.
6. Statue of Kallisto }

Next, having reached the south wall, he sees—

7. *The votive groups of Attalos.*

After them, before he reaches the Erechtheion—

8. A statue of Olympiodorus.
9. Bronze image of Artemis Leukophryne.
10. Seated image of Athene, by Endoios.

With the exception of the votive groups of Attalos and possibly the Athene of Endoios, but little is known of this series of monuments. That little may briefly be noted.

The worship of Apollo Parnopios was, Strabo[112] says, at home among the Æolians of Asia, who called one of their months Parnopion (the locust month), and a sacrifice was performed to the god under this title. It may be conjectured that the god held a locust in his hand; we can scarcely suppose that he stood upon a locust, as Apollo the Mouse-god stood upon a mouse. Strabo, it will be remembered, says the dwellers in the Troad apologised for the seemingly trivial names of their gods by citing such titles as Apollo Parnopios and Herakles Ipoktonos (worm-slayer).

Of the statues of Pericles and his father Xanthippos nothing is known. A portion of a basis of small size, of Pentelic marble, was found near the south wall of the Acropolis, opposite the Brauronian precinct, bearing the following inscription. The restoration seems at least probable—

Περ]ικλέος
Κρεσ]ίλας ἐποίε.

We know from Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 74) that Cresilas made a statue of "Olympian Pericles worthy of his title," and it seems possible that this basis may have belonged to the statue seen by Pausanias. The basis is fac-similed in the Δελτίον (February 1889, p. 36).

The statue of Anacreon was the subject of several epigrams; and, if we may trust their accounts, the appearance of the poet's statue was sufficiently disreputable. He was "heavily laden" with drink, his eyes were moist, his cloak hung down at his heels, he had lost one shoe, the other still clung to his withered old foot, and he was singing of lovely Bathyllos or Megisteus and uplifting his lyre in his hand. The pious epigrammatist[113] adds a timely prayer to Dionysos:—

"Hold him, father—'tis not meet
Bacchus' thrall
Should in Bacchus' service fall."

As regards Deinomenes there must have been an elder and a younger sculptor of this name. Pliny says that Deinomenes flourished in the 95th Olympiad (*i.e.*, *circ.* 396 B.C.); on the other hand, a basis has been found on the Acropolis with the signature of Deinomenes[114] in letters characteristic of the second or first century B.C. It is impossible to determine by which Deinomenes the statues seen by Pausanias were made, nor is it known how they were conceived. As Pausanias thinks it necessary to explain that the two ill-fated heroines were changed respectively into a cow and a bear, presumably they were represented in human shape. Greek art at the best times shrank from animal as well as hybrid impersonations of human beings.

Pausanias states distinctly that the groups sent by Attalos were on the south wall; from a passage in Plutarch's *Life of Antony* it is further certain that they must have been set up immediately over the Dionysiac theatre. Plutarch relates that during a terrible storm which occurred when Antony was at Patrae, at Athens the figure of Dionysos was torn off from the Gigantomachia and carried down into the theatre; this, Plutarch[115] goes on to say, upset Antony very much, as he affected to be a follower of Dionysos and was called the younger Dionysos. Even in a really heavy storm a statue could scarcely be carried very far, so we may reasonably suppose the groups were just above the theatre. From this passage also it is almost certain that the originals were of bronze. Hollow bronze statues could with comparative ease be torn off from their pedestals and carried down over the cliff, whereas, if the statue was of stone on a stone pedestal, it is difficult to conceive of such a thing happening.

It is well known[116] that there are, scattered about in the museums of Europe, a number of small statues which can scarcely be otherwise than copies of this votive offering. Ten are already known—three in Venice, four in Naples, one in the Vatican, one in the Louvre, one at Aix; probably many more remain to be discovered, now the clue is once given. The unity of motive and style that runs through the series was first noted in the case of the statues at Naples and those at Venice by Professor Brunn. The reasons for connecting them together and with the votive groups of Attalos are briefly as follows:—

1. They are all made of a fine-grained marble known to come from Asia Minor.

2. Their peculiar size, about 3 feet, suggests the two cubits of Pausanias.

3. They represent uniformly fallen Gauls, Persians, Amazons, and giants—*i.e.*, just the four sets of combatants—two real, two mythical, which Pausanias describes as opposed respectively to Greek heroes and Greek gods.

4. Their general style accords with what we know of the Pergamene school of the time of Attalos.

It is not supposed, however, that in these scattered statues we have the originals, but only stone copies, probably made at Pergamos. This for two reasons :—

(1) Presumably the originals were of bronze; this would make the offerings more suitable, because more costly, than if they were of stone. Also it has already been seen that the fact of the figure of Dionysos being blown down points this way.

(2) It is noticeable that we have only figures of defeated and more or less prostrate combatants. Had these figures belonged to the original set, it is scarcely possible that some figures of the victorious combatants should not have survived.

What happened, then, in all probability is briefly this :— Attalos I., after his great victory over the Gauls in Mysia, adorned his own city with monuments of his fallen foes. Of these we may form some notion from the well-known "Dying Gaul" of the Capitol, and the "Gaul and his Wife" of the Villa Ludovisi; but, as Pliny tells us, the originals were bronze. But to Athens Attalos looked as his mother city, and while adorning his own, he desired to send some sculptured monument to decorate the Athenian Acropolis. The significance of the subjects he chose is not difficult to see. He will commemorate his own actual victory, hence the figures of the Gauls; he is a Greek—he constantly translates the historical present into its mythical counterpart, hence the figures of the giants, the mythical counterpart of the monstrous Gauls. Further, with delicate courtesy as well as ancestral pride, he will link the victories of Athens with his own, hence the figures of the Persians; these too must have their prototypes, the mythical barbarian women-folk, the Amazons.

How Attalos arranged his four great groups, and what were their extent, cannot be determined. The bases of all the copies are very narrow, and the statues seem in some cases to have been composed for a side view only. This, taken in connection with the words of Pausanias, makes it possible but by no means certain that the groups were arranged against the outside of the Acropolis

wall. They may have been in four tiers—the battle of the gods and giants highest, the mythical combat of the Amazons next, the actual fight lowest. But all this is mere conjecture.

It is more satisfactory to turn to the copies. One from each group — giants, Amazons, Persians, Gauls — has been selected.

In fig. 64 we have a fallen giant; he used to be called a Gaul, but the lion's skin over the left arm, and the evident intention to express colossal size, spite of the small scale, leave no doubt that a giant is intended; the chest is very broad and powerful, and

FIG. 64.—RELIEF: FALLEN GIANT AND AMAZON (NAPLES).

the neck almost more like that of an ox than a man; the hair grows low down on the forehead, and the face, even in death, is fierce and wild. Side by side with this figure in the Naples Museum lies the pathetic figure of a dying Amazon, far the most beautiful of all the series: in her right breast is the still bleeding wound, and the right leg is drawn up as if still alive; the rest of the body is utterly supine; the strong muscular body makes beautiful contrasts with the fine folds of the scant drapery. A young Gaul in the Venice Museum is scarcely behind her for beauty, spite of his barbarian type, and the pose of the body is strikingly like; he has fallen on his long shield, wounded right

through the body on the hips; he wears the twisted golden chain which Diodorus notes as characteristic of the Gauls. The figure of a fallen Persian is, owing in part to the close fitting drapery, far less pleasing; the attitude chosen, if more realistic, is ungraceful.

When and how these copies were made cannot be determined. Though the originals went to Athens, the models would remain at Pergamos, and these may have been at once rendered in stone. Possibly the whole groups, victors as well as vanquished, were copied; and it may be only due to the fact that the figures of the victors were most exposed to breakage, that they have not survived.

The statue of Olympiodorus, of which nothing further is known, leads Pausanias into a long digression on Macedonian affairs. The great merit of Olympiodorus was that for a short time he freed Athens from the Macedonian yoke, by turning out (288 B.C.) the Macedonian garrison from the hill of the Mouseion, which they had occupied.

[Pausanias omits from his description all the hill district to the south of Athens, including the Pnyx, the hill of the Nymphs, and the Mouseion. But incidentally he, in his digression on Olympiodorus, mentions the Mouseion when speaking of the exploits of Demetrius (c. xxv.); it was, he says, within the old town walls, on a hill opposite the Acropolis, and tradition said Musaeus was burned there. On the same place afterwards, he adds, a monument was "built to a Syrian;" this Syrian was Philopappos, son of Epiphanes, and grandson of Antiochus, the fourth king of Commagene.

When Cyriac of Ancona (1436) was at Athens the monument of Philopappos was complete; by the time Wheler visited it (1676), it was in its present ruinous condition. It consists at present of a slightly concave façade (no doubt fronting a mausoleum); the chord of the curve is 30 feet. The façade has two stories, divided by a cornice. The lower story is decorated with a composition in high relief, representing the quadriga of an emperor and several figures of uncertain interpretation. The upper story is divided into three compartments; the centre and largest has a massive-shaped niche, in which is a seated figure, no doubt representing Philopappos himself; on either hand are square niches, each originally occupied by a statue; the right-hand niche (as you face the monument) is completely broken

away. At the top of the Corinthian pilaster to the left hand (facing) of the centre statue a Latin inscription still remains, as follows:—"C(aius) Julius . C(aia) F(ilius) Fab . Antiochus . Philopappos . Cos . Frater . Arvalis . Electus . Inter . Praetorios . ab . Imp . Caesare . Nerva . Trajano . Optimo . Germanico . Dacico."

From the fact that Trajan is called Dacicus, it seems clear that the monument must have been erected between 101 and 108 A.D.

In Cyriac's time there was on the left side another inscription in Greek—Βασιλεὺς Ἀντιόχος Φιλόπαππος Βασιλέως Ἐπιφάνους τοῦ Ἀντιόχου ("The king Antiochus Philopappos, son of the king Epiphanes, son of Antiochus"). It will be remembered that Plutarch's treatise on distinguishing a true friend from a flatterer was addressed to an Antiochus Philopappos, and in that essay he mentions a Basileus Philopappos as having filled the offices of choregos and of agonothetes with great distinction. A monument so conspicuous could scarcely have been erected but to some public benefactor.]

Next to Olympiodorus was a statue of Artemis Leukophryne. There was at Amyclae[117] also a statue of Artemis Leukophryne, made by Bathycles the Magnesian. Strabo[118] tells of a temple of Artemis Leukophryëne (so spelt) at Magnesia, "which was inferior in size and in the number of votive offerings to the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, but in symmetry and the skill exhibited in its construction it surpassed the Ephesian temple." Xenophon[119] also tells of the town of Leucophrys, where was a temple to Artemis of great sanctity, and a lake more than a stadium in length, which was sandy, but had a perennial spring of warm, yet drinkable water. It is sufficiently clear that the worship of Artemis Leukophryne (of the white-browed hill) was Asiatic in origin, and it probably differed but little from the cult of the Ephesian Artemis. To these Asiatic cults Themistocles and his family seem to have been much addicted; and as the statue on the Acropolis was set up by the sons of Themistocles, it is probable they retained the Asiatic type for the goddess. From the imperial bronze coinage of Magnesia the general type of the cultus statue of Artemis Leukophryne is fairly certain; she was similar to Artemis of Ephesus, wearing the polos on her head, her body semi-shaped, and from the outstretched hands dependent fillets. On Athenian imperial coins a type of Artemis occurs which,

though not exactly like this, is yet thoroughly Asiatic; the feet are articulate, and in the outstretched hands are patera and bow. Very possibly the sons of Themistocles slightly varied the type to please the taste of their countrymen. By placing the bow in the hand of the goddess, they would link her with the Greek Artemis, from whom by nature she was wholly distinct. Also the — to the Greeks — meaningless dependent fillets are given

FIG. 65.—SEATED ATHENE, BY ENDOIOS (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

up; and as the other hand was free, it was easy to supply it with a patera.

How many monuments Pausanias—in his sudden access of haste—passes over, cannot be known; the next he mentions is an ancient statue of a seated Athene by Endoios. Probably by this time he has walked hastily round the east end of the Acropolis, and got to the precinct of the Erechtheion. A seated statue of Athene (fig. 65) found below the Acropolis (and now in the Acropolis Museum) has been identified with the one seen by Pausanias. As seated types of Athene are rare, the identification

is quite possible, the more so because if Endoios flourished about 550 B.C., as is generally supposed, the style of the statue would accord not ill with what we should expect. The goddess wears her ægis and a finely ribbed close-clinging chiton. Callias, the dedicator, may possibly have been the same Callias who resisted Peisistratos. Of course Endoios was only the pupil of Daidalos in the generally-accepted sense, as a follower of the old hieratic wood-carving school.

SECTION XX

THE ERECHTHEION—PANDROSEION

TEXT, i. 26, §§ 5, 6; 27, §§ 1, 2, 3.

i. 26, 5. THERE is also a building called the Erechtheion. In front of the entrance is an altar dedicated to Zeus Hypatos. On this altar no living thing is sacrificed; cakes are offered on it, but, except in the cakes, no wine is used in the ritual. As you go in, there are three altars—one sacred to Poseidon, on which sacrifices are offered to Erechtheus, in accordance with the command of an oracle; one to the hero Butes; and one to Hephaistos. The paintings on the walls represent the race of the Butadae. And, the building being divided into two compartments, within there is a well containing sea-water. This in itself is not wonderful, for there are salt wells even far inland; for instance, among others, one belonging to the Aphrodisian Karians. But the remarkable point about this well is that when the south wind blows it gives forth a sound like that of breakers. There is also the imprint of a trident on the rock. These things are said to have been produced by Poseidon in support of his claim to the country.

i. 26, 6. The lower city of Athens and all the land of Attica are equally sacred to Athena; for although the worship of other gods is established in the different demes, none the less do they all honour Athena. But the object which received the greatest veneration throughout the country for many years before the union of the demes, is the statue of Athena on what is now called the Acropolis (Upper City) but was then called the city of Athens. Legend says that this statue fell from heaven, but into the question of the truth or falsehood of this story I do not propose to enter. The golden lamp dedicated to the goddess is the work of Kallimachos. This lamp is filled with oil on the same

day in each succeeding year, and the oil so placed in it suffices for the intervening time when the lamp is kept burning alike day and night. The wick is of Carpathian flax, the only kind of flax which is not combustible. A bronze palm-tree placed over the lamp and reaching to the roof carries off the smoke. This Kallimachos who made the lamp, though inferior as an artist to the greatest sculptors, so excelled all others in ingenuity that he was the first to use stone-drilling, and assumed—or accepted when bestowed by others—the name of the Art Refiner.

i. 27, 1. In the temple of Athena Polias is kept a wooden Hermes, said to be the offering of Cecrops, but entirely concealed by myrtle-boughs. Offerings worth notice are, among the ancient ones, a folding-chair made by Daidalos, and among the Persian spoils, the breast-plate of Masistios, who led the cavalry at Plataeae, and a scimitar said to have belonged to Mardonios. Masistios, I know, was slain by the Athenian cavalry; but Mardonios fell at the hands of a Spartan when fighting against the Lacedaemonians, so that the Athenians would not have obtained possession of the scimitar at all, and it is not likely that the Lacedaemonians would give it up as

i. 27, 2. a trophy to the Athenians. No other story is told of the olive tree than that it was produced by the goddess at the time of the contest for the soil, as a specimen of her power; but there is also a story that the tree was burnt to the ground when the Persians set fire to the city of the Athenians, and that after it had been burnt down, it sprang up and grew as much as two cubits in one day.

The temple of Pandrosos adjoins the temple of Athena. Pandrosos is the only one of the sisters who was blameless in the affair of the chest deposited with them.

i. 27, 3. I will now describe a thing which caused me the greatest astonishment, and is not generally known. Not far from the temple of Athena Polias dwell two maidens, whom the Athenians call Arrephoroi. These dwell for a certain time with the goddess, but at the time of the feast they act by night as follows:—They bear upon their heads what the priestess of Athena gives them to carry; the giver knows not the nature of what she gives, neither do they who bear it comprehend. There is a precinct in the city, at no great distance from that of Aphrodite called "in the Gardens," and a natural underground descent leads through into this precinct. By this way do the maidens go down from the Acropolis. Below they leave what they have been carrying, and, taking something else, they bring it back also wrapped up. Henceforth are these maidens dismissed, and two others are brought into the Acropolis in their place.

COMMENTARY ON i. 26, §§ 5, 6; 27, §§ 1, 2, 3.

Owing to his sudden access of anxiety, Pausanias treats the east end of the Acropolis in a very summary manner. This is the more to be regretted, as it leaves us in doubt as to how he approached the Erechtheion. He makes no mention whatever of the great altar of Athene, the site of which is still clearly visible. The seated Athene by Endoios might practically, from

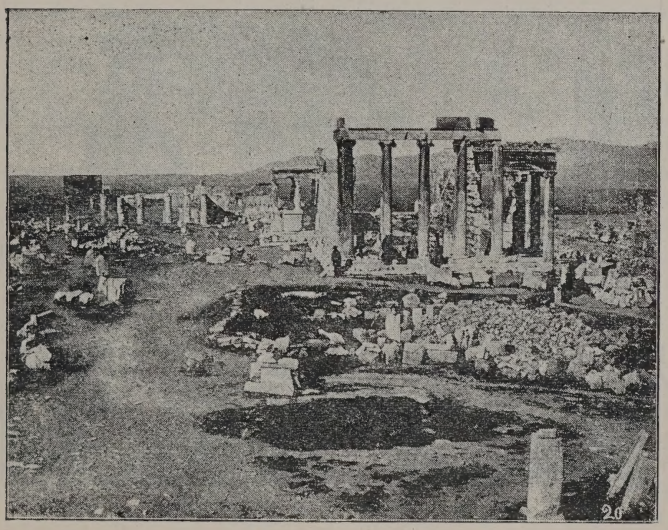


FIG. 66.—ERECHTHEION FROM THE EAST, BEFORE EXCAVATIONS.

his account, be anywhere in the neighbourhood of the Parthenon, the old Athene temple, or the Erechtheion; as it represented a seated archaic type, and was found on the north slope, it was most probably near to the older foundations. All that can be said as to the route of Pausanias at this point is that, leaving the south wall, he walked hurriedly, and probably as directly as he could, to the Erechtheion (fig. 66); and since we hear nothing to the contrary, he presumably entered it by the chief entrance, the north porch (fig. 67).

In so doing, before he went down the steps to the lower level,

he must have walked over the site of ruins of supreme interest, but doubtless buried and built over long before his time. The prehistoric walls and ancient staircase sloping north-east are, according to Dr. Dörpfeld, the remains of the "good house of Erechtheus." This palace, he thinks, extended over a large portion of the Acropolis, and was approached, not only by the main entrance of the Enneapylai to the west, but by this subordinate entrance to the north-east for foot-passengers. Sufficient does

FIG. 67.—NORTH PORCH OF ERECHTHEION.

not remain to reconstruct in detail the ground-plan of the palace, but from two bases of columns and from the material and technique of the walls Dr. Dörpfeld gathers that it was of approximately the same style as those of Tiryns and Mycenae, to the first of which the rock staircase offers a striking analogy.

It will be convenient to take the complex subject of the Erechtheion under the following heads :—

1. The history of the building (ancient and modern).
2. Its architecture and internal plan.
3. Its decorative sculptures.
4. The account of Pausanias.

1. *The History of the Building.*—It must be distinctly understood that for the present we deal only with the restored post-Periclean Erechtheion: we reserve till later the interesting question of the function of the original temple and its relation to the Parthenon.

The official name of the temple does not seem to have been Erechtheion; probably it was so called in popular usage, and justly so, as we shall later see, as the principal cult there carried on was that of Erechtheus, not of Athene. In one inscription it is officially described as "the temple on the citadel in which is the ancient image."

The Erechtheion was not rebuilt at once—a striking fact the significance of which will be later seen. Pericles lived to finish the Parthenon, the Propylaea, and probably the temple of Athene Nike; he, we can scarcely doubt, planned the restoration of the Erechtheion, but died before it was finished. Pericles died 429 B.C.; from two important inscriptions it is certainly known that the Erechtheion was still unfinished twenty years later. These are—

(1) The Chandler inscription, now in the British Museum.
(2) The Rhangabè inscription.

For the present only the Chandler inscription[120] will be noted; the Rhangabè inscription is reserved till we come to the sculptural decorations.

The Chandler inscription is dated exactly by the archonship of Diokles, 409-408 B.C. It begins as follows:—"The overseers of the temple on the citadel in which is the ancient image, Brosu . . . es of Kephissia; Chariades of Agraulai, Diokles of Kephissia; the architect was Philokles of Acharnae, the scribe Etearchos of Kudathenaion. They wrote up the works of the temple, in the state they received them, according to the decree of the people, which Epigenes brought forward, those that were completely finished and those half done in the archonship of Diokles, the tribe of Cecropis holding the prytany in the council in which Nikophanes of Marathon was the scribe. Of the temple we took over the following in a half-finished condition (then follows a long enumeration) . . . ; the following we took over unwrought and unchannelled (*i.e.*, columns) . . . ; the following completely finished, but not yet set up in place." The inscription is, of course, of the first importance from the point of view of ancient

architecture; it presents many difficulties from the uncertainty of ancient architectural terminology. The whole subject is fully discussed in connection with the extant remains of the Erechtheion by Sir C. Newton in his edition of the *Inscriptions of the British Museum* (no. xxxv.). The stone itself may easily be studied in the cellar of the British Museum, to which it was presented by the Society of Dilettanti. Though we can confidently say the Erechtheion was *not* finished in 409-408 B.C., when it *was* finished is quite uncertain.

As regards its modern history, it is probable, though not certain, that in Byzantine times it shared the fate of many another Greek

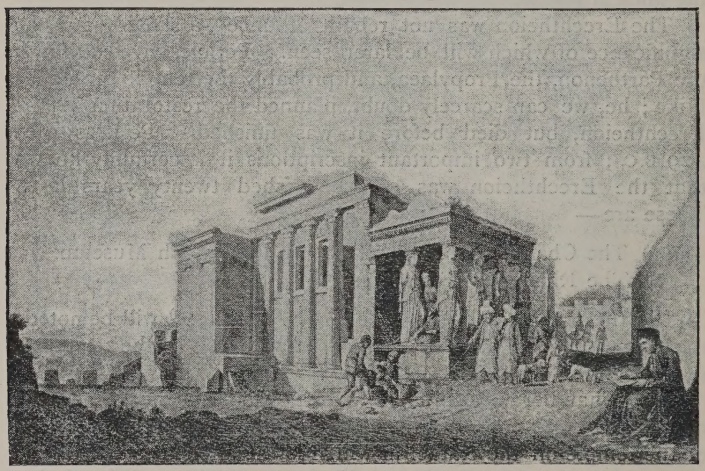


FIG. 68.—ERECHTHEION, FROM STUART'S DRAWING.

temple, and was converted into a Christian church; under Turkish rule it was converted into a harem. At the outbreak of the Greek Revolution it was still in the main complete, but in the siege of 1827 great damage was done owing to a well-meant but ignorant attempt to make the roof bomb-proof. In the storm of 1852 (October 26) the western wall with its engaged columns fell in. The use of the Erechtheion for Byzantine and Turkish purposes has no doubt rendered the settlement of the internal plan of the temple more difficult; but it is to their occupation of the temple that we owe its existence at all. Their practice of walling in columns and using ancient building material has saved many a

monument that must otherwise inevitably have perished. The Erechtheion, as sketched by Stuart, is shown in fig. 68.

2. *The Architecture and Internal Plan.*—The plan of the Erechtheion (fig. 69) is[121] distinctly eccentric. Looked at from the east it has the appearance of an ordinary hexastyle temple, but the western end has no corresponding portico, and the building is further complicated by two porticoes thrown out at the western end, north and south, of different sizes. Until quite recently no satisfactory reason has been given for this eccentricity. It

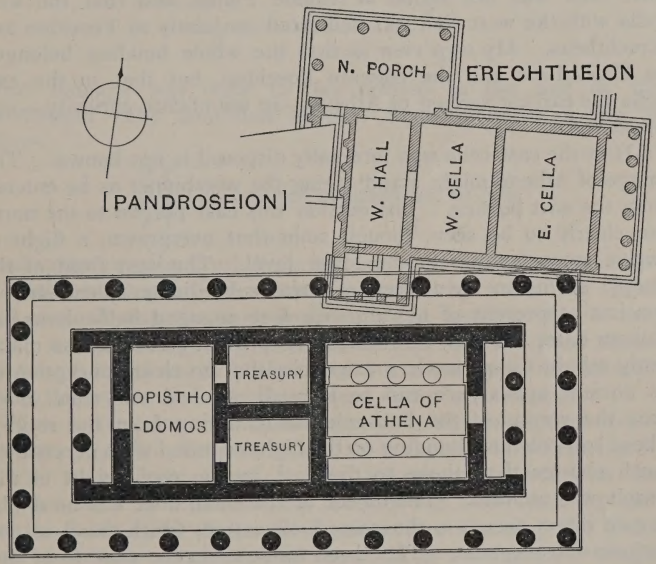


FIG. 69.—PLAN OF THE ERECHTHEION.

was usually, however, supposed that it was due to two causes—(1) the uneven character of the ground, the south and east walls being nearly 9 feet higher than those to the north and west; (2) the complex association of cults carried on in the temple, which may have required separate shrines. It is impossible to attach much importance to the first cause assigned, as it would have been a simple matter either to level up the ground or choose another site.

The main structure of the Erechtheion is, then, a cella facing east and west, about 70 feet long (including the east portico) by

32 broad. Details as to the internal arrangement of this cella are still uncertain, but thus much seems clear: it was divided by two partition walls into three chambers, the two towards the east of larger though not quite equal size, the third towards the west decidedly smaller. The two larger, for convenience' sake, will be called the east cella, the west cella; the third, the west hall. One entrance to the temple was probably at the east front; it could also be entered, as will be seen, from the west and through the north and south porticoes. It is usually supposed that the east cella was the shrine of Athene Polias, and that the west cella with the west hall was dedicated conjointly to Poseidon and Erechtheus. My own view is that the whole building belonged to Erechtheus and the cognate Poseidon, but that in the east cella the earliest xoanon of Athene—an out-of-date curiosity—was preserved.

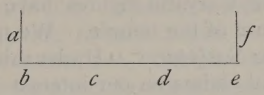
How the east cella was internally disposed is not known. The image of Athene might stand facing the worshipper as he entered from the east portico. Just outside this east portico to the north are clearly to be seen, though somewhat overgrown, a flight of twelve steps leading to the lower level. The west front of the temple seems to have been of quite subordinate splendour; it consists at present of a wall, with four engaged half-columns of Roman date. It has, however, in its present state been so manifestly rebuilt to suit modern exigencies that no clear conception of its ancient appearance can be formed. It had one small door near the second of the half-columns (counting from the south). These half-columns standing on the higher ground were necessarily much shorter than those to the east, as the roof height of the temple was uniform. The object of the small door was no doubt to gain direct access to the sacred olive tree, which stood in the enclosure to the west. The three windows in the west front are also Roman.

The larger of the two side porticoes is to the north; it has four Ionic columns to the front, one to either side. It is remarkable that it overlaps the west hall by several feet; the space thus gained seems to have been utilised for a door leading into the courtyard. Through this north portico access was had to the west hall by a broad and richly ornamented door.

The south porch is much smaller in size; it usually goes by the name of the Caryatid porch. The recent excavations (1887) on the Acropolis have brought to light an interesting fact respecting this porch. Reference to the plan (fig. 69) will show

that it could not have existed, at least in its present position, till the peristyle of the old Athene temple was pulled down.

The Caryatid porch consists of a high stylobate 8 feet above the outside level, surmounted by six figures of maidens, who take the place of columns in supporting the entablature. The capitals which crown the maidens' heads are Doric, but with Ionic details; the coffered ceiling supported by them is still nearly intact. The Caryatid figures are disposed, four in the front, one to either side—



Great damage was done to this portico in the war of the Revolution. The condition of the Caryatid figures is now as follows:—

a, *b*, *e* } The original columns are *in situ*.

c was taken away by Lord Elgin, and is now in the British Museum; its place is supplied by a statue executed by a modern Greek sculptor. *d* was knocked down and lay headless for a long time; it has subsequently been re-erected and the head found. Of *f* the torso is nearly perfect, but the lower limbs are modern. When Stuart saw the temple only one figure was missing.

The inscriptions call these supporting figures simply Korai, maidens (κόραι). The name Caryatid is explained by Vitruvius [122] as due to the city Carya. The inhabitants joined with the Persians, and as a punishment the city was destroyed, the men put to death, and the matrons taken into slavery; the architects of the day commemorated the event by carving their images as supports to temples—"Ideò qui tunc architecti fuerunt ædificiis publicis designaverunt earum imagines oneri ferendo collocatas, uti etiam postero natis poena peccati Caryatidum memoria traderetur." The figures have also been called Canephoroi (basket-bearers), but this is manifestly mistaken, as they simply bear the capital on their heads, though it seems quite possible that they are reminiscences of the burden-bearing Ersephoroi. The Caryatid figures are individually beautiful; as architectural features I am unable to feel their charm.

In the Chandler inscription there is more than once mention of a portion of the building called Cecropeion; it has been proposed

to identify this with the Caryatid porch. There seems no certain ground for this identification; indeed the inscription rather goes against it, as it says,[123] "Concerning the porch near the Cecropeion, the top stones above the Korai," where it would seem that the porch on which the Korai are was *near* the Cecropeion, not identical with it.

The Caryatid porch could be entered by a small door on the east side; it communicated with the west hall by a large door and flight of steps. The Caryatid figures have been considered as part of the architecture of the temple. We must now pass to

3. *The Decorative Sculptures.*—Under this head falls the frieze, which has two special claims on our interest—

(1) Its peculiar technique.
(2) Its connection with the Rhangabè inscription.

Sixty-two fragments of the frieze remain in the Acropolis Museum, all in a very damaged and disjointed condition. This condition is largely due to the very peculiar character of its construction. The figures were worked in coarse-grained white marble *à jour*, and then fastened by clamps to a background of slabs of black Eleusinian marble. Mr. Murray (ii. 197) suggests that a successful architectural use of a course of this dark marble in the Propylaea led to this second and more hazardous experiment. The style of the frieze is later than that of the Parthenon, but somewhat in the same manner.

Respecting the making of this frieze the Rhangabè inscription (*C. I. A.* i. 324) gives some curious particulars. The inscription is engraved on five slabs of Pentelic marble, and was found by Mr. Rhangabè in the Pinakotheke.

To quote Sir C. Newton's account (*Essays on Archæology*, p. 111), "it records item by item the expenses of building the Erechtheion, and is of peculiar interest to the student of ancient art, because it contains a statement of the sums actually paid for the sculptural decorations of the Erechtheion, with the names of the artists by whom they were executed. These sculptors, none of whose names are otherwise known to us, were evidently employed under the direction of the architect to execute certain figures and groups in a continuous composition, designed by some master hand. The prices paid to the artists for the several figures were certainly not high, if we assume that the charge entered in each case represents the sum due. The prices ranged from 120 drachmae (rather less than £5) downward to 60 drachmae. A group, in

which a young man was represented driving two horses, cost 240 drachmae. It must be borne in mind that the figures in this frieze were only 2 feet in height, and that, being attached to the background, they are not sculptured in the round." It may be well to quote, in addition, the "precise" words of a few items, as the inscription itself is far too long for quotation :—[124]

"Phyromachos of Kephissia. The youth, together with the mail coat, 60 drachmae.

"Praxias, living in Melite. The horse and the one that can be seen behind it striking out, 120 drachmae.

"Antiphanes of Kerameikos. The chariot and the youth and the two horses yoked together, 240 drachmae.

"Phyromachos of Kephissia. The man leading the horse, 60 drachmae.

"Mynnion, who lives in Agryle. The horse, the man striking it, and the stele added later, 127 drachmae.

"Soklos, who lives in Alopeke. The man holding the bridle, 60 drachmae.

"Phyromachos of Kephissia. The man who leans on a staff standing near an altar, 60 drachmae.

"Iasos of Kolyttos. The woman before whom a maiden has thrown herself down, 80 drachmae."

This inscription gives no hint of the subject of the composition as a whole. But had the figures represented mythological personages, they would surely have been simply called by their names without further circumlocution. It is natural to suppose, therefore, that the frieze represented a peaceful scene of daily life, most probably a procession somewhat after the fashion of the Parthenon frieze. If this be the case, probably at the east end the procession entered the presence of an assembly of seated gods. It is tempting to see in the best-preserved figure, a woman holding a child in her lap, the goddess Athene with the child Erichthonios ; nor is there any reason against this supposition.

The inscription contains a number of very interesting architectural and technical details. We may quote two :—[125]

"For the purchase of lead for fixing the figures of the frieze, from Soskates, living in Melite, 10 drachmae.

"For the purchase of gold (two leaves) for gilding the eyes of a column, from Adonis, who lives in Melite, 2 drachmae."

Most important of all for our purpose is—

4. *The Account of Pausanias.*—It has always hitherto been taken for granted that the whole of the text from C. xxvi. 6 to

C. xxvii. 4—*i.e.*, all included in the present section—is a description of the building we know as the Erechtheion, and its adjunct the Pandroseion. My own view is different. I believe that down to the end of C. xxvi.—*i.e.*, to the end of the description of the golden lamp of Kallimachos—Pausanias is in the Erechtheion; that then with the words "In the temple of Athene Polias" (xxvii.) he passes from the Erechtheion into the old temple recently discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld, and immediately adjacent to the Erechtheion; that, in fact, he *here* describes the temple still standing in his days, which Dr. Dörpfeld believes he describes in the lacuna passage.

In accordance with this view, I shall take first the description up to the end of C. xxvi., then describe the old temple as known by recent inscriptions, and last note what Pausanias saw there.

Beginning with the Erechtheion, it is noticeable that Pausanias speaks of it as a building (or dwelling) called the Erechtheion. Two points call for attention here, both of great importance—(1) Pausanias regarded it rather as a dwelling-place than as strictly a temple; (2) that clearly it was regarded as belonging to Erechtheus, not Athene. Herodotus, it is true, calls the early Erechtheion "the temple of Erechtheus, called the earth-born," and the official title of the later Erechtheion was undoubtedly "the temple in which is the ancient image;" but, for all that, the word οἴκημα ("dwelling-place") seems to hit the right mark. The "good house of Erechtheus," of which the scanty remains have been noted, had long since perished, but its memory no doubt remained, and when the new Erechtheion was built to incorporate and commemorate old cults, it was natural that a building should be upreared which was not so much strictly a temple as a sacred dwelling-place. Erechtheus was before all things a king, and he needed a kingly palace. This intention, I believe, as well as such matters as diversity of cults and unevenness of ground, has caused the peculiar and irregular character of the structure. It may even be that the somewhat enigmatical character of the Caryatid porch was due to a desire to echo the most splendid and wondrous features of a Homeric palace, the "youths fashioned in gold standing on firm-set bases of the house of Alcinous." The Erechtheion, I am firmly convinced, will be better apprehended if it be considered as "house" as well as, if not instead of, temple.

"In front of the entrance" was the altar of Zeus Hypatos

(the Highest). Just so, in front of the Homeric palace, stood the great altar of Zeus of the Enclosure (Zeus Herkeios).[126] Whether this altar was within the great north porch, whose ample space fully allowed it, or in the space between the steps and the porch, cannot certainly be determined. On the altar before the house of Erechtheus, descendant of Cecrops, king of the new and civilised race, the agrarian people, no blood might lawfully be shed. Pausanias passed through the great doorway (θύρωμα), beautiful still (fig. 70), and found himself in the west hall, the αἴθουσα or corridor, as it were, of the Homeric house. Here he saw three altars—

(1) To Poseidon, with Erechtheus;
(2) To Butes;
(3) To Hephaistos;

also, on the wall, pictures of the Butadae. Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures that the west hall and west cella were separated, *not* by a solid wall (as in fig. 69), but by a line of square pillars. If so, the pictures must have been in the west *cella*, and seen by Pausanias after passing through the pillars; the altars may have been in the outer hall.

Here, as in the inscription of the theatre seat, the worship of Poseidon and Erechtheus is conjoint. It has been seen how Poseidon was affiliated to Attic tradition as Ægeus, and Erechtheus is a similar case. Everywhere the trace of the distinct subordination, but yet affiliation, of the sea-god; he is conquered, but conciliated. Of Butes, brother of Erechtheus, the mythology has already been discussed.

Underneath the west hall was a well, and also in a subterranean chamber, possibly connected with the first, a trident-mark. Pausanias does not *say* the salt well was underground, he simply says "the building is double;" that it was double vertically, not laterally, he doubtless supposes known. The remains of the subterranean chamber are clearly to be seen, and it is connected with the Caryatid porch by a staircase—in fact, the porch seems to serve no other purpose than as a protection to the staircase. Underneath the floor of the north porch are still to be seen marks traditionally connected with the trident-mark of Poseidon. It is very possible that the whole story of the striking of the rock arose from some peculiar natural mark in conjunction with a spring.

Pausanias does not say that he next passes into the eastern

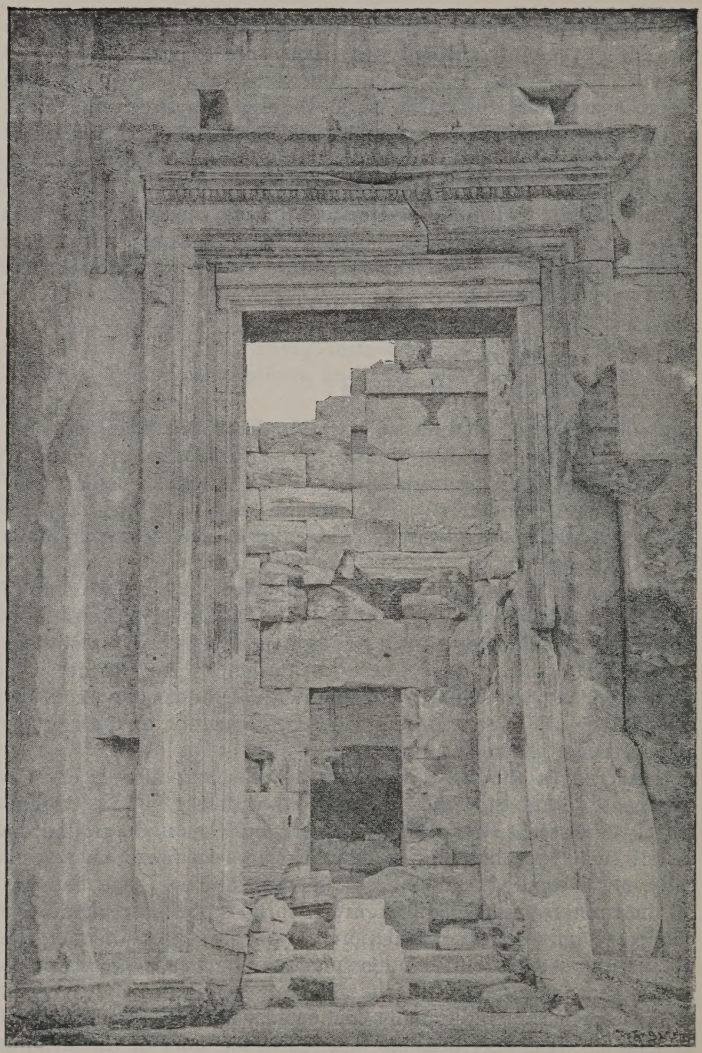


FIG. 70.—DOORWAY TO THE NORTH PORCH OF THE ERECHTHEION.

portion of the Erechtheion, but he must have done so; he makes some general statements about the worship of Athene, and then notes—

(1) The old Athene agalma.
(2) The lamp of Kallimachos.

That he is still in the Erechtheion can scarcely be doubted, as, it will be remembered, the official name for the Erechtheion was "the temple in which is the ancient image." Probably at the time that the new Erechtheion was built, the glory of Athene worship was at its zenith, and even a building that should properly have belonged by name to Erechtheus was considered of first importance as the museum which held the ancient image; the goddess more and more obscured the king. The king's own house, into which as patron and protector he had once received the goddess, now becomes her shrine; she lords it in the megaron of her human host. As to the image itself, it is impossible to say exactly what it was like; it has been shown before that the standing type of Athene Polias ultimately prevailed, and as the seated type went on, but more obscurely, it seems natural to suppose that the "old image" was, like the image of Athene at Troy, a seated one. Moreover, large numbers of votive terra-cottas have been found representing the seated type; one of them, of somewhat advanced style, with the ægis already worked on the breast, is shown in fig. 71. Such seated figures originally represented many goddesses, Demeter, Hera, and others; it only needed an ægis to make it an established Athene. It is impossible to say whom the ancient xoanon represented—some local goddess possibly, even Gaia; it may be not Athene at all until the predominance of the warlike type made the pious worshipper wishful to see in the venerable old xoanon an image of the dominant goddess. Plutarch [127] says it was of wood; Athenagoras adds that the wood was olive. This takes us back to the old days of tree worship—at first the sacred tree which gave men food and light, then a rude image carved of the

FIG. 71. — ARCHAIC TERRA-COTTA: SEATED ATHENE.

wood of the tree. To the Christian Father the xoanon of Athene Polias was one of the "typical stocks" to which the heathen in his blindness bowed down. "How," Tertullian[128] asks, "can we distinguish from the wood that forms the cross, the Attic Pallas, and the Rarian Ceres, which is without effigy, and consists of an unhewn and shapeless stock?"

As regards the name by which the image was called, it has been seen that in the fifth century its official title was "the ancient image." Later, if the scholiast on Demosthenes[129] may be trusted, it bore especially the name of Athene Polias. He says —"For there are three images of Athene on the Acropolis in different places—one which was from the beginning, and is of olive wood, which is called after Athene Polias; the second, which is of bronze only, which the victors at Marathon made, and this is called after Athene Promachos; the third they made of gold and ivory, being by so much richer then from the victory at Salamis as the victory was greater, and this was called after Athene Parthenos."

The explanation is simple enough: the old xoanon was not originally any more Polias than the rest—in fact, very possibly, as has been noted, she was not originally Polias at all—but the bronze statue of Pheidias got a special name, Promachos, for herself, and the chryselephantine statue did the same; they neither of them ceased to *be* Polias, but they ceased to be called so, and the name was left for the old image. Just in like manner the Parthenon was always the temple of Athene Polias, but it ceased to bear the name, and left it to the older temple.

To that older temple at last, following the lead of Pausanias, we must go.

Between the Parthenon and the Erechtheion, lying close up to the south wall of the Erechtheion, a rectangular space forming a sort of plateau, built in part of polygonal masonry, has long been known.[130] Bötticher discovered it in 1862, and it was usually supposed to be a terrace or sacred precinct belonging to Athene Polias. Dr Dörpfeld in 1885 discovered that this rectangular space was no terrace at all, that it was not consecutively paved, but that the supposed pavement consisted of foundations of walls, the spaces between being filled up with earth; he found, in fact, the foundations of a large temple. Shortly after, the whole plateau was carefully excavated, and the plan of the temple was laid bare. A view of the ruins as seen from the north-west corner

of the Parthenon is given in fig. 72, the ground-plan of the temple

FIG. 72.—RUINS OF OLD ATHENE TEMPLE.

as conjecturally restored, in conjunction with that of the Erechtheion, in fig. 69.

The site of the temple, it is clear, had to be artificially levelled up. At the south-east corner the stylobate lay direct on the living rock; the angle cut out to receive it is still clearly to be seen. At the corner immediately opposite—*i.e.*, north-west—foundations had to be raised to the height of about three metres. The terrace wall which here supported the foundations is clearly seen in fig. 73. In consequence of this the various foundation walls of the temple are in very different states of preservation: where they lay deep, the remains are substantial; where they are

FIG. 73.—ERECHTHEION FROM THE WEST; PARTHENON FROM THE NORTH-WEST.

not sheltered, the remains are slight; sometimes, as at the corner named, nothing being left except marks in the rock.

What remains is as follows:—

An outer wall (breadth $2{\cdot}10^{m}$ to $2{\cdot}25^{m}$) surrounding the whole rectangular space; it undoubtedly supported a colonnade, but of this no trace remains.

Within, a second rectangular building, of which the plan is sufficiently clear. It falls into two principal parts—to the east a main cella divided into three aisles by two walls, which undoubtedly supported columns; fronting this cella a very narrow

pronaos. The west part of the building is less regular; it consists of a narrower and undivided cella faced by a narrower pronaos, but behind the cella are two small chambers. These must necessarily have been accessible only from the west, for they could not have doors to the east, as the centres of the dividing colonnades of the east cella would interfere. It seems clear, then, that the temple is disposed as follows—a cultus cella, as usual, to the east, with the customary pronaos; an opisthodomos with a portico; and behind the opisthodomos, two chambers for treasure. The ground-plan is, then, in all essentials clear; it remains to restore the temple, as far as possible, in elevation. The complete course of Dr. Dörpfeld's argument it would here take too much space to follow, but its method may at least be made clear.

Take the case of the outer colonnade and see what can be got out of the existing foundation-walls on which, as noted before, not the trace of a column remains. It is desired to know how many columns it supported.

As the colonnade faced a door, the number of columns must be even. The number four may be rejected, as that number is unknown for the front and back of peripheral temples. Try eight. The breadth of the foundation-wall being known ($2{\cdot}10^{m}$ to $2{\cdot}25^{m}$), we have an approximate diameter for the columns —*i.e.*, a little less than the breadth. The length of the front stylobate is known, $21{\cdot}34^{m}$. Eight columns of the given diameter would leave seven inter-columniations smaller than the diameter of the columns themselves; this is impossible. Only the number six remains; this means five spaces from centre to centre of columns. Allow for the half-columns at each end, and divide the length of the stylobate, $21 \cdot 34^{m}$, by 5^{m}, we get about 4^{m} for the distance from centre of column to centre of column.

It remains to find architectural fragments (of columns and architrave) that suit these measurements.

This brings us to one of the most interesting points in the discovery.

Built into the Acropolis north wall, not far from the newly-discovered temple, there are in three places a number of fragments of architrave and drums of columns. These, from Leake's time on, it has been usual to attribute to the older Parthenon, on the site of which the present Parthenon stands. These fragments are as follows:—

(1) { Drums of columns of two different diameters } Marble.

(2) { Architrave, Triglyphs, Cornice } Peiraeus stone (poros).
{ Metopes } Marble.

Mr. Penrose maintains that both 1 and 2 belong to one and the same building, and that building the older Parthenon.

Dr. Dörpfeld maintains that they cannot belong to the same building, and, further, that 1 belong to the older Parthenon, 2 to the temple he has just discovered. That 1 and 2 belong to different buildings is clear from the following considerations :—

(1) No known Greek building has its columns of marble and its architrave of poros stone.

(2) The marble drums are left incomplete, the pieces of architrave are perfectly finished and even painted ; the drums therefore, unlike the architrave, belonged to a building never finished.

(3) The portion of the wall into which the marble drums are built, and which lies eastward, is clearly of later date than the portion westward, built by Cimon, in which the poros fragments have been found.

(4) In the recent excavations a number of drums and two Doric capitals *made of poros* have been found, built into the Acropolis wall, *immediately under the poros architrave fragments and triglyphs*, and corresponding with them in proportion. Hence, from the very position in which they were found, it is more likely that they belong to the poros architrave rather than the marble drum found farther east.

It remains to see if the poros fragments can be used for the reconstruction of the newly-discovered temple.

The architrave fragments are of two sorts ; they belong to the same building clearly, as their vertical measurements are the same, but they have belonged respectively to the fronts and sides of the temple. One sort has narrow triglyphs, and a slanting cornice intended to help out the drip from the roof ; the other sort has broad triglyphs and a horizontal cornice intended for the front, which was meant to be finished with a pediment. This difference as to triglyphs for the sides and fronts is not unusual in archaic buildings ; it occurs also in the Heraion at Olympia, and in the old temple at Corinth. Both the diameter of the columns and the space from centre to centre of the columns are

in all three greater at the back and front than at the sides; but the difference is most observable on the Acropolis fragments.

One broad-triglyphed architrave beam being given to the front, it remains to measure the blocks. Their length is $4{\cdot}04^{m}$, the exact length wanted. We can therefore, with no hesitation, put the broad-triglyphed blocks over the front of the colonnade.

Next we take the narrow-triglyphed blocks. The matter is not so easy; there is no door in the sides of a temple, so we cannot assume that the number of columns will be even; but a simple calculation sets the matter straight—

The architrave block length $= 3{\cdot}84^{m}$.

Therefore, distance from centre to centre of columns $= 3{\cdot}84^{m}$.

The length of the stylobate from centre to centre of each corner column $= 41{\cdot}70^{m}$.

Now, if the columns all stood at equal distances all along the stylobate, it would suffice to divide $41{\cdot}70^{m}$ by $3{\cdot}84^{m}$ and we should get the number of intercolumniations; but this is not the case. In all early Doric temples the two corner columns stand nearer to each other than the others, and that by a distance varying from $0{\cdot}25^{m}$ to $0{\cdot}30^{m}$. Suppose we take the midway distance, $\cdot 275^{m}$, it is clear that if we added this amount to each end of the length, $41{\cdot}70^{m}$, we should get a length which would allow for the distance between each column being even, as it is only in the two end ones there is any deficit; hence the number of intercolumniations is

$$\frac{\cdot 275 + 41{\cdot}70 + \cdot 275}{3{\cdot}84} = 11.$$

Eleven intercolumniations means twelve columns, therefore the peristyle may be restored with a front of six and sides of twelve columns; and as the peristyle fragments have yielded results so satisfactory, there need be no hesitation in using the whole of the similar poros fragments to reconstruct the temple. The internal restoration of the temple—seen in the ground-plan—is, as regards everything not directly deducible from the foundations remaining, conjectural.

The temple being so far restored, it remains to consider what arguments as to its date can be deduced from its building materials and style.

The foundations of the peristyle differ in material and technique from those of the inner cella. The foundations of the peristyle, including the stylobate, are of a hard reddish-gray stone found

at Karà, a village at the foot of Mount Hymettus. The masonry is rough in the lower courses, but fairly careful and regular in the upper. The foundations of the cella are in the main of the hard, blue, calcareous stone of the Acropolis itself, and the masonry is irregular and very inferior to that of the peristyle; this points to the conclusion that the peristyle was a later addition. The peristyle can be dated approximately; its foundations agree in material and technique with the foundations of the Athenian Zeus temple and with one of the early Eleusinian temples. Both these buildings were the work of Peisistratos, and it seems reasonable to suppose he was the builder of the present peristyle. With this agree many details of the architectural features of the fragments used in the restoration; in particular, the echinus of the capital is drawn straight out, not bulging as before, and the use of marble both for metopes and roof is characteristic of the latter half of the sixth century. A temple is wanted for Peisistratos; he whom Athene so greatly protected would surely build or restore some sanctuary in her honour.

It has seemed best to describe the Parthenon and the Erechtheion as they occurred in the narration of Pausanias before entering on the question of their mutual relations. Until 1886, the date of the recent Acropolis excavations, there was little dispute as to this question. We had the two temples—the one we call the Parthenon, and the Erechtheion; it was usually assumed that the ancient cult of Athene had from time immemorial centred in the Erechtheion, which she shared with her foster-son Erechtheus and with Poseidon. The Parthenon, it was held, was not so much a cultus temple as a splendid treasure-house and museum, where all the wealth and votive offerings to the goddess were stored. The statue of Athene Parthenos was, in fact, regarded as in itself a votive offering to the elder Polias xoanon. In all inscriptions and literary passages where "the temple" was mentioned, with or without the addition of "of Athene," it was assumed that the Parthenon was intended. On the other hand, if the ancient or the older (ὁ ἀρχαῖος or ὁ παλαιὸς ναός) temple was spoken of, the passage was interpreted as alluding to the Erechtheion. Further, when "the Opisthodomos" was named in inscriptions, it was always supposed that the Opisthodomos, or back chamber, of the Parthenon was meant. In 1886 this whole question was thrown into sudden confusion—to be replaced, as it seems to us, by a better order—by Dr. Dörpfeld's great discovery of a third temple.

We are here at once confronted with a third factor hitherto wholly unsuspected. Whoever deals henceforward with the question of the worship of Athene on the Acropolis has to reckon with this third temple. Dr. Dörpfeld is the discoverer of this temple, and to him, as it seems to us, belongs the further honour of a clear exposition of its functions—an exposition which throws, we think, a flood of light upon many an obscure passage, and also on the history of the cult of the goddess and her relations to Erechtheus.

To argue out the whole question would far exceed our space; we shall have to be content with a summary of Dr. Dörpfeld's views, to which I give, save in one point, my entire adhesion. That a position so novel and in so many respects so revolutionary should be fiercely attacked, is not surprising; time only will show whether it can ultimately be made good.

Dr. Dörpfeld's view is as follows:—

From the actually extant remains thus much can be gathered:—A temple existed from very ancient times, at first without a colonnade. The colonnade was built before the Persian war. The whole temple was destroyed when the Acropolis was sacked by the Persians, and was rebuilt, but without the colonnade.

It remains to examine literary evidence, and from it to reconstruct the history of the temple. Homer comes first; two passages (*Il.* ii. 546 and *Od.* vi. 80) refer to the worship of Athene and Erechtheus on the Acropolis. It is of course possible, and even probable, that they were interpolated in the time of Peisistratos, but they none the less represent a state of things actually existent before the Persian wars. In the *Iliad*[131] the Athenians are described as "they that possessed the goodly citadel of Athens, the domain of Erechtheus, the high-hearted, whom first Athene, daughter of Zeus, fostered, when Earth, the grain-bearer, brought him to birth, and she gave him a resting-place in Athens, in her own rich sanctuary, and there the sons of the Athenians worship him with bulls and rams as the years turn in their courses." In the *Odyssey*, when Athene left Scheria, she "came to Marathon, and wide-wayed Athens, and entered the good house of Erechtheus."

In these two passages Dr. Dörpfeld takes the "rich sanctuary" to be his recently-discovered temple, and the "good house" to be the *palace* of Erechtheus, probably within the sacred precinct of Athene. Athene and her temple are thus supreme from the first. Erechtheus is but a royal fosterling, though he may have had a

shrine and a cult as well as a "good house." The old view regarded them as kindred deities sharing a common temple; in fact, as the temple grew to be called the Erechtheion, it may be presumed, according to the old view, that Erechtheus, who gave his name, was the dominant deity. I cannot see that the passages of Homer are decisive either way.

In the old Athene temple there would be of course a cultus image. It has been noted already that from very early times there were two types of Athene statues—a standing xoanon, and a seated one. Both may have stood in the old Athene temple, or possibly one was set up as patron saint in the old Erechtheion shrine. Peisistratos added new splendour to the worship of Athene Polias, and it was he who decorated her old temple with a new colonnade; it is quite possible that he made a new cultus image, but the old one, which was taken to Salamis, long survived.

During the Persian war the old Athene temple, together with the Erechtheion shrine, was burnt down, but that both were promptly rebuilt Herodotus[132] gives ample testimony. Whenever Herodotus speaks simply of "the temple," he is, Dr. Dörpfeld holds, alluding to the old Athene temple. This, indeed, seems almost certain: he could not have meant the Parthenon, which was yet unbuilt; and on the one occasion where he manifestly speaks of the Erechtheion he distinctly describes it as though not mentioned before, and gives it its own distinct title thus—"There is a temple of Erechtheus, the earth-born, as he is called, in this citadel, containing within it an olive tree and a sea." To what temple can he be referring when he speaks simply of "the naos," except the newly-discovered one?

The temple, then, was rebuilt, but without its colonnade. No dishonour was intended to the goddess. The reason of the omission is very simple. A new and larger temple (the one we call the Parthenon) was already projected; this was to have a splendid colonnade, and was in every way to pass its predecessor; it was unnecessary, therefore, to restore the old temple otherwise than just so much as was necessary for the carrying on of public worship, and for the storing of treasure.

In 438 B.C. the new temple, as we have seen, was complete. It was known officially at first as the great temple (ὁ μέγας ναός), and later, simply because it had supplanted the older temple, as "the temple," or the temple of Athene or of Athene Polias. The old temple naturally now was described as the old or the ancient temple (ὁ παλαιός or ὁ ἀρχαῖος ναός), a title which, it was before

supposed, was peculiar to the Erechtheion. It cannot be too carefully noted that until much later times the new temple was never called the Parthenon or the Hekatompedos;[133] officially these two names designated the two cellas, *two parts*, *never the whole*.

The question next arises—Was the old temple pulled down when the new one was complete? Dr. Dörpfeld says distinctly not. What amount of ritual went on, it is hard to say; but it seems clear that the old temple remained the chief treasure-house of Athene. When the treasury of the allied States was transferred from Delos (454 B.C.), it must have been lodged in the old temple; there was no other place to put it in; the Parthenon was not finished, the new Erechtheion not built. The treasure lists of the fifth century B.C., after the Parthenon was complete, refer, as has been seen, to the three chambers of the Parthenon—*i.e.*, the Pronaos, Hekatompedos, and Parthenon proper; they refer also to another Opisthodomos, which can be no other than that of the old temple. What seems to have happened was this. Originally not only the money of Athene, but all her sacrificial vessels, votive offerings, and the like, were stored in the old temple. When the Pericles temple was ready, it was convenient to move all the personal apparatus of the goddess—her furniture, sacrificial vessels, votive offerings—to the new temple; there they were stored, some, as has been seen, in the Parthenon chamber, others in the Hekatompedos and Pronaos, but the money was left in the Opisthodomos of the old temple. The clearing out of the sacred vessels left some space to spare in the old Opisthodomos; this, we find, was utilised to take in the treasure of the other gods. And here comes in the evidence of an inscription, which is so strong that it can scarcely be gainsaid; it is indeed perhaps the strongest piece of positive evidence that can be adduced. In an inscription[134] dating about 430 B.C.—*i.e.*, after the personal property of the goddess had been removed—the following injunction occurs:—τα]μιευέσθω τὰ μ[ὲν τῆς Ἀθη]ναίας χρήματα [ἐν τῶι] ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ Ὀπισ[θοδόμου], τὰ δὲ τ[ῶν ἄλλων θ]εῶν ἐν τῶι ἐπ' ἀρ[ιστερ]ά—(Since what was owing has been paid of the two hundred talents which the people voted to be given to the other gods) "let the moneys of Athene be guarded in the [chamber] on the right of the Opisthodomos, and those of the other gods in the [chamber] on the left." So long as this was taken as spoken of the Parthenon, it was held that this was simply a way of saying "on the right hand and on the left;" but now that the plan of

the old temple is recovered and shows the unique arrangement of an actual right and left-hand chamber, the inference seems irresistible.

The other piece of positive evidence from inscriptions must be added. In the inventory of the old temple (*ἀρχαῖος ναός*) a quantity of objects are enumerated as to be found on the parastades, and the left and right-hand parastas are distinguished; the objects were presumably suspended on nails driven into the jambs. It is noticeable that the parastades only, not the walls, are used for the purpose; the reason is clearly that the walls were of stone, the parastades of wood. All ancient Doric buildings had door-jambs of wood, even as late as the Parthenon and Propylaea. These door-jambs were called respectively the right and left parastas. Now the east cella of the Erechtheion, if that be supposed to be the "ancient temple," being Ionic, had stone not wooden jambs, so the parastades in question must belong to our "old Athene temple."

It may seem to us a wasteful and needless arrangement, once the Periclean temple completed, to keep on the older structure, but such was the ordinary custom among the Greeks. The older Heraion at Argos was kept up long after the new temple was built. The reason in all such cases was no doubt twofold—(1) piety prescribed the conservation of the old fabric, (2) convenience utilised it as a storehouse for ever-increasing treasures.

By the building of the "Parthenon" the worship and honour of Athene had been duly cared for, and it was now possible to do something for Erechtheus. That the importance of his temple was subordinate is, it seems to me, shown by the simple fact that it had to wait its turn for restoration. Had the sanctity of this temple been, as was always supposed, supreme, it would surely have been attended to first.

It has been usual to regard the "Parthenon," as we have had occasion to note, as a sort of annexe and museum to the Erechtheion. Dr. Dörpfeld turns the tables completely. The "Parthenon" was thenceforward the supreme *cultus temple*, not of Athene Parthenos, but of the old goddess Athene Polias; the attribute Parthenos was a mere extra title like Ergane, not a cultus name. The new Erechtheion was, on the other hand, actually a sort of museum, and its odd shape was due to the desire to embrace several cults; its precinct had to take in the old Erechtheus shrine, old altars to the Butadae, the marks of the trident of Poseidon, the salt well, the reputed grave of Cecrops, the

olive tree of Athene; within it were stored also, as Pausanias notes, the old xoanon (probably the seated type)—in fact, it has something of the air of a sacred lumber-room. The architect seems indeed to have been put to sore straits, and to have been hard pressed for room; he builds his Caryatid porch right over the wall of the Peisistratos colonnade (now of course no longer standing), and it is almost within an arm's length of the Athene temple. The Caryatid porch, so much admired nowadays, must then have shown to poor advantage. This close proximity of the Caryatid porch to the cella wall is indeed the strongest argument brought against Dr. Dörpfeld's theory that the Athene temple was still standing when the new Erechtheion was built. It is quite possible, however, that the architect expected the old temple would come down, and, as has been noted before, his hope was frustrated by the conservative piety of the priesthood.

We must follow further the fortunes of the older Athene temple. In 406 B.C., it appears, it a second time suffered from fire. Xenophon [135] states that in the year 406 B.C. "the old temple of Athene was burnt;" until the discovery of the old Athene temple this was always taken as referring to the Erechtheion. The new Erechtheion was incomplete, as we have seen before, in 409-408 B.C., and to refer to this restored building as "the old temple" would certainly have been a strained use of language. Further, as has been noted, the Erechtheion, in the inscription cited, is referred to as "the temple in which was the ancient statue," not as the "old temple" at all. Dr. Dörpfeld, moreover, holds that the burning of the Opisthodomos referred to by Demosthenes [136] is this same fire of 406 B.C. It is curious at least that from this year the separate inventory of the Parthenon chamber ceases, and this looks as if there had been a temporary arrangement by which the contents of the burnt Opisthodomos had been transferred to the "Parthenon." Also, side by side with the Hekatompedos inventory is another of objects stated to be ἐκ τοῦ παρθενῶνος (out of the Parthenon chamber), which looks as if there had had to be a clearance of this chamber.

The change, however, was only temporary; the old temple was rebuilt, and its Opisthodomos again became the State bank. Probably the damage done had been by no means so great as that at the Persian invasion. Anyhow, as the votive treasure increased year by year, the Parthenon, if it had had to hold the State money permanently, would have been inconveniently crowded. It is certainly tempting to see with Dr. Dörpfeld, in a passage in the *Plutus*

of Aristophanes (v. 1191), a reference to this return of the State moneys to their old home—

> "Just wait a minute, for straightway we'll establish
> Plutus in his old place, the Opisthodomos,
> For ever safely guarding for the goddess."

However, if this be fanciful, and the interpretation is by no means necessary, we have positive evidence in an inscription [137] dated, by the archonship, 353 B.C.; in it is stated that the priestess gave over to the overseers in the archonship of Thondemos certain things from "the ancient temple" to the Parthenon.

The crucial question has now to be approached—Was the old Athene temple still standing in the days of Pausanias? Did he mention it in his narrative; and if so, what part or parts? I hold with Dr. Dörpfeld that it was standing, that he did mention it; but I am compelled, though with the utmost diffidence, to differ from him as to where the mention, and, above all, the description occurs. As regards the question of whether the temple was still standing, it should be noted that, once conceded that the temple was standing in the middle of the fourth century B.C., the burden of proof—as there was no great intervening sack of the Acropolis—lies with those who maintain it was not standing in the days of Pausanias. The Erechtheion and Parthenon were not destroyed, why the old temple? I have already stated that I do not believe Pausanias described the temple in the lacuna passage; my reasons for believing he describes it at the point reached now, are chiefly—

1. Believing as I do that the temple existed in his days, he must have described it somewhere, and nowhere more easily and appropriately than here.

2. He says distinctly "there was kept *in the temple of Polias*." This I believe to have been at his time the simple ordinary name, not of a cella in the Erechtheion, but of the old temple; it was no longer called necessarily the old temple, because, as the Pericles temple had got another name (*i.e.*, Parthenon), the term Polias was sufficient to distinguish it.

3. As he had expressly called the Erechtheion "a dwelling called the Erechtheion," I cannot believe that immediately afterwards he defines a portion of it, without any explanation, as the naos of Polias.

4. The belief that the eastern half of the Erechtheion was called the cella of Athene Polias rests, so far as I am aware, wholly on the testimony of Pausanias. In the great Erechtheion inscrip-

tion there is no mention whatever of a shrine of Athene Polias, though there is abundant reference to a Cecropeion and a Pandroseion. If the shrine was so important a matter, this is, to say the least, curious. My own view is that the image was simply one of many curiosities kept in the Erechtheion, and, though it lived in the east cella, did not give to that cella any particular name.

5. Taking this "temple of Polias" to mean the newly-discovered temple, we are able to take what follows quite simply. Dr. Dörpfeld thinks that in the two expressions—Κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος ("There is kept in the temple of Polias"); and later, Τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι—Pausanias differentiates, meaning by the first the east cella of the Erechtheion, by the second his old Athene temple. I believe he meant one and the same; the ideas of Athene and Polias were so interchangeable that I do not think any distinction is possible. So again when he says the two maidens live "not far from the temple of Polias" (τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς Πολιάδος οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω), I do not believe he turns either actually or in thought to the north-east of the Erechtheion, but that the maidens lived not far from our old temple, which would bring them within the precinct of Athene and near their own secret staircase. In fact, throughout I hold there is no distinction whatever between Athene and Polias, and that the east cella of the Erechtheion was never known as the "temple of Polias."

6. Within the temple Pausanias saw—

(1) A wooden Hermes, offered by Cecrops.
(2) A chariot, the work of Daidalos.
(3) The breast-plate of Masistios } Persian spoils.
(4) The dagger of Mardonios }

The curious old bough-covered Hermes—no doubt one of the limbless Herms—would be in place in any old temple, but it may be remembered that Cecrops and Athene were closely linked. To the Persian spoils I attach more importance. The old Athene temple was undoubtedly the place where they would be first deposited; it was the place essentially of Persian remembrances, and the trophies may well never have been moved. Demosthenes mentions the dagger of Acinaces as one of the trophies of the State which were stolen from the Acropolis by Glaucetes; he took also a chariot with silver feet, which may have been the "work of Daidalos" seen by Pausanias.

Properly to appreciate the force of Dr. Dörpfeld's reasoning, the whole course of his argument, which is mainly cumulative, must be followed out consecutively. This it is impossible to do systematically in a commentary on Pausanias; evidence has necessarily to be sundered, the full force of which can only be felt when taken together. It may be well, however, to draw attention to the singularly satisfactory relation his new theory establishes between the positions of the Athene and Erechtheus worship; it is the naturalness of the new standpoint that chiefly commends itself. In the new view Athene Polias is from beginning to end queen of the Acropolis, not merely the assessor of Erechtheus, and not by virtue of taking on a new aspect as Parthenos, but in her simple, primæval aspect of guardian of the citadel. She incorporates other cults, she is guardian over other gods' treasures; but she never shares her honours, she is never without her own individual shrine. Then, further, the Parthenon assumes in the new view its right place; it is not an adjunct to the Erechtheion, it is simply the last and greatest temple of Athene Polias. The crowded and complex associations of the Erechtheion cease, with the new view, to be confusing. The Erechtheion is, as Pausanias certainly viewed it, a shrine of cults of more or less obsolete significance—a museum for the symbols of these cults; it no longer strives to keep its head above water as *the* original Athene temple, but sinks with a sense of relief into dignified, because natural, subordination. Viewed thus as a museum, built advisedly to accommodate many interests, its eccentric disposition ceases to be surprising.

Neither in his description of the Erechtheion nor of the temple of Athene Polias does Pausanias make any mention of the sacred snake. Authorities differ as to where it lived; many say vaguely "on the Acropolis." One of the women in the *Lysistrata*[138] could not sleep after she had seen "the guardian snake." The scholiast on the passage explains that it was the sacred snake of Athene, who was the watcher of the temple. Herodotus (viii. 41) simply says—"The Athenians state that they have a great snake which they keep *in the sanctuary*, guardian of the Acropolis" (the "sanctuary" may mean the precinct of Athene, or may mean the whole Acropolis as sacred to the goddess), "and they say this" (Herodotus goes on to tell the tradition he had learnt.) "Moreover, *as if it were really existing*, they every month perform the ceremony of laying out its food, and this monthly food is a honey cake. And in all the previous time the honey cake had been

consumed, but then it was untouched; and when the priestess had told this, the Athenians all the more readily left their city, as they believed the goddess had abandoned the citadel." Plutarch[139] practically tells the same story, and certainly it looks as if there were really no serpent at all. A honey cake was placed probably on a sacred table; it disappeared, a matter which a skilful priestess might easily arrange, and the worshippers were told that Athene had sent her sacred snake. The story of Bel and the Dragon is a similar case. If there really was no sacred snake, it is easy to see why Hesychius says it lived in the Erechtheion, and Eustathius in the temple of Athene Polias; why some said there were two, and others one; and why Pausanias never saw it at all. Pheidias at least actualised it when he made the guardian snake curled beneath the shield of his Parthenos.

From the temple of Athene Polias, Pausanias seems to have passed direct to the precinct of Pandrosos, within which he saw the sacred olive tree; how he went is not precisely known, but some means of easy communication must have existed. Philochoros[140] tells how a marvellous thing once happened on the Acropolis—"A dog entering the temple of Athene Polias and descending into the Pandroseion, went up on to the altar of Zeus Herkeios, which is under the olive tree, and lay down." Probably Pausanias went by the same route as this profane dog. At present, though a dog might jump down from the terrace of the Athene temple to the precinct below, no serious sight-seer would attempt it, but in ancient days there may easily have been steps.

The exact site of the *temple* of Pandrosos will probably never be known; the whole of the ground all about the Erechtheion has been thoroughly excavated, and no trace of any probable building has been found. The *precinct* may certainly be placed west of the Erechtheion, and was probably the piece of ground enclosed to the east by the Erechtheion, to the south by the supporting wall of the old temple of Athene; a view of the south-west corner of the precinct is given in fig. 74. In the inscription already cited (p. 485) mention is made of "the pillars on the wall towards the Pandroseion," which can scarcely be other than the west Erechtheion wall. In another inscription quite recently discovered, during the pulling down of the "Odysseus Bastion," and which almost certainly relates to the Erechtheion (Δελτίον, May 1888), mention is made of two pediments, one towards the east and the other "towards the Pandroseion" (τὸ [πρ]ὸς τὸ

Πανδρόσειο αἰετόν), so that the Pandroseion must necessarily be west. The circumstantial description of Philochoros is enough alone to show that the sacred olive grew within the precinct, but Apollodorus[141] confirms it. The olive seems to have been low and crooked; Hesychius[142] says it was called quite crooked (παγκύρος) on account of its bent, low shape. Like many sacred trees, it was no doubt the worse for age.

Nowhere perhaps is Pausanias so useful as here, where he lets us into the sacred cult of the Arrephoroi. Its curious practical

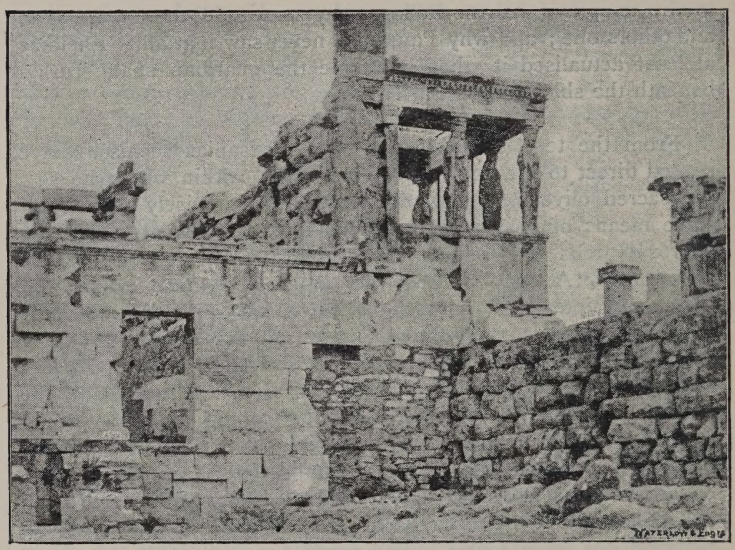


FIG. 74.—SOUTH-WEST CORNER OF THE PANDROSEION.

intention, its close connection with the legend of Erichthonios, which it in part created, has been already fully discussed. Standing with Pausanias here by the very steps where the Arrephoroi went down within sight of the old temple of Athene, it may be well to remember that whatever be the obscure and semi-barbarous rites of the original Arrephoroi, the Greeks of later days regarded them especially as the handmaidens rather of Athene than Eileithyia. The Ephebi[143] made their sacrifice to Athene Polias, and Kourotrophos and Pandrosos; Athene gradually took precedence, though

with many a reactionary struggle of the older worship. If any one sacrificed a heifer to Athene, he was bound, says Philochoros [144] (quoted by Harpocration), to sacrifice a sheep to Pandrosos. To be an Arrephoros was to the later mind not so much to perform a secret service to Eileithyia,[145] as "to wear a white garment and gold ornaments."[146] Two of the four maidens were told off to weave the peplos for Athene,[147] a function which has no obvious connection with the early, secret ceremonial.

SECTION XXI

STATUE OF LYSIMACHE—LEMNIAN ATHENE

TEXT, i. 27, §§ 4-10; 28, §§ 1, 2.

i. 27, 4. NEAR the temple of Athene is a † figure of an old woman about a cubit high, declaring itself to be the ministrant Lysimache; and there are also some large bronze images representing men placed at a distance for fighting. One of these they call Erechtheus, the other Eumolpos; but those of the Athenians who are familiar with ancient tales know that it was Immarados, the son of Eumolpos, who was killed by

i. 27, 5. Erechtheus. On the pedestal are also figures of . . . who was prophet to Tolmides, and Tolmides himself. Tolmides commanded the Athenian fleet, and laid waste, among other places, that part of the Peloponnese which lies along the shore; he also burnt the Lacedaemonian dockyards at Gythion, captured Boiae from the Perioikoi, and the island of Cythera, made a landing upon Sikyonian territory, and when the inhabitants came out to fight, his ravagers routed them and drove them back to the city. Afterwards, when he returned to Athens, he led a detachment of Athenian colonists to Euboea and Nasos, and invaded Boeotia with an army. After devastating the greater part of the country and reducing Chaeronea by a siege, when he advanced into the territory of Haliartos he himself fell in battle and lost all his army. This is the story I heard about Tolmides.

i. 27, 6. There are also some ancient images of Athena; these are not defective, but are dark in colour and could not resist a blow. They too were reached by the flames at the time when the Athenians embarked upon the ships, and the city, deserted by all its fighting men, was taken by the king. There is also a boar-hunt—I am not sure that it represents the Calydonian hunt; and there is Kyknos fighting with Herakles. This Kyknos is said to have slain in single combat for prizes

various persons, and among them Lykos a Thracian; he was himself killed by Herakles near the river Peneios.

i. 27, 7. Among the legends of Theseus current at Troezene is a story that Herakles when he came to Pittheus at Troezene laid down the lion's skin as he went to feast, and that some children of the natives came where he was, among whom was Theseus, then about seven years old. They say that the other children ran away when they saw the skin, but that Theseus, going out quietly, without excessive fear snatched an axe from one of the servants and at once attacked the skin in earnest,

i. 27, 8. taking it for a lion. This is the first Troezenian story about Theseus; but the next anecdote relates that Ægeus laid beneath a rock sandals and a sword to be tokens whereby to recognise the boy, and then sailed away to Athens. Theseus, when he was sixteen, rolled away the rock and departed, carrying with him the objects left there by Ægeus. On the Acropolis is a statue representing this story, the whole thing being in bronze except the rock.

i. 27, 9. In another offering is represented another deed of Theseus, of which the following is the account. Crete, especially the land round the river Tethrys, was devastated by a bull. In old days wild beasts were more terrible to men than they are now. For instance, there was the Nemean lion, and the Parnassian lion, and snakes in many parts of Greece, and boars at Calydon and Erymanthos and at Krommyon in the Corinthian territory. Of these animals some were said to have arisen from out the ground, others to be sacred to gods, and others to have been let loose in punishment upon men. This particular bull was said by the Cretans to have been sent upon the land by Poseidon, because, although Minos ruled over the Greek seas, he paid no special honours to

i. 27, 10. Poseidon. One of the Twelve Labours of Herakles consisted in the conveying of this bull from Crete to the Peloponnese; but when the bull was turned out upon the plain of the Argives, it escaped through the isthmus of Corinth and took refuge in Attica in the deme of Marathon, after slaying all whom it met, and among them Androgeos, the son of Minos. Minos sailed against Athens, for he did not believe that the Athenians were guiltless of the death of Androgeos, and laid waste the land until an agreement was made with him that he should take seven maidens and as many youths to the bull called the Minotaur, which inhabited the labyrinth at Gnossos. In later days Theseus is said to have driven the bull of Marathon to the Acropolis, and there sacrificed it to the goddess Athena. The offering was given by the deme of Marathon.

i. 28, 1. I am unable to explain the reason why a bronze figure was set up of Kylon, in spite of his having schemed to gain the

tyranny of Athens; but I should think that it was for his extreme beauty, and the distinction he obtained by winning the victory of the double race at Olympia. And to begin with, he had married the daughter of Theagenes, who was tyrant of Megara.

i. 28, 2. Besides the things I have mentioned, there are two tithe-offerings from spoil taken by the Athenians in war. The first is a bronze image of Athena by Pheidias, made from the spoil of the Medes who landed at Marathon. The battle of Centaurs and Lapiths on her shield, and all the other decorative work, is said to have been engraved by Mys, but designed, like all the other work of Mys, by Parrhasios, the son of Euenos. The tip of the spear and the crest of the helmet of this Athena are visible after leaving Sunium to persons approaching Athens. There is also a bronze chariot made from a tenth of the spoils won from the Boeotians and Chalcidians in Euboea. There are two other offerings—Pericles, the son of Xanthippos; and the most worth seeing of the works of Pheidias, an image of Athena, called, after those who dedicated it, the Lemnian.

COMMENTARY ON i. 27, §§ 4-10; 28, §§ 1, 2.

Between the Erechtheion and the Propylaea, Pausanias next mentions a series of ornaments, among them the bronze Athene, usually called the "Promachos," the basis of which has been found, and gives a fixed point:—

1. Statue of Lysimache.
2. Statues of Erechtheus and Eumolpos.
3. Tolmides and his prophet.
4. Several old statues the worse for fire.
5. A representation of a boar-hunt.
6. Fight of Herakles and Kyknos.
7. Bronze representation of Theseus lifting the stone.
8. Theseus driving the bull of Marathon.
9. Bronze statue of Kylon.
10. Bronze Athene (Promachos).
11. Bronze chariot.
12. Statue of Pericles.
13. Statue of Athene (Lemnian).

The statue of Lysimache probably stood within the precinct of Athene Polias. The text of the passage is both corrupt and defective. I have followed Benndorf's interpretation; according

to this, the latter portion of the text is part of the inscription on the base of the statue, which states that Lysimache was priestess for sixty-four years. This statue seems to be the same referred to by Pliny,[148] who says it was sculptured by Demetrios. Lysimache was a priestess evidently of great note; Plutarch[149] mentions her in his treatise on false shame; she is instanced as one of those who were able aptly to snub impertinent proposals. "Lysimache at Athens," he says, "the priestess of Polias, when the muleteers who brought up the sacrifices bade her make libation, made answer: 'I hesitate to do, lest this should not accord with ancestral custom.'" The sculptor Demetrios is known by three inscriptions found on and near the Acropolis, but none of these can with any certainty be connected with this statue. From literary evidence it is clear that his tendency was towards pronounced realism. It will not be forgotten that it was a statue by Demetrios which played such strange antics in the house of the spiritualist Eucrates.[150] He cured the old man of a tertian ague, and every night had the habit of quitting his pedestal and walking round the house; they often met him singing aloud, and the splashing of water was heard when the statue was taking a bath. These particulars are somewhat beside the mark, but the whole account (in the *Marvel Mongers* of Lucian) is important, as it emphasises the very realistic style of Demetrios. The eccentric statue was of a man called Pelichos, a Corinthian general, and the portrait was uncompromising; he was represented "with a large belly, bald-headed, half-naked, the hairs of his beard fluttering in the wind, the muscles strong and protrusive"—in short, as Lucian sums up, "the very man himself." "Demetrios," he adds later, "was a maker, not of gods, but of men"—just the opposite of Pheidias, it seems, though from the letters of his signatures we know them to have been nearly contemporary. Such an artist would take delight in modelling an old woman with scant hair and wrinkled face; he would see his end in characterisation rather than idealism. It is as well to remember that Lucian, the most sensitive art critic of antiquity, who felt to the full the majesty of the Lemnian Athene, could yet speak of the Pelichos of Demetrios—bald-pated, pot-bellied as it was—as the statue, "the beautiful one," that you see as you enter the hall.

Some curious particulars are known respecting the priestesses of Athene Polias. Strabo[151] says they were forbidden to eat the new cheese of Attica, and might only eat the produce of foreign lands;

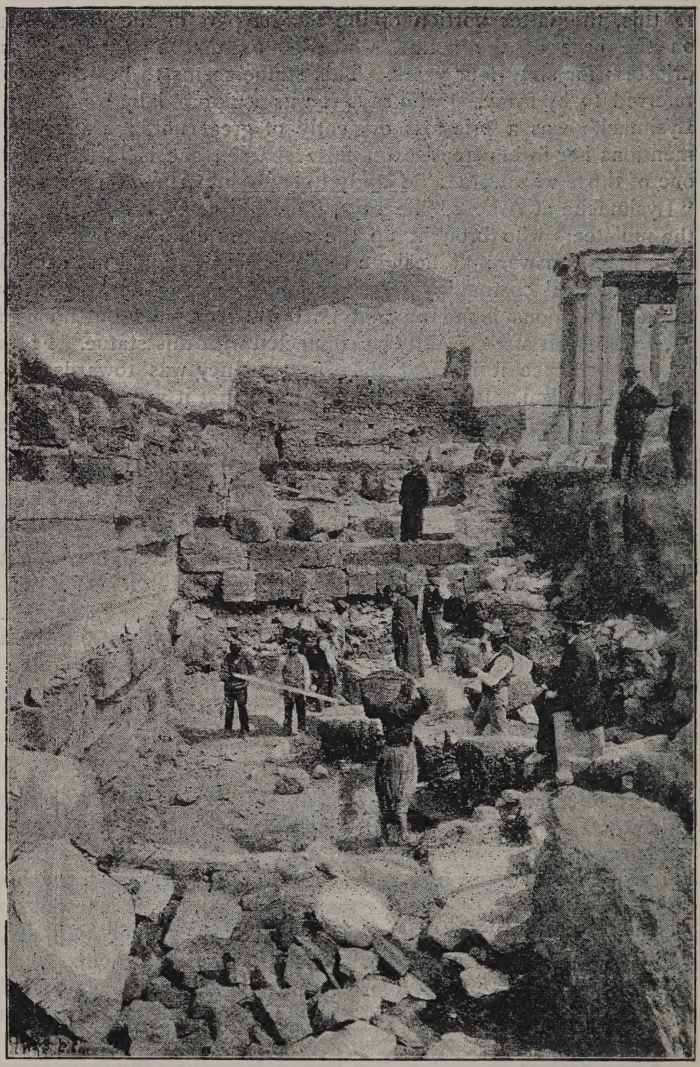


FIG. 75.—SITE OF EXCAVATIONS TO NORTH OF ERECHTHEION.

they might, however, eat Salaminian cheese. The restriction was a hard one, if the new cheese of ancient Attica was as excellent as its modern descendant. When a death took place, the priestesses of Athene Polias were entitled to a measure of wheat and barley and an obol.

The ground west and north of the Erechtheion, which Pausanias has just passed over, is the portion of the Acropolis which has yielded the largest number of archaic female statues. The actual site of the discovery of a large number is shown in fig. 75. That these statues do not represent Athene is, I think, clear, from the total absence of distinguishing attributes. Archaic art of the same period was quite able to give the goddess helmet and ægis, as is seen in the votive relief in fig. 76, in which a sacrifice to Athene is represented. The conclusion, therefore, seems to me certain that the archaic statues represent priestesses of Athene, whose statues, like that of Lysimache, were set up within the precinct. One of small stature and quaint archaic style (fig. 77) may be selected, as giving some notion of Lysimache herself.

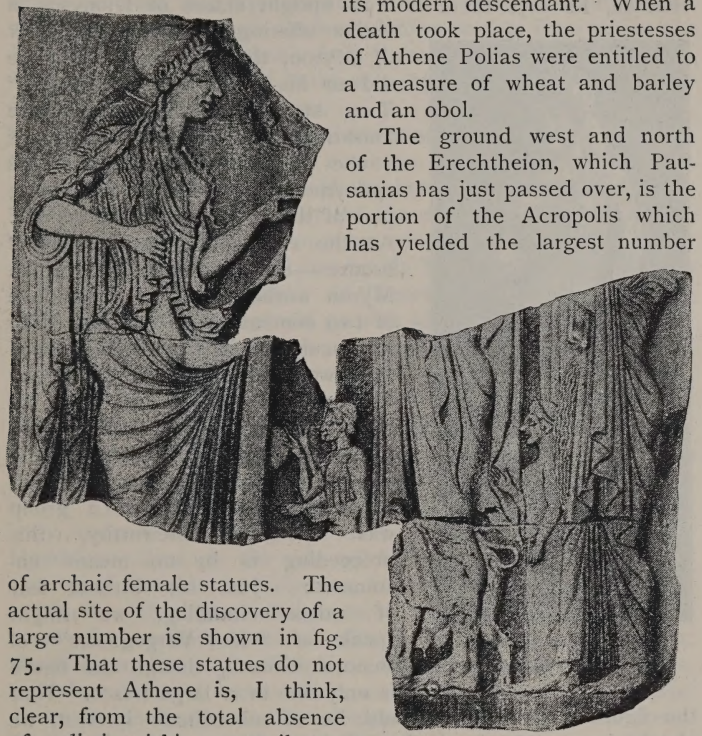


FIG. 76.—VOTIVE RELIEF TO ATHENE (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

Michaelis has conjectured, with some plausibility, that the statues of Erechtheus and Eumolpos were a group by Myron,

and is the same as that referred to by Pausanias in his account of Boeotia.[152] Describing the statues in the sacred precinct of Helicon, he says there is "an upright statue of Dionysos, a votive offering by Sulla, the work of Myron, the next best thing he did to his Erechtheus at Athens." Two statues of Erechtheus are known to have existed at Athens[153] —one in the market-place as eponymous hero, the other forming part of the group on the Acropolis. As the Acropolis statues were of bronze — the material in which Myron worked—and as the motive of two combatants is well suited to this sculptor, it has been argued that we have here a group by Myron. If this be the case, it is of course noticeable that Pausanias speaks of Myron's Erechtheus as if it were a single statue; but where one statue in a group was specially noteworthy, this proceeding is by no means uncommon. Just so, without fear of misunderstanding, we might speak of "La Vergognosa" of Benozzo Gozzoli, though the figure is only one in a large fresco. That the figure of Eumolpos would be of subordinate interest, we should, in an Athenian votive offering, *a priori* expect; and the fact that tradition fluctuated as to whether father or son was represented, has been already noted in treating of the mythology of Eumolpos.

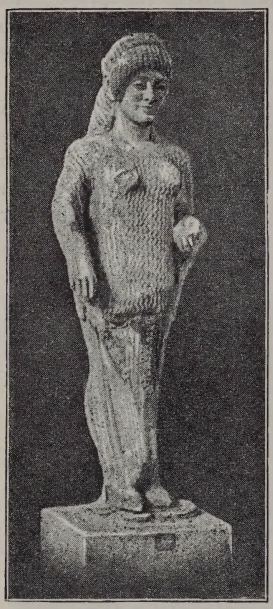


FIG. 77.—ARCHAIC STATUE (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM).

In the passage describing the statues of Tolmides and his prophet there is a lacuna which may have contained the prophet's name. Tolmides and the men who fell with him were buried, Pausanias tells us later, on the road to the Academy, where all the Athenians who fell by sea or land, except only the warriors of Marathon, had their monuments. He fell in the fatal battle at Koroneia,[154] 447 B.C.; it was long remembered as "the calamity of the hosts with Tolmides."

Of the old and grimy statues of Athene nothing certain is known. Pausanias is now passing over the part of the Acropolis which has been recently excavated (1888), and which has yielded such numbers of archaic agalmata known to date from before the Persian war. It is probably from these early figures that we can form our clearest idea of those seen by Pausanias, but no closer identification can be made out.

Of the representation of the boar-hunt and the fight of Herakles with Kyknos, Pausanias does not even tell us whether they were in relief or in the round. If the boar-hunt was in reality the Calydonian hunt, tradition linked the name of Theseus with it; and though he played in it no more conspicuous part than many another hero, it may have been in his honour that the hunt was dedicated on the Acropolis. If Theseus went to the hunt, his patron goddess Athene would go with him.

How the fight with Kyknos was conceived, we may conjecture from vase-painting. If it was a group in the round, probably only the two chief combatants appeared, and Kyknos (the swan hero) was, we may be tolerably sure, in human form. If the composition was in relief, it may have been extended, something after the fashion of a very interesting vase-painting[155] in the museum at Berlin. Here Kyknos has already fallen, and Herakles over his body contends with the father Ares; Athene is at hand to help Herakles — Zeus on the side of Ares; to either side are the chariots of Herakles and Kyknos, and sympathising deities of sea and land. The legend of Kyknos is told variously, as Pausanias notes; it is usually involved with the cult of the god Apollo. Herakles, on his way to Delphi, is waylaid by the giant Kyknos, and slays him. Its connection with Attic legend is, of course, due to the incorporation of Herakles into the heroic cycle of Athens. Recent discoveries on the Acropolis have made it very probable that Herakles had a shrine and cult there.

The mention of the two monuments relating to Theseus leads Pausanias to a long digression on the Troezenian exploits of the hero, which have been already noticed in detail. It is noticeable that the only four sculptured records of Theseus mentioned—*i.e.*, his statue near Herakles, by the temple of Ares, and the three monuments on the Acropolis (viz., the fight with the Minotaur, and the two under consideration)—are just those which appear on the coins of Athens. "This is an interesting fact, and shows that many people at Athens were, like Pausanias, more impressed by separate groups than by those (*e.g.*, the metopes of the so-called Theseion)

which merely formed part of the decoration of a temple." The adventure with the Minotaur was, of course, so popular that its appearance as a coin-type needs no apology. This is not so with the lifting of the rock; this never appears on vases at all, a fair rough test of Athenian popularity, and only on a few Graeco-Roman reliefs. It therefore seems permissible to point to the votive offerings on the Acropolis as the motives of the coin-types. The Athenian coin (fig. 78) shows Theseus naked, raising with both hands the rock, beneath which are sword and sandals. The Troezene coin, where possibly the type originated, is similar.

FIG. 78.—COIN OF ATHENS: THESEUS RAISING THE ROCK.

FIG. 79.—COIN OF ATHENS: THESEUS DRIVING THE BULL.

On the coin in fig. 79 Theseus appears quietly driving off the bull, not, as usually on vase-paintings, in actual contest with him.

Pausanias is naturally surprised at seeing a statue of Kylon within the sacred precinct of the Acropolis. His explanations are scarcely satisfactory; it is much more probable that the statue was an expiatory offering to appease the goddess for the slaughter of the followers of Kylon at her shrine.[156] It will be remembered that in the somewhat parallel case of Pausanias the general, who all but died within the temple of Athene of the Brazen House at Sparta, the oracle ordered the Spartans to offer to the goddess two bodies for one, and this they interpreted as a command to dedicate two brazen statues.

The type of the great bronze statue of Athene near the Propylaea cannot be determined with the same certainty as that of the more famous and more widely copied Athene Parthenos. All that is actually known of the statue is from this description by Pausanias—*i.e.*, that she was represented with a shield (carved later by Mys) and a helmet, and carrying a spear; other authors allude to the statue, but only as the "bronze one." It should be distinctly noted that no ancient author calls her by the name Promachos except a scholiast on Demosthenes[157] and the late

author Zosimos; elsewhere she goes by the name of "the bronze one" or "the great one," so that we may be tolerably sure that in the days of Pericles the statue had no such title.

Because Pausanias speaks of it as visible to those sailing from Sunium, it was formerly supposed that the statue was of colossal size. He does not say visible from Sunium, which would certainly be impossible, but merely to ships coming in from Sunium before reaching Athens (*προσπλέουσιν ἤδη*). It is usually thought that the large basis marked on the plan near to the Propylaea belonged to the statue, but this is not certain. We must be content to place the goddess in imagination somewhere between the Erechtheion and the Propylaea, probably nearer to the former.

A type of Athene which would accord well with the description of Pausanias occurs frequently on imperial Athenian coins. Athene is figured facing the spectator with her head turned slightly left; the spear is held transversely in the right hand, the shield on the left arm, the ægis on the breast. The coin (fig. 80) with the Propylaea, the statue of Athene, and the Parthenon is figured here, because the general view and juxtaposition is interesting; but for any discussion of the pose and gesture of the so-called Promachos, it is quite useless. The artist of course intended to represent this figure, but he was not clear in his mind and preferred to be generally instructive rather than strictly topographical; so he varies the type, sometimes even substituting the easily recognised type of the Parthenos with the Nike in her hand. These coins are a warning, were one needed, of the extreme caution with which monumental evidence of this kind should be employed. If the "Promachos" was one of the early works of Pheidias—a fact by no means certain—the carvings by the famous engraver Mys must have been added long after the statue was set up, and could in no case have been a part of the original design of Pheidias. Mys and Parrhasios seem to have worked together on more than one occasion. Athenaeus mentions Mys among the famous chasers, and says there was a cup to be seen by him, with the taking of Troy engraved upon it, and with this inscription—"The drawing is by Parrhasios, the work by Mys," [158] etc.

FIG. 80. — COIN OF ATHENS: ATHENE "PROMACHOS."

The other anathema from spoil was of earlier date. As the contest with the Boeotians and Chalcidians took place before the

Persians took Athens, the chariot must somehow have escaped when the Acropolis was devastated. Herodotus[159] mentions the dedication. The Athenians kept the Chalcidian prisoners in close captivity until the ransom of two minae a man was paid. They then hung up the fetters on the Acropolis, where Herodotus says they were still to be seen in his time, though scorched by Median flames; they also made an offering of the tenth part of the ransom, and they spent it on the "bronze chariot, drawn by four horses, which stands on the left hand immediately as one enters the gateway of the citadel." The inscription runs as follows:—

> "When Chalcis and Boeotia dared her might,
> Athens subdued their pride in valorous fight,
> Gave bonds for insults; and the ransom paid,
> From the full tenths these steeds for Pallas made."

The dedication and inscription are also mentioned by Diodorus.[160]

A statue of Pericles has already been noted in connection with the statue of Xanthippos. As these, however, were mentioned immediately after the Parnopios, it is difficult to imagine the Pericles statue can be the same as that spoken of here. It must be borne in mind, however, as possible, for in the passage where Pausanias speaks of the statue of father and son, he says distinctly that of Pericles stood "on the other side" (ἐτέρωθι), so that it is an open question to what "on the other side" refers—the other side of the path which Pausanias follows, in which case there must have been two distinct Pericles statues; or the other side of the Acropolis, and then both passages may refer to the same. Pliny[161] says that Cresilas, the sculptor, "made a statue of the Olympian Pericles worthy of the title, and it was marvellous in his art how he made noble men still more noble." Probably this statue of Cresilas was set up somewhere on the Acropolis; it may have been the one near the Propylaea.

The last statue seen by Pausanias, though he mentions it so briefly, must have been—to trust ancient testimony—the most beautiful monument of all set up upon the Acropolis. Lucian[162] in his *Portrait* asks—"And of the works of Pheidias, which do you hold to be most admirable?" And the answer is—"Why, the Lemnian, surely, to which Pheidias deigned to put his name." And then, for the building up of the portrait of the perfect woman, Lucian says—"Pheidias and the Lemnian statue shall lend us the outline of her whole face, and the soft bloom of her cheeks, and

her well-proportioned nose." Pliny[163] says—"Pheidias made of bronze a statue of Minerva so beautiful that it took its name from beauty"—*i.e.*, probably it went by the name of "the beautiful" (καλλίμορφος). It is probably to this statue that a number of epigrams[164] refer, which contrast Aphrodite and Athene—"When you gaze at the Aphrodite at Knidos you will say the Phrygian judged well; when you see the Athene at Athens, you will exclaim, Paris was but a goat-herd." Studniczka[165] has identified the Lemnian type with a figure on certain reliefs of Athene leaning on her shield, but, as it seems to me, without sufficient grounds.

NOTES TO DIVISION D

1. For the discovery, Beulé, L'Acropole d'Athènes, i. pp. 99 *seq.*
2. For reconstruction of Nikias monument, Dörpfeld, Mitt., 1885, p. 219.
3. For inscription, Köhler, Mitt., 1885, p. 231. The towers that flank the gate are now (1889) being cleared out.
4. Rhangabè, Inscr. 960, and A. H. ii. p. 705.
5. Athenaeus, xiv. 29.
6. Loewy, Inschriften Griechischer Bildhauer, no. 63.
7. See C. I. A., iii. 575 and also 576 for a similar inscription found to the east of the Propylaea. I was not able to find the Agrippa inscription.
8. Philostr., Vit. Soph. ii. 5, 3 and 8, 2.
9. Diog. Laert., 2, 52.
10. For the Propylaea, see Julius, Mitt. i., Ueber den Südflügel, etc.; Bohn, R., Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen, 1882; Robert, Aufgang zur Akropolis (Philolog. Untersuchungen, vol. i., Berlin, 1880); Wilamowitz Moellendorf; Dörpfeld, W., Die Propyläen, 1 and 2, Mitt. x., 1885, from which my account is almost wholly taken.
11. For the temple of Nike Apteros, Ross, Akropolis von Athen, 1839; Michaelis, A. Z., 1862, p. 260; Benndorf, Festschrift, 1879; in favour of later date—L. Julius, Mitth. Athen, 1876, p. 216; Kekulé, Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike (1881); Bohn, R., Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen, p. 29; for the sculptures, A. S. Murray, Hist. of Greek Sculpture, ii. p. 179.
12. C. I. A., ii. 471, 14.
13. For the type of the *βουθυτοῦσα*, see C. Smith, Hell. Journal, vii. p. 275.
14. Herodot., viii. 47.
15. Harpocration, *sub. voc.* *Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ.*
16. P., v. 26, 6.
17. P., iii. 15, 7.
18. Soph., Philoct. 134 — *Νίκη τ' Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς, ἣ σώζει μ' ἀεί.*
19. Schol. ad Aristoph., Aves, 574— *νεωτερικὸν τὸ τὴν Νίκην καὶ τὸν Ἔρωτα ἐπτερῶσθαι: Ἄρχερμον γάρ φησι καὶ τὸν Βούπαλου καὶ Ἀθήνιδος πατέρα, οἱ δὲ Ἀγλαοφῶντα τὸν Θάσιον ζωγράφον, πτηνὴν ἐργάσασθαι τὴν Νίκην ὡς οἱ περὶ Καρύστιον τὸν Περγαμηνόν φασιν.*
20. Lölling, Mitt., 1886, p. 322.
21. Athenaeus, xii. 534.
22. Plut., Alc. 16.
23. Ælian, Nat. Anim. Epilogus.
24. P., x. 29, 5.
25. Pollianus, Anth. Graec. iii. 147, 5.

26. P., x. 25, 10.
27. Harpocration, *sub voc.* λάμπας.
28. Athenaeus, xiv. 67.
29. Dem., 22, 13.
30. Æschin., Fals. Leg. p. 277.
31. Aristoph., Eq. 1326.
32. P., ii. 30, 2.
33. Hesych., Ἑρμῆς Ἀμύητος — Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.
34. Clem. Alex., Protrept. 102—τί γὰρ ἠγεῖσθε ὦ ἄνθρωποι . . . καὶ τὸν Ἀμύητον· ἢ παντί τῳ δῆλον ὅτι λίθους; Diogenianus, Proverb. 4, 63, Ἑρμῆς Ἀμύητος — ἐπὶ τῶν μᾶλλον ἔν τισιν ἐμπείρων. χλευαστικὴ δὲ ἡ παροιμία.
35. P., ix. 35.
36. Theoc., Id. 16, 108; Pindar, Ol. 14, 5 ff.; Panyasis in Athen., 2, p. 36 D; Hom. Hymn to Artemis, 27; Hymn to Apollo Pyth., 12; Pindar, p. 75.
37. C. I. 1583, 1584; Ephoros in Schol. Il. 9, 381; Müller, Orchom. 183 and 181; Eustath., Hom. p. 1843, 25.
38. See throughout, Furtwängler, Mitt. iii. 187; and for the reliefs —Benndorf, A. Z., 1869, Taf. 22, and Furtwängler, *sub voc.* in Roscher's Lexicon.
39. P., ix. 35, 7.
40. Schol. in Vesp. 804—ἱερὸν Ἑκάτης ὡς τῶν Ἀθηναίων πανταχοῦ ἱδρυμένων αὐτὴν ὡς ἔφορον πάντων καὶ κουρότροφον. Ἑκάταιον οὖν Ἑκάτης ἄγαλμα, τὸ Ἑκατήσιον λεγόμενον.
41. Petersen, Die dreigestältige Hekate, Mitt. aus Oesterreich, Wien, Jahrgang iv. Hefte 2 und 3, 1880.
42. C. Robert, De Gratiis Atticis in hon. Th. Mommsen, from whom the whole of this view is taken.
43. P., ix. 35, 1.
44. Plut., De Garr., 8, p. 505 E.
45. Polyaenus, 8, 45.
46. Loewy, Gr. Bildhauer, no. 415.
47. Plut., Aristides, v.
48. Loewy, Gr. Bildhauer, no. 46.
49. Thucydides, vii. 29 and viii. 64, but his story is practically the same.
50. Plut., Pericl. 13.
51. Pliny, N. H. xxii. 44.
52. Michaelis, Ath. Mitt. i. p. 284; R. Bohn, v. 331.
53. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 81; xxii. 44.
54. The whole of this exposition of the Iphigeneia Brauronia cult, as well as the explanation of the two statues on the Acropolis, is due to Dr. C. Robert's Archäologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit, no. ix., Berlin, 1886.
55. P. Gardner, Numismatic Commentary, J. H. S., 1886, p. 61, no. xi.
56. Strabo, ix. 399, speaks of two cults — that of Brauron, where Artemis Brauronia was worshipped; and that of Halae Araphenides, where Artemis Tauropolos was worshipped— but it is clear from Euripides that the two were practically indistinguishable.
57. Mus. Brit. 34—

χιτωνίσκος κτενωτὸς περιποίκιλος περὶ τῶν ἀγάλμ[α]τι τῶν ὀρθῶν.

ἀμπέχονον "Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν" ἐπιγέγραπται, περὶ τῶν ἔδει τῶν ἀρχαίων Θεανώ.

κάτοπτρον ἐλεφαντίνην λαβὴν ἔχον, πρὸς τῶν τοίχων. Ἀριστοδάμε(ι)α ἀνέθηκεν.

58. Studniczka, Vermutungen zur Griechischen Kunstgeschichte, ii., 1884, Vienna.
59. Mitt., 1880, Taf. x. p. 256; Archeologische Zeitung, 1873, 109.
60. Hesych., *sub voc.*, mentions two Brauronian festivals — βραυρωνίαις τὴν Ἰλιάδα ᾖδον ῥαψῳδαὶ ἐν Βραυρῶνι τῆς Ἀττικῆς. καὶ βραυρώνια ἑορτὴ Ἀρτέμιδι βραυρωνίᾳ ἄγεται καὶ θύεται αἴξ.
61. For the cult of Artemis Brauronia in general, see Claus,

De Dianae Antiquissima apud Graecos Natura, Vratislaviae, 1881; Suchier, Die Diana Brauronia, Marburg, 1887; Otfred Müller, Orchomenos, p. 303; and for the whole subject in connection with totemism, A. Lang, Myth, Ritual, and Religion, ii. 213.

62. Aristoph., Aves, 1128—*ἵππων ὑπόντων μέγεθος ὅσον ὁ δούριος.* Schol.—*οὐ πιθανὸν κοινῶς λέγειν αὐτόν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ τοῦ ἐν ἀκροπόλει. ἀνέκειτο γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει δούριος ἵππος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων "Χαιρέδημος Εὐαγγέλου ἐκ Κοίλης ἀνέθηκε."*
63. Loewy, Gr. Bildhauer, no. 52.
64. Hesych., i. p. 761; Athenaeus, vii. 1.
65. Loewy, Gr. Bildhauer, no. 49. I regret to say I was unable to find this basis.
66. Hermes, xii., 1877, 345.
67. Aus Kydathen, p. 67.
68. On the strength of this, Dr. Dörpfeld (Mitt. xii., 1887, 1 and 2, p. 53) has arranged the monuments, from the wooden horse to the Areopagus bull, in two lines opposite each other on either side of the road, five opposite five. To the exact and ingenious symmetry of this arrangement it seems to me a fatal objection that Pausanias says, and Dr. Dörpfeld, a few lines back, quotes, *κεῖνται δὲ ἐξῆς ἀλλαί τε εἰκόνες.*
69. For a résumé of whole subject, see Rayet, Monuments de l'Art Antique, v. Marsyas.
70. Athenaeus, xiv. 7, p. 617—

Ἃ μὲν Ἀθάνα
Τῶργαν' ἔρριψεν θ' ἱερᾶς ἀπὸ χειρὸς
εἶπε τ', "Ἔρρετ' αἴσχεα σώματι λῦμα
οὔ με τᾷδ' ἐγὼ κακότατι δίδωμι.

71. P., ix. 34, 5.
72. Hesychius, *κριὸς ἀσελγόμενος—ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κριὸς ἀνακείμενος μέγας χαλκοῦς· ἀσελγόκερων δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπε Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς διὰ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι καὶ συναριθμεῖ αὐτῷ τόν τε δούριον ἵππον.*
73. Suidas, *s.v. βοῦς ἑβδομος—*

Πῶς βοῦς ὑπάρχων, αὔλακας γῆς οὐ τέμνεις
ἀλλ' ὡς πάροινος ἀγρότης ἀνεκλίθης;
Πῶς οὐχὶ καὶ σύ πρὸς νομὰς ἀποτρέχεις,
ἀλλ' ἀργυροῦν εἴδωλον ἕστηκας τράγε;
Ἕστηκα τὴν σὴν ἐξελέγχων ἀργίαν.

74. A third view has been suggested —that by "the temple" Pausanias refers us to the Parthenon. I do not think this is worth serious consideration. Pausanias, later on, begins his description of the Parthenon in due form, evidently as a building not seen before.
75. C. I. A., iii. 166.
76. C. I. A., ii. (*Ἐφημ. Ἀρχ.* 3598).
77. Michaelis, Jahrb. p. 60, nos. 100, 101, 102, and 103; and Robert, Hermes, xxii. p. 129.
78. The supposed Sophocles passage is (p. 759)—

βᾶτ' εἰς ὁδὸν δὴ πᾶς ὁ χειρῶναξ λεώς.
οἳ τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην στατοῖς
λίκνοισι προστρέπεσθε.

The Plutarch passage (*πολιτ. παραγγ.* p. 802 B)—*τὴν γὰρ Ἐργάνην οὗτοι μόνον θεραπεύουσιν (ὡς φησι Σοφοκλῆς) οἱ παρ' ἄκμονι τυπάδι βαρείᾳ καὶ πληγαῖς ὑπακούουσαν ὅλην ἄψυχον δημιουργοῦντες. ὁ δὲ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τῆς βουλαίας Θέμιδος.* Wernicke supposes (Mitt. xii. iii. 185) that Pausanias refers to this passage. If he does, he of course makes the rather serious alteration of substituting *οἱ*

'Αθηναῖοι for οἱ παρ' ἄκμονι . . . δημιουργοῦντες, and I cannot see that there is the smallest necessity to suppose Pausanias is quoting; the instance was too much common property. Herodot., ii. 51; P., iv. 33, 3; i. 17, 1.

79. P., vi. 20, 14.
80. Any one who is interested in the nails of this statue will find a discussion of them in Wieseler, Gött. Nach., 1885, p. 326.
81. Köhler, Zur Periegese der Akropolis, Mitt. i., 1876, p. 304, fig. 7.
82. Hell. Soc. Journal, 1887, plate lxxvi. BB, Athens, iv. 1.
83. Mitt. 1882, Robert, Das Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon.
84. P., i. 28, 10.
85. Theophr. ap. Porph. de Abstin. 2, 29.
86. Schol. Aristoph., Pax 419.
87. Ælian, Var. Hist. v. 14, and Prov., App. i. 61. It is added that the curse of the Bouzyges rested on whoever refused the dues of fire and water, or would not show the wanderer his way.
88. Schol. ad Il. vii. 466 says (probably with a side glance at this ceremony)—βουφονεῖν ἐστὶν οὐ τὸ θύειν θεοῖς, ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐπὶ θυσίας φόνον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φονεύειν βοῦς εἰς δεῖπνου κατασκευήν.
89. Wilamowitz, Aus Kydathen, p. 133.
90. C. I. A., ii. 554 B, and C. I. A., ii. 557.
91. For Zeus Polieus generally, see O. Jahn, Nuove Mem. d. Inst., 1865, p. 4.
92. C. Waldstein, Essays on the Art of Pheidias, p. 137; and J. H. S., v. 1884, p. 195.
93. J. E. Harrison, Myths of the Odyssey in Art and Literature, pl. 48.
94. Iliad, v. 749. Repeated viii. 393 (transl. here and elsewhere Lang, Leaf, Myers).
95. Cecil Smith, J. H. S., ix. 1, p. 9; Ruvo Vase, Mon. Med. ix. 6.
95*a*. Trans. by Mr. D. S. MacColl.
96. Löschke, Dorpater Programm, 1884.
97. For full discussion of the Parthenon, see Michaelis, Der Parthenon. Popular résumé in Die Akropolis von Athen, A. Böticher, 1886.
98. Pliny, N. H. xxxvi. 18; Plat., Hipp. Mai. p. 290 B. This and all the other passages bearing on the image are quoted in Oberbeck's Schriftquellen, 645 ff.
98*a*. Trans. by Mr. D. S. MacColl.
99. Plato, Menexenus, 238.
100. Hesych., Ἀνησίδωρα ἡ γῆ διὰ τοὺς καρποὺς ἀνιέναι.
101. P., i. 31, 4.
102. C. Waldstein, Essays on the Art of Pheidias, p. 281.
103. Mitt. viii., 1883, Taf. xiv., Kieseritzky, p. 291.
104. Ἐφημερὶς Ἀρχ., 1887, Pin. 4.
105. Cecil Smith, J. H. S., i. p. 203, pl. vii., and A. S. Murray, Classical Review, i., 1887, 10, p, 315; but, considering the relation of the figures, I can see here nothing but a sacrifice to Athene.
106. Cecil Smith, J. H. S., ix. pl. i. p. 1.
107. C. I. A., 117-175.
108. Dörpfeld, Untersuchungen am Parthenon, Mitt. vi., 1881, p. 382.
109. For this view of the lighting of the Parthenon solely through the door I am indebted to an unpublished paper read by Dr. Dörpfeld at the concluding meeting of the German Archæological Institute, March 1889.
110. Mitt., 1888, p. 430, Dörpfeld's report.
111. C. I. A., iii. 63.
112. Strabo, 13, 604-613.
113. Anthol. app. Plan. 306.
114. Loewy, Gr. Bildhauer, no. 233.
115. Plut., Anton. 60.
116. The latest addition to the discussion of these figures, an

account of which is found in every handbook, is by Dr. Mayer, Jahrbuch des k. d. Arch. Inst., 1887, ii. p. 1. Dr. Mayer sees in a group of the Villa Borghese a reproduction of a complete pair, victor and vanquished. A serious objection, in my mind, to this view is that the Amazon is represented as victor.

117. P., iii. 18, 9.

118. Strabo, 14, 647.

119. Xen., Hell. 3, 2, 19.

120. Mus. Brit., I. xxxv., two fragments of Pentelic marble. C. I. A., i. 322 — ['E]*πιστάται τοῦ νεὼ τοῦ ἐν πόλει ἐν ᾧ τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἄγαλμα, Βροσυν . . ης Κηφισιεύς, Χαριάδης 'Αγρυλῆθεν Δίωδης Κηφισιεύς, ἀρχιτέκτων* [Φί]*λόκλης 'Αχαρνεὺς γραμματεὺς 'Ετέαρχος Κυδαθηναιεύς* [*τάδ*]*ε ἀνέγραψαν ἔργα τοῦ νεὼ ὡς κατέλαβον ἔχοντα, κατὰ τὸ ψή*[*φισ*]*μα τοῦ δήμου ὃ 'Επιγένης εἶπεν ἐξειργασμένα καὶ ἡμίεργα, ἐπὶ Διο*[*κ*]*λέους ἄρχοντος Κεκροπίδος πρυτανευούσης πρώτης, ἐπὶ τῆς βουλῆς* [']*ῇ Νικοφάνης Μαραθώνιος πρῶτος ἐγραμμάτευσεν.*

Τοῦ νεὼ τάδε κατελάβομεν ἡμίεργα
ἐπὶ τῆι γωνίαι τῆι πρὸς τοῦ Κεκροπίου.

Enumeration follows.

τάδε ἀκατάξεστα καὶ ἀράβδωτα.

Enumeration follows.

λίθινα παντελῶς ἐξειργασμένα ἃ χάμαι.

Enumeration follows.

121. A full account of the Erechtheion, with summary of previous literature, will be found in Mr. H. Fowler's paper on the Erechtheion in the papers of the American School of Classical Studies, vol. i. 1882-1883.

122. Vitruvius, i. 1, 5.

123. C. I. A., i. 322; B. M., I. xxxv. line 83—*ἐπὶ τῆι προστάσει τῆι πρὸς τῶ*[*ι*] *Κεκροπίωι ἔδει τοὺς λίθους τοὺς ὀροφιαίους τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν κορῶν ἐπεργάσασθαι ἄνωθεν.*

124. C. I. A., i. 324, col. i. 4—

Φυρόμα[*χος Κ*]*ηφισιεὺς τὸν νεανίσκο*[*ν τὸ*]*ν παρὰ τὸν θώρακα* ₣Δ.

Πραχ[*σίας*] *ἐμ Μελίτηι οἰκῶν τὸν* [*ἵππο*]*ν καὶ τὸν ὀπισθοφανῆ τ*[*ὸν πα*]*ρακρούοντα* ΗΔΔ.

'Αντιφάν[*ης ἐκ*] *Κεραμέων τὸ ἅρμα καὶ τ*[*ὸν νε*]*ανίσκον καὶ τὼ ἵππω τὼ* [*ζευγ*]*μένω* ΗΗΔΔΔΔ.

Φυρόμαχ[*ος Κη*]*φισιεὺς τὸν ἄγοντα τὸ*[*ν ἵ*]*ππον* ₣Δ.

Μυννίων 'Αγρυλῆ[*σι*] *οἰκῶν τὸν ἵππον καὶ τὸν* [*ἄ*]*νδρα τὸν ἐπικρούοντα· καὶ* [*τὴ*]*ν στήλην ὕστερον προσέθ*[*ηκε*] ΗΔΔΓ⊦⊦.

Σῶκλος 'Αλωπεκῆ[*σι*] *οἰκῶν τὸν τὸν χαλινὸν ἔ*[*χο*]*ντα* ₣Δ.

Φυρόμαχος Κηφισιε[*ὺς*] *τὸν ἄνδρα τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς βακτηρίας εἱστηκότα τὸν παρὰ τὸν βωμὸν* ₣Δ.

'Ιασος Κολλυτε[*ὺς*] *τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς ἡ παῖς* [*πέ*]*πτωκε* ₣ΔΔΔ.

125. C. I. A., i. p. 175, col. 2—*Μόλυβδος ἐωνήθη δύο ταλάντω, εἰς πρόθεσιν τῶν ζῳδίων παρὰ Σωστράτου ἐμ Μελίτηι οἰκοῦντος* Δ.

Χρυσός πετάλω δύο ἐωνήθη χρύσωσαι τὼ ὀφθαλμὼ τοῦ κίονος παρ' 'Αδώνιδος ἐμ Μελίτηι οἰκοῦντος ⊦₣.

126. Odyssey, vii. 101.

127. Plut., De Daedal. Plat. fr. 10 —*ξύλινον δὲ τὸ τῆς Πολιάδος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτοχθόνων ἱδρυθὲν ὃ μέχρι νῦν 'Αθηναῖον διαφυλάττουσιν.* Athenagoras, leg. 17—*τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐλαίας τὸ παλαιόν.*

128. Tertullian, Ap. 16—et tamen quanto distinguitur a crucis stipite Pallas Attica et Ceres Raria, quae sine effigie rudi palo et informi ligno prostat.

129. Schol. Dem., 22, 13, pp. 597, 8.
130. Denkmäler, i. plate 1 and text; Excavations, Mitt. x. 275; Studniczka, Mitt. xi. 185. For the history of the temple, see Dörpfeld, Mitt. xii. p. 25; his view is controverted by Petersen, Mitt. xii. p. 62; Dörpfeld renews the controversy, Mitt. xii. p. 190; Wernicke on Pausanias' passages, Mitt. xii. 184.
131. Iliad, ii. 546; Odyssey, vii. 80-81.
132. Herodot., viii. 55.
133. For relative size of old and new temple, see Hesychius, *sub voc.* Ἑκατόμπεδος—*νεὼς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει τῇ* Παρθένῳ *κατασκευασθεὶς ὑπὸ* Ἀθηναίων *μείζων τοῦ ἐμπρησθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν* Περσῶν *ποσὶ πεντήκοντα.*
134. C. I. A., i. 32—. . . *ἐπείδαν δὲ ἐκ τῶ]ν διακοσίων τα[λάντω]ν ἃ ἐς ἀπόδοσιν ἐ[ψήφισται ὁ δ]ῆμος τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἀ[ποδοθ]ῇ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τα[μιευέσθω τὰ μὲν τῆς* Ἀθη]*ναίας χρήματα [ἐν τῷ] ἐπὶ δεξιὰ τοῦ ὀπισ[θοδόμου τὰ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θ]εῶν ἐν τῷ ἐπ' ἀ[ριστε]ρά.* C. I. A,. ii. 733 and 735.
135. Xen., Hell. i. 6.
136. Dem., 24, 136—*καὶ οἱ ταμίαι ἐφ' ὧν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος ἐνεπρήσθη καὶ οἱ τῆς θεοῦ καὶ οἱ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἐν τῷ οἰκήματι τούτῳ ἦσαν ἕως ἡ κρίσις αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο.*
137. C. I. A., ii. 758—*τάδε ἐκ τοῦ ἀρχαίου νεὼ παρέδωκεν ἡ ἱερεία τοῖς ἐπιστάταις τοῖς ἐπὶ Θουδήμου ἄρχοντος εἰς τὸν* Παρθενῶνα.
138. Aristoph., Lysistr. 758; Herodot., viii. 41; Plut., Them. 10.
139. Hesychius, *οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν—τὸν τῆς* Πολιάδος *φύλακα δράκοντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἕνα φάσιν οἱ δὲ δυὸ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ* Ἐρεχθέως *τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆς* Ἀκροπολέως, *ᾧ καὶ μελιτοῦταν παρατίθεσθαι.*
140. Philoch., p. 146—*κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς* Πολιάδος *νεὼν εἰσελθοῦσα καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ* Πανδρόσειον, *ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ* Ἑρκείου Διὸς *τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο.*
141. Apollod., 3, 14, 1, 2, *ἐλαίαν —ἣ νῦν ἐν τῷ* Πανδροσείῳ *δείκνυται.*
142. Hesychius, *ἀστὴ ἐλαία—ἡ ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἡ καλουμένη πάγκυφος διὰ χθαμαλότητα.*
143. C. I. A., ii. 481, 58.
144. Harpocration, *ἐπίβοιον.*
145. Classical Review, April 1889, p. 187.
146. Bekk., Anekd. pp. 202, 203—*ἀρρηφορεῖν.*
147. Harpocration, *sub. voc. ἀρρηφορεῖν.*
148. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 76—Demetrius Lysimachen (fecit) quae sacerdos Minervae fuit LXIII. annis.
149. Plut., De Vit. Pudore, 14, p. 534 B.
150. Lucian, Philops. Eud. 18, 19, 20. For signatures, see Loewy, Bildhauer, 62, 63, 64, specially 64.
151. Strabo, p. 394; Aristot., Œc. ii. 2, 4.
152. P., ix. 30, 1.
153. Michaelis, Bemerkungen zur Periegese der Akropolis von Athen, viii.; Der Erechtheus des Myron, Mitt. ii., 1877, p. 85.
154. Xen., Mem. iii. 5, 4.
155. Gerhard, A. V. c. xxii. c. xxiii.
156. Thucyd., i. 134.
157. Schol. Dem., 22, 13, p. 597; Dem., 19, 271.
158. Athenaeus, 11, 19, p. 782 B—*εὔδοξοι δὲ τορεύται . . . καὶ* Μῦς *οὗ εἴδομεν σκύφον* Ἡρακλεωτικὸν *τεχνικῶς ἔχοντα* Ἰλίου *ἐντετορευμένην πόρθησιν, ἔχοντα ἐπίγραμμα τόδε.* Γραμμὰ Παρρασίοιο, *τέχνα* Μυός, *κ.τ.λ.*
159. Herodot., v. 77.
160. Diod. Sic., 10, 24, 3.
161. Pliny, N. H. xxxiv. 74.
162. Lucian, Mag. 4.
163. Plin., N. H. xxxiv. 54.
164. Pal. app. Plan. 169.
165. Studniczka, Vermutungen zur Griechischen Kunstgeschichte, Vienna, 1884.

DIVISION E

THE WEST SLOPE OF THE ACROPOLIS, THE AREOPAGUS, AND ACADEMY SUBURB (C. XXVIII. 3 TO C. XXX. 4).

SECT. PAGE
XXII. Pelasgikon—Pan's Cave 535
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XXV. Academy—Kolonos 596

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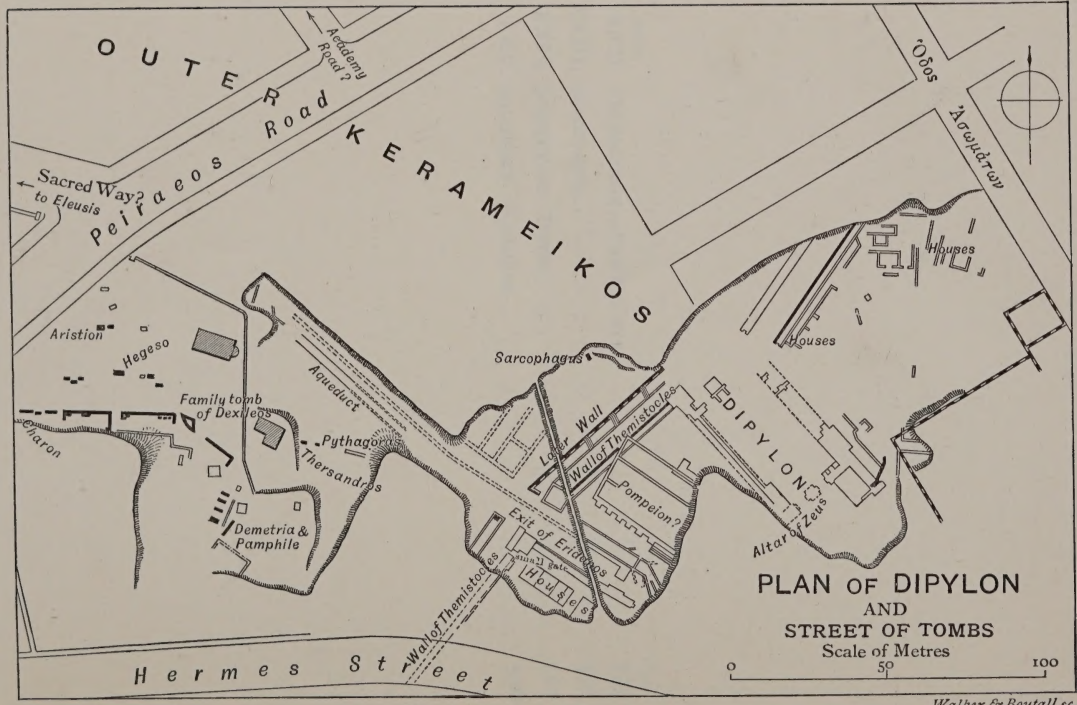


PLAN OF DIPYLON
AND
STREET OF TOMBS
Scale of Metres

Walker & Boutall sc.

SECTION XXII

PELASGIKON—PAN'S CAVE

TEXT, i. 28, §§ 3, 4.

i. 28, 3. WITH the exception of that part built by Cimon, the son of Miltiades, the rest of the wall round the Acropolis is said to have been made by Pelasgians, who once dwelt below it. The names given are Agrolas and Hyperbios. I inquired who they were, but could learn nothing but that, being Sikeli by origin, they had migrated into Acarnania.

i. 28, 4. On the descent, not to the lower parts of the city, but just below the Propylaea, is a spring of water, and close by a sanctuary of Apollo in a cave. They think that it was here that he met Creousa, the daughter of Erechtheus.

When Phidippides was sent to Lacedaemon to announce that the Medes had landed, he came back with the news that the Lacedaemonians deferred their march, for it was their custom not to march out to fight till the full moon was past. Phidippides said that near the hill of Parthenion Pan met him and said that he was favourable to the Athenians, and would come to fight for them at Marathon. For this message is the god Pan honoured.

COMMENTARY ON i. 28, §§ 3, 4.

When Pausanias visited the Acropolis it was, as it had been since the days of Pericles, a "sacred enclosure," an anathema, an offering to the gods; but as he is passing out of the gates he is reminded of other men and other times. Precisely how much remained of the Pelasgian fortress in his days, it is impossible to say; but as he sees something which calls it to his mind just as he is leaving the Propylaea, it is probable that here were the most substantial remains.

The name "Pelasgian" means, of course, simply that the fortifications dated from some unknown early time. Pausanias himself could learn no particulars, only names that were obviously mythological, and the usual legend of foreign artificers.

To avoid confusion, it must be clearly stated that the term "Pelasgikon" or "Pelargikon" is used in a double sense—(*a*) to mean an actual wall or system of fortification of the Acropolis; (*b*) to mean a space well defined in extent, once enclosed by a portion of that wall.

The word is used by Herodotus[1] clearly in the first sense. Quoting Hecataeus in his account of the Pelasgian settlement at Athens, he says—"The Athenians, according to him, had given the Pelasgi a piece of land at the foot of Mount Hymettus as a reward for the wall with which the Pelasgi had surrounded their citadel" (*μισθὸν τοῦ τείχεος τοῦ περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν*). Herodotus here takes what was no doubt the current view, that the Pelasgians completely fortified the Acropolis, building a wall all round it. Recent excavations have corrected this error. The ancient rock of the Acropolis was so formed as to need artificial fortification only to the west and south; the north and north-east portions of the rock were naturally precipitous. From the remains recently discovered, and from ancient literary notices, it is possible to reconstruct a fairly complete picture of the Acropolis in those old Pelasgian days—the king's palace, the nobles' houses (of which foundations have come to light here and there), the wall to the south, and the great Enneapylai (the Nine Gates) to the west.

The remains of Pelasgian fortifications discovered actually on the Acropolis are clearly visible on the plan; they are marked in blue. As the ground has been uniformly cleared down to the living rock, all that can ever be discovered has now come to light, and the remains are considerable. It has been the general rule in conducting the excavations to level up again when the digging was complete, but here and there, in the case of important foundations, pits surrounded by walls have been left. Referring to the map, it will be observed that the most important fragments of the Pelasgian wall are seen just south of the Propylaea, near to the "house of Erechtheus," round about the two museums, and south and south-west of the Parthenon. At this point, where the wall joins a later foundation, one of the pits is left.

As might have been expected, the Pelasgian wall follows the line of the primitive rock itself; hence it is often preserved some yards within the Cimonian fortification; it is, in fact, a natural

boundary, whereas the later walls run in artificial straight lines. Where the lines of the Pelasgian and later fortifications coincide, the Pelasgian has been destroyed to make room for the others. The fragment of Pelasgian wall just south of the Propylaea has long been above ground; it is shown in fig. 6, p. 354. This portion has now been thoroughly cleared out, and is shown to have been nearly twenty feet broad. Here, at the accessible west end of the Acropolis, was a weak point that needed strong fortification. Primitive houses and graves have been found to the east and west of the Erechtheion, and within the Museion and south of the Parthenon graves have been discovered containing fragments of pottery of the Mycenae type, which confirms the early date of the Pelasgian walls.

So much is already certainly known, but the precise limits of the Pelasgikon wall outside the Acropolis and the arrangement of the Enneapylai yet (1889) remain to be investigated. Till the whole of the west end of the hill is thoroughly cleared out, we have to rely mainly on literary inference.

The word "Pelargikon" is used in the second and more limited sense by Thucydides.[2] "When the Athenians came back after the Persian war, they took up their abode" in the vacant spaces of the city and in the temples and shrines of heroes, with the exception of those on the Acropolis, the Eleusinion, and any other precinct which could securely be closed. The Pelasgian ground, as it was called, which lay at the foot of the citadel, was under a curse, forbidding its occupation. There was also a half line of a Pythian oracle to the same effect:—

τὸ Πελασγικὸν ἀργὸν ἄμεινον.
("Better the Pelasgikon left waste.")

Yet even this was occupied under the sudden pressure of necessity.

This passage of Pausanias is strikingly borne out by an inscription of the date of Pericles recently found at Eleusis;[3] it records a decree re-establishing the sanctuary of the "Pelargikon." Without the consent of the senate and people, no one is to erect an altar or cut or carry away any stone or earth from the Pelargikon, and the archon basileus is to fix the sacred limits of the precinct. Possibly just after the Persian war the stress of necessity had made people a little lax about the Pelasgikon, hence the necessity for the decree. It should be noted that in this decree and in some of the MSS. of Thucydides the form of the word is

Pelargikon, not Pelasgikon. This led to the conjecture, of course baseless, that the Pelargi took their names from the bands of wandering cranes.

It is of course clear enough that both in the passage of Thucydides and in the decree about the Pelargikon a fixed and well-defined space is intended, and that space cannot be the Acropolis itself. From Lucian[4] we know that Pan's cave was just above the Pelasgikon. Excavations on the south side of the Acropolis have shown that no temple or sacred precinct of any sort existed there to the west of the Asklepieion; it is therefore highly probable that, as Dr. Dörpfeld holds, the precinct of the Pelasgikon extended from Pan's cave to the Asklepieion, as shown on the plan (Division C, p. 239). This would be in fact just the portion of the Acropolis which had at all times most needed fortification.

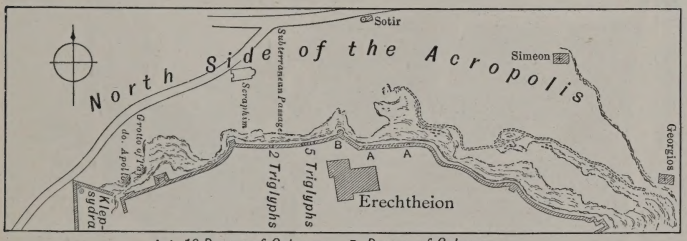
In speaking of the monument of Nikias and Beulé's Gate it has been already noted (p. 350) that, according to Dr. Dörpfeld's view, the Pelasgikon territory remained intact down to the time of the building of the gate, and was in fact first seriously encroached upon by the Odeion of Herodes Atticus. But of course in the long lapse of years the system of fortification underwent many important modifications. It should be, however, distinctly borne in mind that the work of Pericles was not so much, as it is usually put, to change a fortress into a sacred precinct as to adorn a sacred precinct *within* a fortress. After the Persians had laid it waste, Themistocles saw that even the north side needed protection, and the columns of the ancient temple of Athene were built into the new wall, a witness for ever in the sight of the people against their foe. The building up of the south wall was a more gradual matter. Pieces of the old fortification of the Pelasgians were left and still survive, and the excavations to the south of the Parthenon[5] clearly show, as has been already seen, that at one time that portion of the slope lay in two terraces, only finally levelled up in the days of Pericles (p. 469).

After passing out from the Propylaea, but before going down from the Acropolis, Pausanias mentions—

1. A well, usually known as the Klepsydra.
2. A cave with shrine to Apollo.
3. There is a lacuna, but the subsequent account of Pan leaves no doubt he mentions Pan's cave.

These three monuments have all been clearly identified. The

Klepsydra was walled in by the Greek captain Odysseus Andritsos (1822) to secure his water supply on the Acropolis, and the fortification now pulled down (1888) went by the name of "the bastion of Odysseus." In Byzantine times a chapel was built over the well and adorned with frescoes. If we may trust a scholiast on Aristophanes the well was formerly called Empedo, and got its name of Klepsydra (water-hiding) from the fact that at one time of the year it was full, at another scanty; the water was brackish. In this same passage the shrine of Pan and the Klepsydra are brought into close connection. Myrrhina[6] asks Cinesias where he proposes their marriage rites shall be celebrated. He makes answer, "There, where Pan's shrine is; it will do admirably." Then she asks, "And how, then, could I purify myself and approach the



A.A. *16 Drums of Columns* B. *Drums of Columns*

FIG. 1.—PLAN OF NORTH WALL AND SLOPE OF ACROPOLIS.

Acropolis?" "Why, excellently well," he answers, "for surely you could wash in the Klepsydra."

It is not easy to determine with certainty which cave belonged to what god, but the two which are side by side at the extreme north-west corner of the Acropolis are usually held to have been sacred to Pan and Apollo. In the larger of the two there are abundant traces of niches where votive offerings have been set up. An outline of the north side of the Acropolis is given in fig. 1, a distant view of the two accepted caves as they appear from the modern Ὁδὸς Πτολεμαῖος in fig. 2. This view, from an original photograph taken in the spring of 1888, has already a certain historical interest; it clearly shows, not only the Agrippa monument and distant Nike temple, but also the bastion of Odysseus, which was pulled down a few weeks after the view was taken. A bit of this bastion also appears in the nearer view given in fig. 3, which shows the votive niches in the larger of the two caves.

Pausanias distinctly states that there was near to the Klepsydra a hieron, a sanctuary of Apollo. This, Dr. Dörpfeld conjectures, was the Pythion, along which the Panathenaic ship was conducted

FIG. 2.—CAVES OF APOLLO AND PAN, SEEN FROM THE Ὁδὸς Πτολεμαῖος.

before it was finally moored to its station on the Areopagus (*vide* p. 173, note 168). The ready-made cave was probably Apollo's most primitive settlement at Athens, and with it therefore Euripides naturally connected the love of the god for Creousa. It

was the god's oldest seat and his dearest (τοῦ θεοῦ τὰ φίλτατα, *Ion*, 387). He was worshipped there, no doubt, long before he had his temples as Patröos (p. 34) or again as Delphinios. Later, it appears from numerous inscriptions[7]—none of them earlier than Roman times—he was worshipped under the title Hypakraios or ἐν ἄκραις ("under the rocks"). Probably by Roman days the

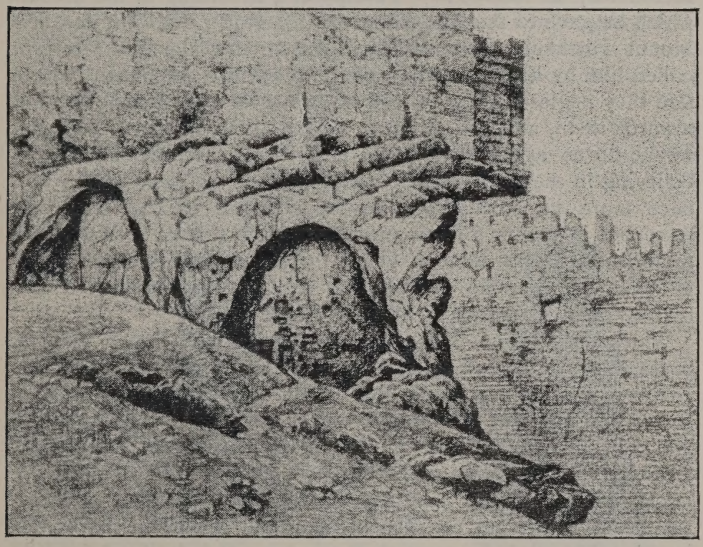


FIG. 3.—CAVES OF APOLLO AND PAN.

little old Acropolis shrine was somewhat overshrouded by the Patröos and Delphinios cults, and needed to be specialised by a new title.

From the hymn to Pan in the *Ion* of Euripides,[8] it would seem that Pan was not confined to one particular cave, but had many caves and seats (τοῖσι σοῖς ἐν ἄντροις θακήματα), and probably ranged at will all over the green meadows of the "Long Rocks:"—

> "O seats of Pan, and rock hard by
> To where the hollow Long Rocks lie—
> Where, before Pallas' temple-bound,
> Agraulos' daughters three go round

Upon their grassy dancing-ground
To nimble reedy staves,
When thou, O Pan, art piping found
Within thy shepherd caves."
(Euripides, *Ion*, 492-502.)

Pausanias no doubt takes his account of Phidippides from Herodotus,[9] as follows :—"Phidippides, according to the account which he gave to the Athenians on his return, when he was near Mount Parthenium, above Tegea, fell in with the god Pan, who called him by his name and bade him ask the Athenians 'wherefore they neglected him so entirely when he was kindly disposed towards them, and had so often helped them in times past, and would do so again in time to come.' The Athenians, entirely believing in the truth of this report, as soon as their affairs were once more in good order, set up a shrine to Pan under the Acropolis in return for the message which I have recorded, and established in his honour yearly sacrifices and a torch race." Whether the worship of Pan was actually inaugurated or only revived after Marathon, it is hard to say.

Lucian alludes to this revival of Pan worship in an amusing passage, already cited (p. 42), in the *Double Indictment*. Zeus, Justice, and Hermes have met on the Acropolis to discuss the grievances of gods and men, when there is seen approaching a god who "is horned, has a pipe in his hand, and hairy legs." Justice asks who he is, and Hermes answers, "What, don't you know Pan, one of the most Bacchanalian of Bacchus's servants? He used to live on the Parthenium, but when the barbarians invaded Marathon he came as a volunteer to help the Athenians, and from that time on has been honoured with that cave under the Acropolis, a little beyond (μικρὸν ὑπέρ) the Pelasgikon, and pays his taxes as a resident alien; and having spied us out, he's coming up, I suppose, to pay us his respects." After an interchange of compliments, Justice asks Pan how he is getting on at Athens; with Pan, as with the other gods, times are not what they were. "They do not treat me quite so well as they ought to do, not half as well as I hoped, considering my services in defending them from so many barbarians. Two or three times a year indeed they sacrifice a nasty unpleasant goat to me, and they have a feast on the flesh and kindly let me look on while they enjoy themselves, but I get nothing but a little empty noise and dancing. However, they laugh and play the fool, and that *does* cheer me up." Then the poor goat-god goes on to complain

that Athens has got too learned for him. "They are too wise for me; I am but a mountaineer, and never learned their fine language. Who ever heard of a sophist or philosopher in Arcadia? A crooked reed and a pipe is all my knowledge. I can feed goats indeed, and dance and fight a little on occasion, and I have heard them talk about 'ideas' and 'nature' and 'virtue,' 'incorporeal substances,' and such sort of strange stuff that no one can understand, and they fall to brawling about it too, and what good it all does anybody I can't say; but, if you want to know the real truth, as I live here under the rock, I *have* seen them, sometimes late in the evening—well . . ."

The supposed cave of Pan was thoroughly explored, but with slight results, in 1862. As we see it now, it looks a dreary place for the kindly old goat-god, who loved clear water and cold shade; perhaps it looked better when the grove of Agraulos was hard by, and the sacred ploughing field, and the temenos of the Dioscuri. Anyhow, it was the best the Athenians could do for him, and the Pelasgikon ensured him some free space. But at best he could never have been really at home under the city hill; he was a shepherd at heart, for all his citizen's cloak.

FIG. 4.—STATUETTE OF PAN (ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

There is no more delightful representation of Pan than the terra-cotta statuette given in fig. 4; it is now preserved in the Museum of the Archæological Society at Athens,[10] but it was found in Pan's own Peloponnesus—at Sparta. With his citizen's cloak and his arch, good-tempered old face, he looks just as if he had stepped straight out of the dialogue of Lucian; he knows a good story, but is too kindly to tell it. In later representations a bestial, almost diabolic type of Pan is developed, and his horns and hoofs made such suggestions easy.

The worship of Pan was everywhere associated, as has been already noted, with that of Hermes, the Charites, Apollo, and

the Nymphs. Apollo as Νόμιος (guardian of the flocks), has of course much in common with Pan. The famous grotto at Vari was consecrated not only to the Nymphs and Pan, but to

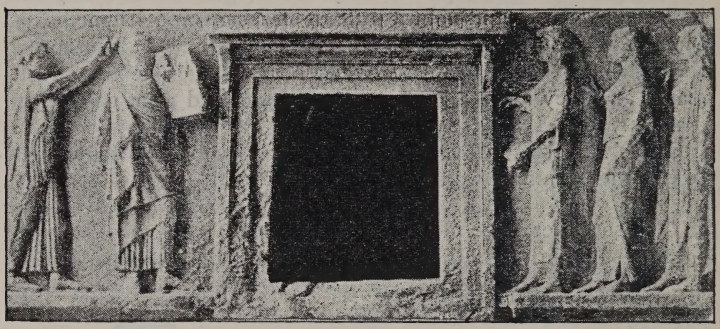


FIG. 5.—THASOS RELIEF: APOLLO AND NYMPHS (LOUVRE).

Apollo Ersos (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ : ΕΡΣΟ)—*i.e.*, the Apollo of young creatures (*C. I. A.*, i. 430). The personalities of Apollo, Pan, and Hermes are indeed distinct enough, but those of the Nymphs

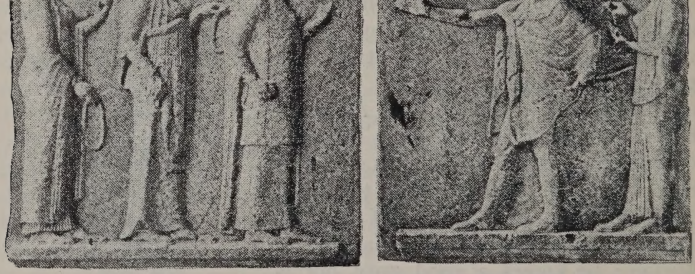


FIG. 6.—THASOS RELIEF: HERMES AND CHARITES (LOUVRE).

and Charites are not so easily divided. In the well-known reliefs from Thasos[11] in the Louvre (figs. 5 and 6), the close analogy of their art-type is clearly seen. On the one side (fig. 5) of some structure, which was probably an open-air altar,

Apollo, holding his lyre and crowned by a woman figure, faces three Nymphs. That they are Nymphs is certain from the inscription above the aperture between the two groups. It runs as follows :—

Νύμφῃσιν κ' Ἀπόλλωνι Νυμφηγέτῃ θῆλυ καὶ ἄρσεν ἄμ βούλῃ προσέρδειν· ὄϊν οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖρον. Οὐ παιωνίζεται—("To the Nymphs and to Apollo Nymphegetes sacrifice what thou wouldest, male or female; a sheep and a pig are forbidden. No pæan is sung").

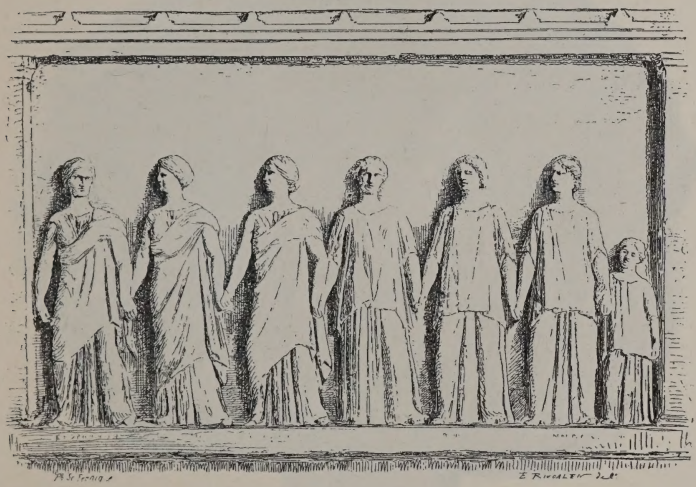


FIG. 7.—NYMPHS AND CHARITES AND WORSHIPPER (NAPLES MUSEUM).

But for the inscription, it would have been natural to call the lyre-bearing Apollo Musegetes. It is hard to say who is the woman crowning him. The Nymphs are usually only three in number. It is possible she may be Artemis, but in this case it is curious that she does not appear in the inscription. Less certainly belonging to each other are two other slabs making up a similar composition. Hermes, followed by a woman figure, advances to meet and beckons to three Charites; that they are Charites, not Nymphs, is certain from an inscription below the feet of Hermes:—

Χάρισιν αἶγα οὐ θέμις οὐδὲ χοῖ[ρο]ν.
("To the Charites it is not permitted (to sacrifice) a goat or a pig.")

There is again some uncertainty as to who is the woman figure behind Hermes. I incline to see in her (with Dr. Robert) Hecate in her character of Hegemone (p. 383).

The important point, however, as to these bas-reliefs is the great similarity of type between the Nymphs and Charites;

FIG. 8.—MEGARA RELIEF: HERMES AND NYMPHS IN CAVE OF PAN (BERLIN MUSEUM).

both are represented as heavily-draped women bearing fruit and garlands. But for the inscriptions there would be no possibility of distinction. It has been seen before that an established type, at least at Athens in the fifth century B.C., for the Charites was that of three women figures dancing and holding hands. The three Athenian Charites dance alone, unled by Hermes; they also stand full face. This distinction is clearly brought out on a bas-relief of late style in the museum at Naples (fig. 7). Six

women figures dance together, accompanied or rather watched by a diminutive worshipper ;* but the six break up obviously into two groups of three—the Nymphs dance sideways, and the Charites full face.

A very important and widespread type still remains to be considered. A good instance is given in fig. 8 from the Berlin Museum ; this particular specimen comes from Megara, but

FIG. 9.—PAN AND NYMPHS DANCING.

instances are found widely scattered. Hermes, followed by three women figures, dances round a rude stone altar ; to them approach three worshippers ; above is seated Pan, piping to Hermes and the maidens ; below, a mask of Achelöos indicates a

* Since writing the above, the last issue of the *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (1889, v.) has reached me. In it M. Lechat published a very curious and interesting archaic relief, which is of great interest in connection with this Naples slab. I regret that time does not allow me to reproduce it here. Three dancing women figures follow a male figure, who stands playing on a pipe. He does not, I think, lead the dance ; he simply accompanies it. The last woman holds a diminutive figure by the hand, who seems to join the dance.

spring. The whole scene takes place within the boundary of Pan's rocky cave. It need not of course be supposed that the cave is his particular cave at Athens; it stood for any cave, wherever the god was worshipped. In one instance of this type (fig. 9), Pan actually descends and pipes and dances with his worshippers. It would here again be hard to say whether Hermes

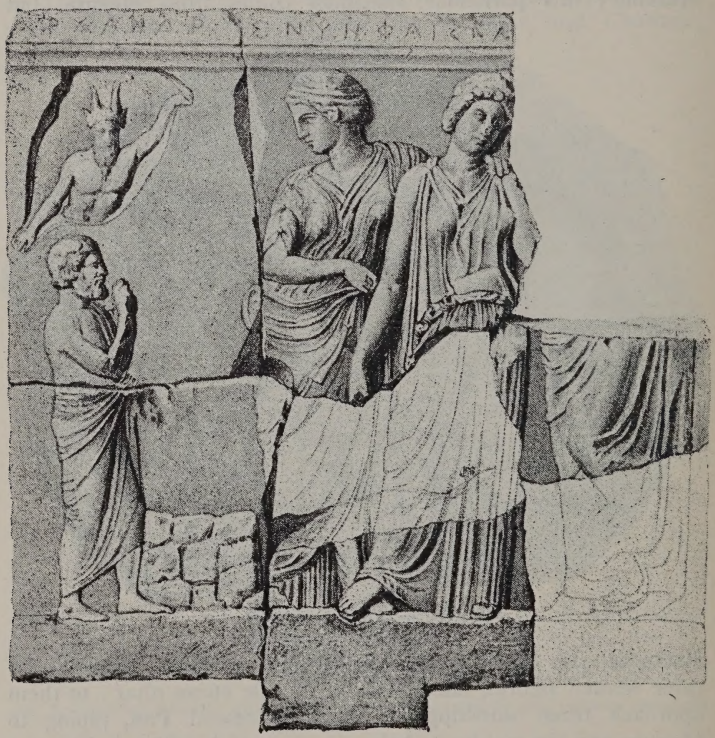


FIG. 10.—ARCHANDROS RELIEF (CENTRAL MUSEUM).

leads the Charites or the Nymphs, but that one slab (fig. 10) of similar type though earlier date is inscribed. The women figures are standing, not dancing, and Hermes is absent; Pan, too, is not piping, but looks out from a hole in the rock above. This slab was found actually within the precincts of the Asklepieion,[12] where there was an altar to Pan, the Nymphs, and other deities, so that

here there is no doubt that Pan is looking out from his Athenian cave. Above the design is inscribed—

ΑΡΧΑΝΔΡ[Ο]Σ : ΝΥΝΦΑΙΣΚΑ[ΙΠΠΑΝΙ]

—("Archandros to the Nymphs and [to Pan]"). Here undoubtedly the Nymphs are figured, but they are of the Charites type—the centre figure fronting, the other two sideways.

A very beautiful fragment of a similar scene, also found at Athens, is preserved in the Acropolis Museum (fig. 11). Pan is seated piping, but only his hairy legs remain, and enough of his arms to show by the pose that he held his pipes; to him approaches one woman figure heavily veiled, but whether a worshipper or a Charis or a Nymph can scarcely be determined, as the slab is broken.

It may be taken that the type of the three Charites in art certainly existed from early times at Athens, and it seems probable that this type influenced analogous representations of the more widely popular Nymphs. When the scene of the dance takes place in a cave and is presided over by Pan, I think it is fairly certain that the Nymphs are pictured. In actual stone images they might be seen within many a woodland cave. Just such a sight Longus[13] describes in his pastoral romance of *Daphnis and Chloe*:—"There was a grotto sacred to the Nymphs. It was a spacious rock, concave within, convex without. The images of the Nymphs themselves were carved in stone; their feet were bare, their arms naked to the shoulder, their hair falling dishevelled upon their shoulders, their raiment girt about their waists, a smile upon their brow; their whole semblance was like a troop of dancers. The dome of the grotto rose midway over the rock; water, springing from a well, ran freely, and a trim meadow stretched green and abundant before the entrance, fed by the water's dew. Within were milk-pails and cross flutes, flageolets, and shepherd's pipes suspended, the offering of many an aged herdsman."

Pan is the god of Arcadia, and any detailed examination of the origin and development of his cult is out of place at Athens. When the Athenians gave him his cave on the Acropolis he was still the cheerful healthy rustic, he was not yet the love-sick boy who pined for Syrinx, not yet the great god at whose death mysterious voices echoed over the midnight sea. There is no god with whose personality modern imagination has played stranger tricks. To study the development of his mythology is to follow out the whole history of man's attitude towards nature for twenty

FIG. 11.—PAN AND WOMAN FIGURE (ACROPOLIS MUSEUM, ATHENS).

centuries. If we wish to know the Pan, not of modern fancy but of the robust consciousness of the fifth century B.C., the safest guide is undoubtedly the Homeric hymn—

"Then straight to the seats of the gods immortal did Hermes fare,
With his child wrapped warmly up in skins of the mountain hare,
And down by the side of Zeus and the rest he made him sit,
And showed them that boy of his, and they all rejoiced at it.
But most of all Dionysos, the god of the Bacchanal,
And they called the name of him PAN, because he delighted them ALL."

To the simple faith and philology of those days Pan was Pan because he "delighted the hearts of all men." He was not yet the

"Dread opener of the mysterious doors
Leading to universal knowledge."

SECTION XXIII

AREOPAGUS

TEXT, i. 28, §§ 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 ; 29, § 1.

i. 28, 5. IN this direction lies also the Areopagus, so called because Ares was the first brought to judgment there. The legend which I have told also explains how he slew Halirrhothios, and for what reason. Later the tale runs that Orestes was brought to trial here for the murder of his mother; there is an altar to Athena Areia, which he set up on his acquittal. The white stones on which the accused and the accusers respectively stand are called the Stone of Insolence and the Stone of Shamelessness.

i. 28, 6. Near by is the sanctuary of the goddesses whom the Athenians call the Semnai (Holy Ones); but Hesiod, in the *Theogony*, calls them the Erinnyes. Æschylus was the first to describe them as having snakes among the hair upon their heads. In their images there is nothing terrible, neither is there in the representations of any of the gods of the realms below the earth. There are also Plouton and Hermes, and an image of Ge. Here sacrifices are offered by such as are acquitted of guilt on the Areopagus; they are also offered on other occasions by strangers and citizens alike.

i. 28, 7. Within the precinct is also a monument to Œdipus. After much investigation I ascertained that his bones had been brought from Thebes. Homer's account of the story prevented my believing the version of the death of Œdipus given by Sophocles. Homer relates that Mekistes, upon the death of Œdipus, went to Thebes for the funeral celebrations.

i. 28, 8. [The Athenians have other law courts that are not so celebrated as the Areopagus. The court called Parabyston (Thrust Aside) is so named because it is situated in an obscure quarter of the town, and the court meets there for very trivial matters. The Trigonon (Triangle) is named from its

shape, and the courts Batrachioun (Green) and Phoinikioun (Red), called from their colour, have retained their names to the present day. The largest and most numerous court is the Heliaea. Among courts used for the trial of homicide is the one named from the Palladion; here are judged cases of involuntary homicide. There is no doubt that Demophon was the first to be tried here, but statements differ as to the
i. 28, 9. reason. The story is that, after the capture of Ilion, Diomede was sailing home, and then when night had fallen he arrived off Phaleron, and the Argives made a descent upon the land as though it had belonged to an enemy, thinking in the darkness that it was some other place and not Attica. Then, it is said, Demophon came out against them, being also on his part ignorant that the party from the ships were Argives, and he slew some of them, and seizing the Palladion, went off with it. An Athenian, who did not see Demophon coming, was knocked over by his horse and trampled to death. So Demophon was brought to trial, according to some by the relatives of the man who had been trampled to death, according
i. 28, 10. to others by the Argive State. At the Delphinion are held the trials of persons declaring that the homicide they have committed was justifiable. Such, for instance, was Theseus' plea when he was acquitted after slaying Pallas and his sons, who had rebelled against him. Before the acquittal of Theseus every person who had slain a man had to go into exile or suffer death in requital if he stayed. In the court at the Prytaneion iron and other inanimate objects are brought to trial. The custom arose, I imagine, as follows. When Erechtheus was king of the Athenians, there first took place the slaying of the ox at the altar of Zeus Polieus by the Bouphonos, who, leaving his axe on the spot, fled out of the country. The axe was straightway brought to trial and
i. 28, 11. acquitted, and the trial takes place annually. Some other inanimate things are said to have inflicted of their own accord deserved punishment upon men. The best and most celebrated example is furnished by the scimitar of Cambyses. There is a court in the Peiraeus, by the seashore, called Phreattys. Here exiles against whom a second charge is brought during their banishment make their defence from shipboard to judges sitting on the land. Legend says that Teucer was the first so to defend himself before Telamon when charged with having contributed to the death of Ajax. Enough has now, I hope, been said on this subject for the sake of those who are interested in the law-courts.]

i. 29, 1. Near the Areopagus is shown a ship made for the Panathenaic procession. This ship is perhaps not unsurpassed; but I know of none superior to the vessel at Delos, which has nine banks of oars below the decks.

COMMENTARY ON i. 28, §§ 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11 ; 29, § 1.

Leaving the Acropolis Pausanias passes to the twin hill, the Areopagus. There he notes—

1. An altar of Athene Areia.
2. Two white stones.
3. The shrine of the Semnai.
4. Statues of Plouton, Hermes, and Gaia.
5. The tomb of Œdipus.
   (In a digression several other Athenian courts of law.)
6. The Panathenaic ship.

(1) He had previously (p. 75), it will be remembered, noticed the temple of Ares which stood on the north slope of the hill; he has now made the complete circuit of the Acropolis, and is back in the neighbourhood of the agora. None of the smaller monuments he mentions can now be identified, but a deep chasm on the north-east side of the hill, near the top (fig. 12), is generally supposed to be connected with the shrine of the Semnai. The whole place was sacred to the most awful associations. Mythology had here lent to the majesty of the law a most solemn background.

Before passing to the investigation of some important mythological points it may be worth while to quote[14] a summary of the powers exercised by the Areopagus. These, before the reforms of Ephialtes, were of two kinds, definite and indefinite. The definite powers were:—(1) a limited criminal jurisdiction ; (2) the supreme direction of religious worship, especially of the cultus of the Eumenides. The indefinite powers were :—(1) a general supervision of all magistrates and law-courts ; (2) a general guardianship of the laws, with the right of protest (although not of veto) when proposed new laws conflicted with the old ; (3) a general control of the education of the young ; (4) a general censorship of public morals ; (5) competence to assume in emergencies of the State a dictatorial authority. Ephialtes abolished most of the indefinite powers ; he thereby deprived the court of its strongest influence ; it became merely a "criminal court of narrow competence." It still, however, retained its moral and religious prestige. Isocrates in his *Areiopagitikos*, a plea for the restoration of its powers, says

that "bad men became good when they were made members of the college. They met by night, probably at first for some obscure ritual reason, but later men thought it was as Lucian says, that by trying the cause in the dark they might attend, not to those who speak, but to that which was spoken. And because the trial was for blood, they met in the open air, that so the accuser might not be defiled by being under one roof with the accused." While the dark cleft remained beneath the brow of the hill it was not possible to forget that there the torchlight

FIG. 12.—VIEW OF AREOPAGUS, SHOWING CLEFT OF EUMENIDES.

procession wound to the sacred cave, and they who were before Furies became, for the favoured city, Eumenides. While the altar of Athene Areia still stood, Athene uttered her great installation speech—

> "This court majestic, incorruptible,
> Instant in anger over those who sleep,
> The sleepless watcher of my land I set."

The connection of the hill with Ares is not free from difficulty; the ancients felt it, for they invented two stories to account for it.

According to the one followed by Pausanias, it was on account of the murder of Halirrhothios. Ares had to wife Agraulos, daughter of Erechtheus, and their daughter was Alkippe; Halirrhothios did violence to her near the fountain in the precinct of Asklepios that bears his name (p. 297); Ares in vengeance slew Halirrhothios; he was arraigned before the assembly of the gods on the Areopagus, and by them acquitted; then Ares himself founded the court for the trial of blood-guiltiness. This sort of story is common enough in mythology. A god is found in historical times presiding over some particular form of trial; to account for his presidence, mythology says he was the first acquitted criminal. The second etymology (given by Æschylus)[15] connects the hill with the Amazons, daughters of Ares; when they laid siege to Athens they first on this hill sacrificed to the war-god, and hence the name. Both stories bear the impress of ætiology. It may be conjectured that Ares himself at Athens is but an attributive form of Zeus Areios and Athene Areia. There was an altar of Zeus Areios[16] at Olympia—at least it was so popularly explained—where Oinomaos sacrificed before the race, and which had, so far as can be seen, nothing to do with war. It was the custom in Epirus for the king on his accession to sacrifice with his people to Zeus Areios,[17] and take with them mutual oaths; the kings were sworn "to govern according to the law," and the people to "defend the king according to law." Such ceremonies as these are much more in keeping with the general character of the Areopagus than any cult of a mere war-god. The only other notice we have of the regular worship of Athene Areia is in the account Pausanias gives of Plataea.[18] There he saw a temple built from the spoils of the battle of Marathon, and it contained a statue of Athene Areia made of wood, but gilt all over, the head, fingers, and toes being of Pentelic marble. This, however, being a late foundation, does not help to decide whether the original functions of Athene Areia were warlike or not; nor does the late imperial coinage of Pergamos and Ephesus, on both of which the name of Athene Areia is inscribed, help us farther. To the real origin of the name and functions of the Areopagus I return later.

(2) The two white stones called respectively Insolence and Shamelessness seem to have been connected, though Pausanias says nothing about it, with the story of Kylon. Those who murdered him became accursed in the sight of the goddess

Athene (ἐναγεῖς τῆς θέου), and Epimenides, when sent for from Crete[19] to devise some means of expiation, counselled the Athenians among other things to erect two altars to Insolence and Shamelessness, and the place where they were built went apparently by the name of Kyloneion. The stones were probably near the altars, though we need not suppose they were identical.

Near to the Kyloneion[20] was a heröon of Hesychos, whose descendants, the Hesychidae (the Silent Ones), were priestesses to the Semnai.

When the chorus of Attic elders (*Œd. Col.*, 470) instruct Œdipus as to the ritual to be observed in approaching the Eumenides, they bid him crown the bowls with the freshly-shorn wool of a ewe lamb, and pour his drink-offering of water and honey only, with no wine, in *three* streams upon the ground; and then laying upon the ground *thrice* nine sprigs of olive, he is to make his prayer. This prayer he is to "speak inaudibly," "not to lift up his voice" (ἄπυστα φωνῶν μηδὲ μηκύνων βοήν). The scholiast on the passage sees what might have escaped our notice —*i.e.*, that the ritual concerns not only the two Eumenides, but a third power, the hero Hesychos (the Silent One). He writes: —"This he says from the sacrifice performed to the Eumenides —'For in *silence* they perform the sacred ritual, and on account of this the descendants of Hesychos sacrifice to them.' As Polemon says in his discourses against Eratosthenes, writing as follows—'The tribe of the Eupatridae do not take part in this sacrifice;' and further, 'The Hesychidae take part in this procession, for the tribe have to do with the Semnai, and hold the precedency, and before the sacrifice they offer a ram as a sacrifice to the hero Hesychos, for they call him by this name because of the sacred silence. His shrine is alongside of the Kyloneion, outside the Nine Gates.' And Apollodorus, in the 17th book of his work *On the Gods*, speaks about the tribe of the Hesychidae and the priesthood; and Kallimachos writes—'The Hesychidae had for their part, as priestesses, ever to burn the wineless sacrifice and honey cakes to them' (*i.e.*, the Semnai)." From this commentary it is clear we have lost much valuable information. Polemon and Apollodorus would have given us many a curious detail. But happily we have just enough to reconstruct a picture, if a dim one, of the cult of Hesychos. The ancient under-world deities loved to dwell together in trinities—sometimes two goddesses and a god; sometimes a pair, god

and goddess, and a supplementary hero. At Eleusis we have the god and the goddess, who made up their trinity by the addition of Eubouleus; and, again, the two goddesses Demeter and Persephone, who, with their attendant Triptolemos, had taken up their abode in the Eleusinion to the south of the Areopagus. But they might not displace an earlier trinity. The two Semnai were there at the rocky cleft, and the hero Hesychos—the two Venerable Ones, as vague in their title as the Two Goddesses, and with them for third was the Silent One. The Silent One ended by getting rather passed over in silence. But for the scholiast, it would be quite possible to read the *Œdipus Coloneus* without a thought of him. But I have not the shadow of a doubt that Dr. Loeschke * is right, and that the prayer to the god unnamed by Œdipus is addressed to him. Œdipus invokes the goddesses of the earth, the Semnai, and then prays to "Him, the Giver of Eternal Sleep." Who should it be but the Silent One? Nor will it be forgotten that when, at the close of the play, the Eumenides pass in solemn procession to their cave, the chorus sing the refrain of *Silence*—[20a]

> "Pass to your home thus augustly estated,
> Come, O mysterious maidens; come, offspring of Night
> (And *silence* all for our sacred song).
> Ages your cavernous portal hath waited,
> Come ye with sacrifice offered, with worship and rite
> (And *silence* all as we wend along)."
>
> (*Eum.* 904.)

No doubt the εὐφαμεῖτε ("keep silence") might be said at a solemn procession, but it gains a strange new significance with the dim figure of Hesychos in the background. Later days might think him merely a personification of a sacred observance, but surely the Silent Hero is as old and as real a figure as the Sacred Ones. To them I must pass.

(3) Pausanias claims the name Semnai (the Sacred Ones) as of specially Attic application; and again, in describing the worship of the Eumenides at Titane he makes a similar statement:—[21] "There is a temple of the goddesses whom the Athenians call Semnai, but the Sicyonians call them Eumenides. And every year they keep a festival to them on a fixed day, and sacrifice pregnant ewes, and their custom is to pour libations of honey

* *Dorpater Programm* (1883), p. 16.

and milk, and to have chaplets of flowers." He adds that "the same rites are gone through by the Moirai (Fates), but in the open air." No doubt the regular cultus name of the Eumenides at Athens was Semnai, but that they were also called Eumenides, at least at Kolonos, is clear from the *Œdipus Coloneus*:—[22]

"*Stranger.* This ground inviolable, whereon none may dwell, for the dread goddesses hold it, the daughters of Earth and Darkness.

"*Œdipus.* Who may they be whose awful name I am to hear and invoke?

"*Stranger.* The all-seeing Eumenides, the folk here would call them, but other names please otherwhere."

This shifting character of their names points to mixed elements in the cult. Pausanias also seems surprised to find the Furies, whom he knew from Hesiod, represented by images nowise horrible. These images, we know from a scholiast[23] on Æschylus, were made by Kalamis and Scopas—the centre one by Kalamis, the two to either side, made of lychnites stone, by Scopas. This is confirmed by Clemens Alexandrinus.[24] The scholiast[25] on *Œdipus Coloneus*, v. 39, says that Phylarchos reported that there were two Eumenides and two statues of them at Athens, but Polemon said there were three; Phylarchos may have referred to the two by Scopas. It seems very likely that Kalamis made three, but that two got damaged and were replaced by Scopas. The Athenians in the days of Æschylus were, in fact, in this mythological difficulty: There was an old cult of two under-world goddesses associated with a natural chasm. These goddesses were mild of character, were worshipped with a gentle and bloodless ritual, had statues of beneficent appearance. They lent to the hill on which they dwelt, much awe but no horror. They were clearly, as at Sikyon—witness the sacrifice of pregnant ewes—goddesses of the fertility of the lower earth, near akin to Hermes Chthonios, and Plouton and Gaia.

As the judicial aspect of the Areopagus grew and developed, the story of the great typical blood trial of Orestes became associated with the hill, from a natural desire to obtain a conspicuous mythological archetype. Orestes was pursued by Furies, under-world goddesses, but cruel, relentless. They had to be fitted in with the already resident Semnai, hence the Æschylean transformation scene. This transformation, once effected on grounds of mythological necessity, became to the Athenians a beautiful emblem of their own passage from barbarism to clemency. To borrow Professor

Jebb's[26] words—"The ancient rigour which required that bloodshed, whether deliberate or not, should be expiated by blood, was expressed by the older idea of the Erinyes, the implacable pursuers. The metamorphosis of the Erinyes into the Eumenides corresponds with a later and milder sense that bloodshed is compatible with varying degrees of guilt, varying from premeditated murder to homicide in self-defence or by accident. Athenian legend claimed that this transformation of the Avengers took place in Attica, and that the institution of the court of the Areopagus marked the moment. The claim was a mythical expression of qualities which history attests in the Athenian character, and of which the Athenians themselves were conscious as distinguishing them from other Greeks. It was Athenian to temper the letter of the law with considerations of equity (τὸ ἐπιεικές), to use clemency, to feel compassion (αἰδώς) for unmerited misfortune, to shelter the oppressed, to restrict the sphere of violence . . . The first session of the tribunal on the Hill of Ares was, in Attic story, the first occasion on which this humane character asserted itself against a hitherto inflexible precedent. Orestes slew his mother to avenge his father, whom she had slain, and the Erinyes demanded his blood. He is tried and acquitted, but not by the Erinyes, by Athene and her Athenian court. The Erinyes are the accusers, and Apollo is counsel for the prisoner. Then it is, after the acquittal of Orestes, that Athene's gentle pleading effects a change in the defeated Avengers. They cease to be the Erinyes, they become the Benign or Majestic goddesses ('Eumenides,' 'Semnai'), and are installed as guardian deities of Attica in a shrine beneath the Areopagus. Henceforth they are symbols of the spirit which presided over the Attic criminal law of homicide (φόνος), so remarkable for its combination of the unbending religious view in which bloodshed was always a pollution, with a finely graduated scale of moral guilt, and with ample provision for the exercise of clemency."

So mythology is beautifully explained by the modern commentator; so it was understood by the Athenians themselves; but so mythology is not made. The old earth-goddesses, the Venerable Ones, were there watching the cleft before the coming of the sensational Furies. We have to reverse the tale with its beautiful interpretation, or rather perhaps we have to furnish it with an unlooked-for prologue.

The series of Eumenides reliefs found near Argos,[27] and

preserved in the museum there, show the goddesses in their gentle

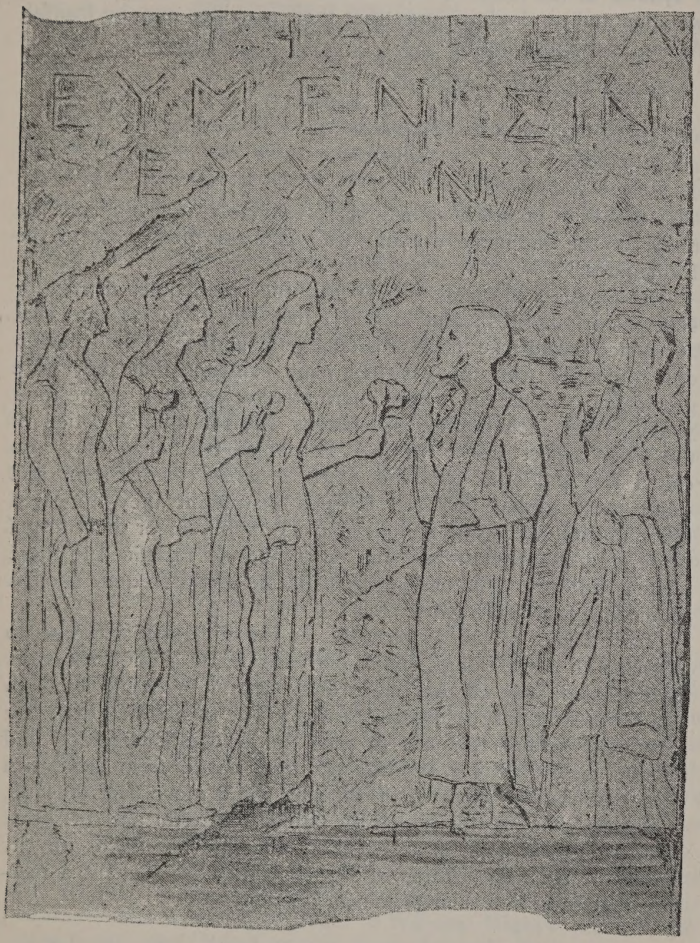


FIG. 13.—EUMENIDES RELIEF (ARGOS MUSEUM).

aspect. One instance is given in fig. 13. The three sisters advance, each carrying in the right hand a pomegranate, in

the left a snake; but the snake is no weapon of torture, only a symbol of the lower earth. A man and his wife approach to worship, and no doubt to pray that their marriage may be fruitful. Above is the inscription—

. . . η Ἀργεία (?)
Εὐμενίσιν
εὐχάν.

The top line is much damaged; presumably it contained the name of the suppliant woman, who dedicates her "vow to the Eumenides."

But for the snakes, we should take the three quiet figures for Nymphs or Charites; and indeed Pausanias (i. 34, 3) says that at a place called Ake it was customary to sacrifice to the Eumenides conjointly with the Charites, plain evidence that they were goddesses of increase. Even here at Ake, however, where their worship had such gentle associations, the sensational notion of the Fury aspect had crept in. Pausanias tells how they also called the goddesses and the place *Maniae* (madnesses), and when they wanted to drive Orestes distraught they appeared black to him, and when he had gnawed off his finger they turned white, and the sight made him sane, and he sacrificed to these white goddesses. Statues in black marble would be quite enough to account for such a story.

This aspect of the Eumenides, as the givers of increase to earth, to all living things, comes out very clearly in the *Eumenides* of Æschylus; and we may be sure he was not inventing for them a new function, only rehearsing an old. The chorus of Furies ask after what fashion they are to bless the land as Eumenides, and Athene makes answer, "Blessings from earth, from sea-drawn dew, and from the sky; let the blowing winds move over the land, breathing fair weather; let the fruits of earth and of beast increase to our folk in never-tired abundance. Such are thy benefits." And the chorus of Furies-Eumenides[28] chant a measure that suits well their primeval function—

"No wind to wither trees shall blow
(By our grace it shall be so);
Nor that, nor heat that scorches buds
May enter here from their abodes,
Nor any plague of dismal blight come creeping;

But teeming doubled flocks the earth
In her season shall bring forth,
And evermore a wealthy race
Pay reverence for this our grace
Of gods that have the rich earth in their keeping."
(Æschylus, *Eumenides*, 938-948.)

Near to the Semnai were well in place statues of Ploutos, god of the riches of the lower world; Ploutos, who eventually supplanted in the popular mind Hesychos, Eubouleus, and no doubt many another god of the various local Trinities. Well in place, too, was Hermes as Chthonios, and Gaia herself. And not far away from the shrine of the Silent One and the precinct of the Semnai—who, be it remembered, bade the wind that blasted the tree not blow (δενδροπήμων δὲ μὴ πνέοι βλάβα, *Eum.*, 938)—was that altar of the Eudanemoi (of the Wind-Sleepers), of which we know so little.

The tomb of Œdipus, by a double tradition, was placed here as well as at Kolonos, for a reason noted below. The passage of Homer alluded to by Pausanias is no doubt *Iliad*, xxiii. 677—"Mekisteus, son of Talaos Mekisteus, who came on a time to Thebes when Œdipus had fallen to his burial, and there he overcame all the sons of Cadmus."[29] Valerius Maximus[30] speaks of the tomb of Œdipus as between the Areopagus and Acropolis; the precinct of the Semnai may have extended right down into the intervening valley.

I have kept to the end what seems to me the true solution of the question as to the original character of the Areopagus. Whatever may have been the origin of the Ares worship at Athens, it is, I think, obvious from the two helpless ætiological myths current that he had originally nothing whatever to do with the Areopagus. Only by a false etymology is it the Hill of Ares. The Semnai with their mysterious chasm; the gods of the lower world, Hermes and Ploutos; Hesychos, hero of silence—these and not the raging war-god are the real tutelary deities of the place. In the *Eumenides* of Æschylus the leader of the chorus[31] lets out the secret. "We are Night's eternal children," she says, "and in our home beneath the earth we are named Arae, the Curses." The Areopagus is the Hill of the Arae, the Curses or Imprecations, the dread power of the lower world. Once grant this, and all becomes clear: the double nature of the goddesses—the Imprecations for good and for evil,

the Curse and the Blessing, the Blessing that came from the lower earth on flock and field. The law-court association is in this view easy enough: it was the place for the solemn irrevocable oath, the natural court for the trial of terrible offences of blood-shedding that might not be tried under a roof. Moreover, as Dr. Robert[32] has pointed out, "the Areopagus was to the early city the place *without* the gates, and a place that could not be within a citadel, a place to condemn the criminal, to erect a monument for the outcast tyrant, to bury the stranger." It is most curious how this notion of keeping the cult of the Semnai outside the gates clung to the Athenian mind. It was originally outside the gates; but when the limits of the city increased, and the agora and its sacred buildings spread, the Hill of Curses, the cleft of the Semnai, came to be surrounded, no longer a place apart. Then was the chance for Ares to claim the hill by false etymology. But the city's conscience was awake, and they made a new Hill of Cursing, the hill Kolonos with its cleft, its Semnai, and its grave of Œdipus, safe this time beyond the walls of Themistocles.

In connection with the Areopagus Pausanias makes a digression on the subject of Athenian law-courts in general. The only interest, from a mythological point of view, of his account is that it affords a good instance of the inveterate love of the Athenians, and indeed the Greeks in general, for connecting their historical institutions with a mythological past. They had, for example, a court called the Palladion, presumably in some connection with the worship of Athene as Pallas, and they immediately fabricate an ætiological myth to connect it *viâ* Demophon, the Attic hero, with the Palladion of Troy.

The passage about the ship is of interest, from the comparison Pausanias makes between the Panathenaic ship and the ship of Theseus, though Pausanias does not seem aware that there may be between the two any real and close connection. It has been pointed out by Dr. Waldstein[33] that the prominence of the ship in the ceremony was owing in all probability to a fusion of the worship of Athene and that of Theseus with his Delphic associations. Athene had originally nothing to do with ships. From the earliest times her wooden image had year by year its new peplos, but we hear nothing of the ship till the fourth century B.C. When the great chryselephantine image of Athene with its permanent robe of gold was made, possibly the offering of the

peplos itself as a robe fell into the background. Its importance revived when this peplos became the *sail of a ship*; but that it should be so employed needs some explanation from mythology other than that of Athene Polias. When the festival of the συνοίκια of Theseus was fused with that of Athene into one great Panathenaic celebration, myths of Theseus came forward, his ship with the momentous sail, commemorated by the annual embassy to Delos, became an important feature in the Panathenaic procession, and the peplos, possibly obscured as a peplos, became reglorified as a sail.

I do not undertake to decide whether or not the central slabs of the east end of the Parthenon frieze represent the presentation of the peplos, nor, for the present purpose, is it important I should. One thing is quite certain, there is no representation of the ship on the frieze. As the frieze almost certainly represents the Panathenaic procession, had the ship at that date formed an integral part of the procession it would have been present. It is often urged that to introduce a ship would have been "contrary to plastic feeling." Here, as in the case of the birth of Athene (p. 434), I believe that to argue thus is to set up canons of art of which the Greeks knew nothing. A ship could, in the hands of a skilful artist, be quite as pleasing an element in the frieze composition as a seated god or a restive cow; it is therefore, I believe, safe to conclude, *from the evidence of the frieze alone*,[34] that the ship did not, at the time of Pheidias, form at least an important part of the procession. The earliest, and I believe the only art monument in which the ship appears is the festival calendar of the Metropolitan Church (p. 153, fig. 31), already more than once cited; the ship, in part obliterated by a Christian cross, still stands for the month Hecatombeion.

It was of course perfectly natural that the ship should stand just outside the gates; it was there it halted, unable to climb the hill; it can have had nothing whatever to do with the cults of the Areopagus. The course of the procession is well known,[35] and, with the arrangement of the agora here adopted, presents no difficulty. Starting from the outer Kerameikos, the procession passed through the Dipylon, along the "dromos" with colonnades at either side, up the regular road between the Areopagus and the Hill of the Nymphs, till the Eleusinion was reached; this precinct was rounded (*περιβάλουσαν αὐτό*), and the Pelasgikon passed (*παραμεῖψαι τὸ Πελασγικόν*), and after the ship had been carried along by the Pythion (*κομιζομένην τε παρὰ τὸ Πύθιον*) it

came to where it was now moored. So long as it was supposed that by the Pythion was meant the temple of Apollo down near the Olympieion, the ship had to be taken right round the Acropolis to the Ilissus. Now, adopting Dr. Dörpfeld's view, already cited, that the Pythion is the old shrine of Apollo near Pan's cave, this makes a natural goal, and brings the ship to be moored just here in front of the Acropolis gates.

SECTION XXIV

STREET OF TOMBS

TEXT, i. 29, §§ 2-8, 10-16.

i. 29, 2. OUTSIDE the city in the demes, and along the roads, the Athenians also have sanctuaries of the gods and tombs of demi-gods and men. Close to the city is the Academy, once belonging to a private individual but in my time a gymnasium. On the way to the Academy is the precinct of Artemis, with wooden images of Ariste and Calliste. In my own belief, confirmed by the poems of Sappho, these are epithets of Artemis ; another explanation is given, but that I shall omit. There is also a temple of no great size, to which the image of Dionysos Eleuthereus is conducted every year on appointed days. The above are the sanctuaries of the gods on the road to the Academy.

i. 29, 3. Of tombs there are, in the first place, the tomb of Thrasybulus, the son of Lykos, a man greater in all respects than any of the illustrious Athenians who went before or came after him. I will pass over the greater part of his life, and only mention the following in proof of my assertion. It was Thrasybulus who, starting from Thebes with only sixty men, overthrew the tyranny of the Thirty Tyrants. He also brought about a reconciliation between the factions of the Athenians, and induced them to come to an agreement and abide by it. His is the first tomb, and next to it are those of Pericles,

i. 29, 4. Chabrias, and Phormio. There are also monuments to all Athenians who came by their death in battle by sea or land, except to those that fought at Marathon ; for these have their tombs upon the place itself as a memorial of their bravery. But the rest are buried beside the road which leads to the Academy, and upon the tombs are set up stones telling the name and deme of each man.

First are buried those who, after conquering the country as

far as Drabiskos in Thrace, were slain by the Edoni in an unexpected attack. It is said that thunderbolts also were
i. 29, 5. hurled upon them. Among the generals were Leagros, who was chief in command, and the Dekeleian Sophanes, who killed a former victor in the Pentathlon at Nemea, Eurybates, the Argive, fighting on the side of the Æginetans. . . .

i. 29, 6. In front of this monument is a stone on which are two horsemen fighting; their names are Melanopos and Makartatos, who fell when the Athenians confronted the Lacedaemonians and Boeotians on the boundary between the territory of Eleon and Tanagra. There is also the tomb of the Thessalian cavalry, who came to help for the sake of old alliance when the Peloponnesians under Archidamos invaded Attica for the first time. Near by is a monument to some Cretan bowmen. Then come more Athenian monuments, that of Cleisthenes, who arranged the Attic tribes as they still exist, and that of the cavalry who fell in the same perilous
i. 29, 7. service as the Thessalians. There also are buried the Kleonaians who came into Attica with the Argives. I will state the occasion when I come to talk of the Argives. There, too, is the tomb of the Athenians who fought against the Æginetans, before the Persian invasion.

And we see the just policy of a Demos in the fact that the Athenians themselves granted public burial to slaves and inscribed their names upon the stone, which declares that the slaves proved themselves brave in battle along with their masters.

There are other memorials of distinguished men who fell in various places; for there are the tombs of the most illustrious of those who went against Olynthus, and of Melesander, who sailed up the Maeander into Upper Caria,
i. 29, 8. and of those who fell in the war against Cassander, and of those who once helped the Argives. . . .

i. 29, 10. The following also I may enumerate:—Apollodorus, the leader of the mercenaries, but himself an Athenian, who, being sent by Arsites, satrap of Phrygia-on-the-Hellespont, protected the city of the Perinthians when Philip invaded Perinthia. This Apollodorus, then, is buried here, and also Euboulos, the son of Spintharos, and some men who, although brave, did not meet with good fortune—namely, those who conspired against Lachares the tyrant, and those who planned the taking of the Peiraeus when the Macedonians were in garrison there, but who were betrayed and put to death before accomplishing the deed.

i. 29, 11. There are also buried the men who fell at Corinth. This event, with the later battle in Leuktra, offers a remarkable proof how powerless without the aid of fortune is a valour recognised by Hellas, for the Lacedaemonians who on that

occasion defeated the Corinthians and Athenians, together with the Boeotians and Argives, were later themselves completely worsted at Leuktra by the Boeotians alone.

After those who died at Corinth, an inscription in elegiacs records that a stone was set up in honour of those who fell in Euboea and Chios, and the same stone commemorates those who were killed in the most distant parts of the mainland of
i. 29, 12. Asia, and those who died in Sicily. There are inscribed the names of the generals, with the exception of Nikias, and those of the soldiers who were Plataeans, as well as the Athenians. Nikias was omitted for this reason, according to Philistos, whom I follow. He says that Demosthenes made terms for all except himself, and when he was taken, tried to kill himself, whereas Nikias willingly surrendered; for which reason Nikias's name was not inscribed on the pillar, since he was convicted of being a voluntary captive and no soldier or fit for war.

i. 29, 13. On another stone are the names of those who fought in Thrace and in Megara, and on the occasion when Alcibiades induced the Arcadians of Mantineia and the Eleians to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, and those who defeated the Syracusans before the arrival of Demosthenes in Sicily.

There are also buried those who fought in the naval battles of the Hellespont, and those who opposed the Macedonians at Chaeronea, and those who went against Amphipolis under Cleon, and those who fell at Delium in the land of Tanagra, and those whom Leosthenes led into Thessaly, and those who sailed to Cyprus with Cimon, and those (only thirteen in number) who joined Olympiodorus in the feat of expelling the garrison.

i. 29, 14. The Athenians say that when the Romans were engaged in a war with one of their neighbours, a small contingent was sent from Athens, and that later five Attic triremes took part in a naval engagement between the Romans and Carthaginians. Accordingly, these men too have a tomb here.

I have already recounted the deeds of Tolmides and the men with him, and the manner of their death; the reader may like to learn that they too are buried beside this road. Here also are buried those who under Cimon won the great
i. 29, 15. battle by land and sea on the same day. Here also are the tombs of Konon and Timotheos, a second father and son who, like Miltiades and Cimon, performed most illustrious actions. Here also lie Zeno, the son of Mnaseas, and Chrysippus of Soli; Nikias, the son of Nikomedes, the best animal painter of his day; Harmodios and Aristogeiton, who slew Hipparchos, the son of Peisistratos; and the statesman Ephialtes, who

was largely instrumental in destroying the jurisdiction of the Areopagite court, and Lycurgus, the son of Lykophron.

i. 29, 16. Lycurgus obtained for public works a sum exceeding what Pericles, son of Xanthippos, raised, by six thousand five hundred talents. It was he who arranged the procession in honour of the goddess, and made the golden figures of Nike, and gave robes to a hundred maidens; and for war he provided armour and missiles, and raised the war triremes to four hundred. In the way of buildings, he completed the theatre which had been begun by others, and during his tenure of power himself built the docks at the Peiraeus, and the gymnasium close to what is called the Lykeion. All the gold and silver work was removed during the despotism of Lachares; but the buildings still existed in my time.

Commentary on i. 29, §§ 2-8, 10-16.

With the account of the Areopagus the description by Pausanias of the city proper ends, but there are outlying demes and roads leading to them which contain noteworthy shrines to gods and men. Of these he selects as nearest and most important the Academy and the road by which it was approached. We shall follow him no farther than the hill Kolonos, where his account of the actual suburbs of Athens ends. He describes in order—

1. The shrines and tombs he saw on his way to the Academy.
2. The Academy itself, the monuments in and about it.
3. The hill Kolonos and its adjacent monuments.

From the Dipylon Gate (see plan) there branched out three roads, which require to be distinguished as follows, north to south:—

(1) The road leading to the Academy, the tombs along which he describes in detail.

(2) The Sacred Way, leading to Eleusis. The monuments along this road he describes (c. 36, 37), but as this belongs to his description, not of Athens itself but of the Attic demes, it is outside the present limits. The exact line taken by these two roads is not yet made out.

(3) The road to the Peiraeus. Along this were the private graves of Athens, a large number of which have come to light.

As one of these graves is connected with a public monument mentioned by Pausanias, it, as well as those that have mythological interest, will be briefly noted.

Before he comes to the tombs Pausanias mentions—

(1) The precinct of Artemis.
(2) A small temple of Dionysos.

The site of the precinct of Artemis is not known, but near to the Dipylon was found a small square altar of Pentelic marble bearing, in letters of Macedonian times, the following inscription:—"Mitrobates dedicated it to Artemis." A stele also came to light built into a wall near the Dipylon. It bore a long inscription recording a dedication made during the archonship of Diomedes (*circ.* 262 B.C.) by a sacred college (θίασος). The stele, it was directed, was to be set up in the temple of Artemis.[36]

It is disappointing that Pausanias will not give the "other account" of the origin of the titles of Artemis, but it seems very probable that he knew the ancient bear-story of Callisto and did not think it sufficiently creditable for repetition.

As to the temple of Dionysos "of no great size," it stood in close relation to the temple of Dionysos at Eleutherae, and to the precinct of the theatre on the south-east side of the Acropolis. This precinct contained an old image, which, it was reported (i. 38, 8), had been brought from Eleutherae, where its place was supplied by a copy. Whether this transfer had actually taken place or not, the Athenians would be sure to claim for themselves the prestige of holding the earlier image. The image of Dionysos Eleuthereus went in solemn procession to the little temple near the Academy. The temple, being only in use this once during the year, did not need to be of large size. In fact, it probably was a sort of sacred "station," and being on the road to Eleutherae it looks as if the Boeotians had exacted this transfer of the image part of the way to its original home as a sort of standing memory of the priority of their claim. Anyhow, it commemorated the fact that Dionysos entered Athens from without, a stranger god. Philostratos makes mention of this ceremony. On one occasion Herodes Atticus (Philostratos, *Vit. Soph.* ii. 549) showed his munificence by giving a great feast and sacrifice to the Athenian people, according to their tribes and families—"When the Dionysia

came round, and the image (ξόος) of Dionysos is taken to the Academy, he gave drink to citizens and strangers alike, lying upon couches of ivy."

Quite distinct appears to have been the worship of Dionysos Lenaios in the precinct already noted (pp. 13 and 21), of the Marshes (ἐν Λίμναις). The temple ἐν Λίμναις was only opened once a year. In the speech against Neaera (*Dem. c. Neaer.* p. 137) a stele is mentioned which purposely "they set up in the most ancient sanctuary of Dionysos, the most holy one—*i.e.*, that ἐν Λίμναις (in the Marshes)—so that many people might not see what was written, for that temple is opened once in the year on the 12th day of the month Anthesterion." The worship of Dionysos Eleuthereus was clearly imported. Whether that of Lenaios was indigenous cannot be said; but from the great sanctity of the precinct and its superior age this seems possible. The Lenaios image never left its temple.

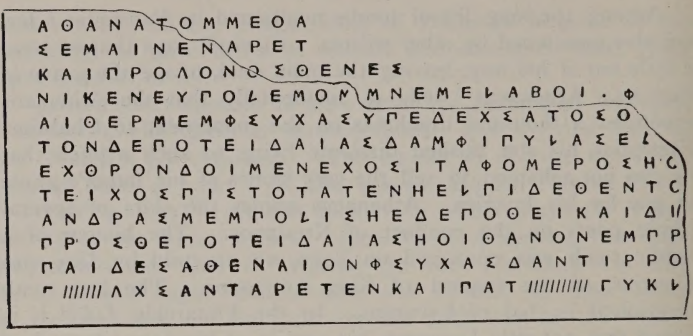
Pausanias then proceeds to his enumeration of the public graves, individual and collective, of those who lived and fell in the service of their country. He mentions, one after the other, names familiar and unfamiliar, notable and obscure, and naturally in no chronological order. My concern is with archæology and mythology; but for the sake of the historical student such points as are certain are briefly noted at the end of the section (p. 593). Two monuments Pausanias omits which presumably he saw—the monument to Solon, and that to the Scythian Toxaris. Of Solon Ælian says—[37] "They buried him at the public expense near to the gates (*i.e.*, the Dipylon), close to the wall on the right hand as you go in, and his tomb was walled round." Lucian,[38] in his *Scythian*, says—"Toxaris did not go back to Scythia, but died at Athens, and shortly after he was accounted a hero, and the Athenians dedicated a precinct to him as the Stranger Physician." He goes on to describe the monument—"On the stele is carved the image of a Scythian holding in his left hand a drawn bow and in his right a book. . . . Even now you may still see the half of the figure and all the bow and the book, but the face and the upper part of the stele seem to have suffered from the lapse of time. It stands not far from the Dipylon, on the left hand as you go towards the Academy; the mound is not a large one, and the stele is low."

Among the long list of tombs mentioned by Pausanias a few are also mentioned by other writers. Cicero[39] says that he went a little out of his way, leaving the main road, to see the grave of Pericles; Athenaeus[40] tells us incidentally that the Athenians expended a thousand drachmas on the monument to Chabrias. Ktesippos, his son, pushed dissolute living to such a pitch that he was not ashamed to sell the very stones of his father's grave to pay for his luxuries. Athenaeus quotes the skits of several comic poets on the conduct of Ktesippos. The honour of a public tomb was conferred on Zeno, we are told by Diogenes Laertius, at the request of King Antigonus. The last tomb mentioned is that of Lycurgus. In the Plutarchic *Life*[41] it is stated that not only Lycurgus but certain of his descendants had public burial, and their monuments stood opposite the Paeonian Athene, in the garden of the philosopher Melanthius. They consisted of slabs set up and inscribed with the names of Lycurgus and of his children, and were preserved up to the writer's own time.

Actually *in situ* on the road to the Academy but one funeral monument remains, and that in very fragmentary condition. It stands about 300 metres to the north-west of the Dipylon; the masonry is of Roman date. Happily, more explicit evidence of inscriptions can in three cases be adduced to show the accuracy of the account of Pausanias. These inscriptions have been found belonging to public monuments erected to those who fell in battle—

(1) At Potidaia.
(2) On the Hellespont.
(3) At Corinth.

And of these Pausanias saw and noted the two last. The inscription in honour of those who fell at Potidaia[42] is in the British Museum. When first found it was in better condition than at present. If the account then given may be trusted, the inscription was surmounted by a bas-relief representing three naked warriors armed with spears, shields, and helmets. Of this representation no trace now remains, and with it some of the letters to the right hand given in the original copy have fallen away; these are outside the line in the facsimile given below. The style of the inscriptions of these public monuments is somewhat pompous and heavy, unlike the restrained simplicity of private inscriptions.



The elegiacs run as follows, restored as far as possible—

Ἀθάνατομμεοα
σημαίνειν ἀρετ[ὴν
καὶ προγόνω[ν] σθέν[ος] ἐσ[θλὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔχοντες]
νίκην εὐπόλεμον μνῆμ' ἔλαβον [σ]φ[έτερον].

Αἰθὴρ μέμψυχας ὑπεδέξατο σω[μάτα δὲ χθὼν]
τῶνδε. Ποτειδαίας δ' ἀμφὶ πύλας ἔδ[αμεν]
ἐχθρῶν δ' οἳ μὲν ἔχουσι τάφου μέρος ο[ἳ δὲ φυγόντες]
τεῖχος πιστοτάτην ἐλπίδ' ἔθεντο [βίου].

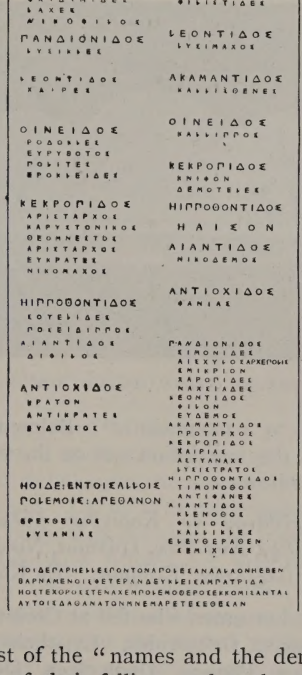
Ἄνδρας μεμπόλις ἥδε ποθεῖ καὶ δῆ[μος Ἐρεχθέως]
πρόσθε Ποτειδαίας οἳ θάνον ἐν πρ[ομάχοις]
παῖδες Ἀθηναίων ψυχὰς δ' ἀντίρρο[πα θέντες]
ἠ[λλ]άξαντ' ἀρετὴν καὶ πατ[ρίδ'] εὐκλ[είσαν].

Of which the two last complete verses may be rendered as follows :—

"High heaven took to it the breath, and earth the bodies dead
Of these. At Potidaia's gate they fell.
Their foes have some a tomb for share, and some of them who fled
Saved their dear lives within the citadel.

"Heroes, the city mourns for them, Erechtheus' people mourn,
Front of the fight, by Potidaia slain ;
Athenians, they bartered lives, in battle overborne,
For valour and a country without stain."

In the museum of the Archæological Society at Athens may be found the Hellespont inscription :—[43]



It gives the full list of the "names and the demes" of those who fell, and the place of their falling, and at the end of the long list come these elegiac lines—

> Οἵδε παρ' Ἑλλήσποντον ἀπώλεσαν ἄγλαον ἦβην
> βαρνάμενοι, σφέτεραν δ' εὐκλείσαν πατρίδα,
> ὥστ' ἐχθροὺς στενάχειν πολέμου θέρος ἐκκομίσαντας
> αὐτοῖς δ' ἀθανάτου μνῆμ' ἀρετῆς ἔθεσαν.

"These by the Hellespont gave up the splendour of their years,
Borne down in fight, but won their country fame.
The foe took home the harvest of that battlefield in tears,
For them lives still their valour's deathless name."

The inscription to those that fell at Corinth is of still greater interest; it is now in the Central Museum at Athens (no. 163 A). It came to light in 1861 near a brick kiln 250 paces to the north-west of the Hagia Trias. It is on a marble slab, which has served

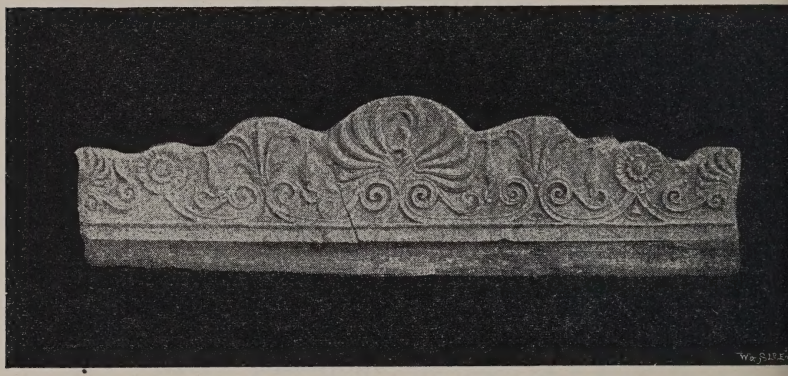


FIG. 14.—INSCRIBED CORONA (CENTRAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

as corona (fig. 14) to a monument.[44] Below the delicate architectural decoration the inscription can on the original marble still be clearly read as follows:—

οἵδε ἱππέης ἀπέθανον ἐν Κορίνθῳ· φύλαρχος Ἀντιφάνης, Μελησίας, Ὀνητορίδης, Λυσίθεος, Πάνδιος, Νικόμαχος, Θέαγγελος, Φάνης, Δημοκλέης, Δεξίλεως, Ἔνδημος. Ἐν Κορωνείᾳ Νεοκλείδης

—("These are the horsemen who fell at Corinth. The Phylarch Antiphanes, Melesias, Onetorides, Lysitheos, Pandios, Nikomachos, Theangelos, Phanes, Democlees, Dexileos, Endemos. At Coroneia Neokleides"). The names (including that of the Phylarch, which takes the first place) occupy eight columns, of which only the upper part is preserved. In all probability the lower part of the monument was taken up by some sculptured representation in memory of the heroes. The monuments of this shape preserved to us are usually surmounted by a plain pediment with the three acroteria. The architectural decoration of this

fragment keeps the triple feeling of the acroteria, but in a beautifully varied form.

No archon's name is given to date the monument, but by a most fortunate coincidence the private tomb of one of the fallen heroes, Dexileos, has been found and places the matter beyond dispute. This leads us to the consideration of what would otherwise have been somewhat beside our mark—the private burying-places of Athens. Pausanias takes no note of these ; he passes straight along the road to the Academy, lined with public graves. The space of the outer Kerameikos, and more especially the portion between the Dipylon and the Sacred Gate, seems to have been devoted to the burial of Athenian citizens and even occasionally of slaves, and excavations have shown that the ground round about the modern Church of the Holy Trinity (Hagia Trias) and extending along the road to the Peiraeus was taken up by private graves. Quite early in the present century tentative excavations were made in this outer Kerameikos, for the most part by travellers of fidelity and taste, but conducted after the dilettante fashion of the day. In 1861 a notable discovery was made. A road was in process of construction from the Place de la Concorde to the Peiraeus, and the workmen had to cut through the west side of the mound of the Hagia Trias ; they came upon a whole row of monuments which still lined *in situ* the south side of the Sacred Way. To the lasting disgrace of the engineer in charge (Mr. Daniel), he, to avoid making a slight deflection in the road, had them carted away, and in the process of removal many were broken up. In 1863 a workman accidentally lighted on another row of tombs, to which belonged the private monument of Dexileos, shortly to be discussed. Up to 1871 discoveries followed thick and fast. It is not my purpose to consider the results of these excavations ; the grave reliefs of Athens are now one of the principal attractions to even the most casual tourist, and the museums there are crowded with specimens of very varying excellence. It must be noted, however, that the perfect preservation of many of these monuments was in all probability due to an accident of war. It is generally thought that the mound on which the Hagia Trias stands, and which has yielded such a magnificent harvest, was an agger heaped up by Sulla, out of any materials that came to hand, when he was besieging Athens in 86 B.C. He took no pains to preserve monuments, but also apparently none to destroy them. Of course, if this theory be correct, Pausanias not only did not, but could not, have seen any of this series of monuments. We

have only to regret that it is the private rather than the public monuments that chance has preserved, and to congratulate ourselves that in one single instance we can bring into juxtaposition an instance of both, and, further, that both seem to illustrate the words of Pausanias.

The family tomb of Dexileos[45] has been re-erected as nearly as possible *in situ*, and is marked on the plan. Fig. 15 shows it as it stands, surrounded by the other monuments forming the Street of Tombs. A view of another portion of the excavations

FIG. 15.—STREET OF TOMBS, SHOWING FAMILY GRAVE OF DEXILEOS.

is given in fig. 16. The whole substructure was of poros stone, quadrant-shaped, and supported on its south side the stele of Dexileos, on the north side that of his relations. Their exact positions cannot be restored, as they were found already thrown down. Two tall plain stelae are inscribed with the names of Lysias, brother of Dexileos, and Melitta, his sister, with the name of Nausistratos of Spettos, probably her husband. A flat slab bears also the names of Kalliphanes and Lysanias, with that of the wife of Lysanias, Kallistrate.

To return to Dexileos himself. The monument (fig. 17) is of Pentelic marble, and represents a young warrior in chiton and

floating chlamys charging over a prostrate foe, at whom he is about to hurl his lance. The prostrate man has fallen upon his left knee, and leans on his left arm, which still grasps his shield; with his right he wields his sword in a last effort at self-defence. The original bears marks of bronze additions for reins, lance, sword, crown, and shield. Two other similar, though not identical, compositions at Berlin and the Villa Albani show that the idea was not original. In the Villa Albani relief the victor has dismounted and slays his foe on foot. Both the Berlin and Villa

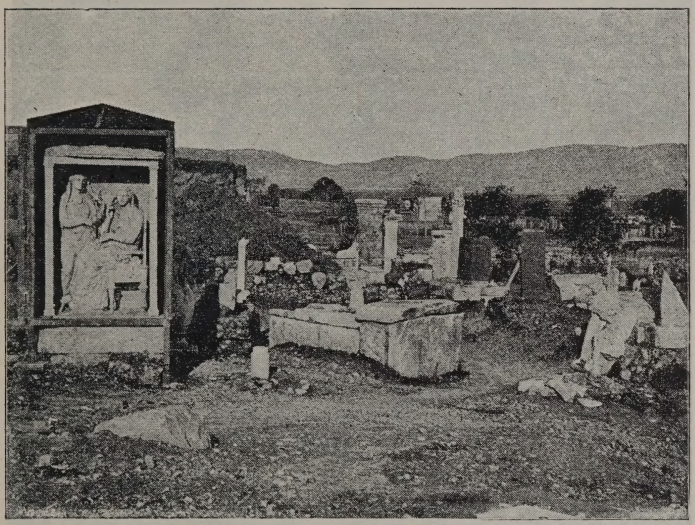


FIG. 16.—STREET OF TOMBS.

Albani reliefs are very superior in conception and execution; they are thoroughly fresh, whereas the Dexileos relief, beautiful though it undoubtedly is, savours somewhat of the mechanical, and is apt to tire the eye. Its supreme interest certainly rests in the inscription, which runs as follows, on the basis:—

Δεξίλεως Λυσανίου Θορίκιος. Ἐγένετο ἐπὶ Τεισάνδρου ἄρχοντος, ἀπέθανε ἐπ' Εὐβουλιδου, ἐγ Κορίνθωι τῶν πέντε ἱππέων—("Dexileos, son of Lysanias, of the deme of Thoricus. He was born in the archonship of Teisander; he died in the archonship of Eubulides, at Corinth, of the five knights").

Teisander—given, no doubt, incorrectly by Diodorus (xiii. 7, 21) as Peisander—was archon in 414 B.C., Eubulides in 394 B.C.,

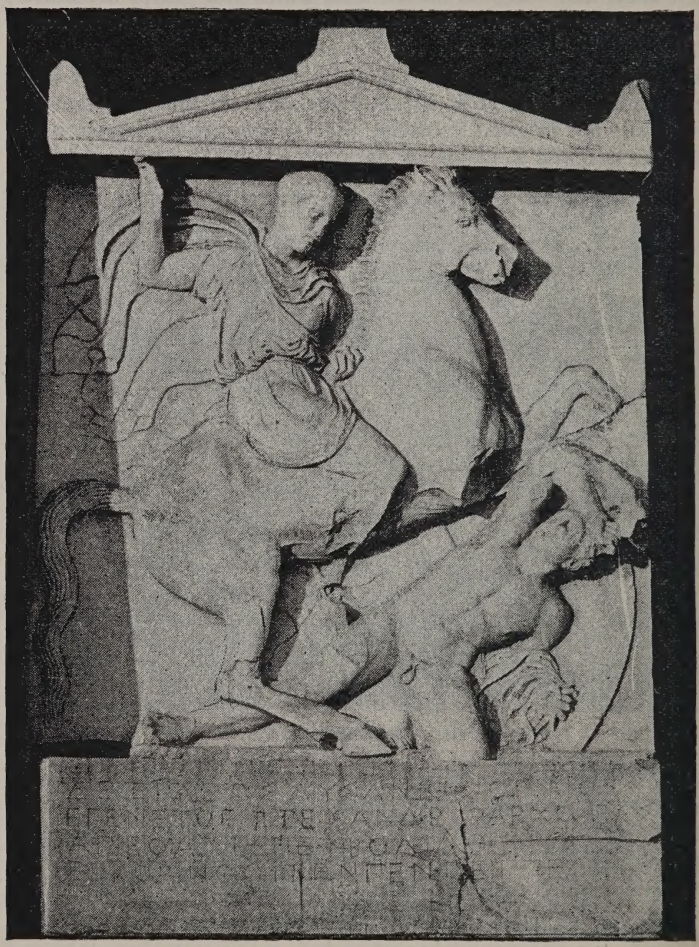


FIG. 17.—GRAVE RELIEF OF DEXILEOS.

so Dexileos was twenty when he died. The battle of Corinth is told in great detail by Xenophon (*Hell.* iv. 2, 9). There were 600

horsemen in the field, but by what deed of bravery these five fell we do not know; their fame was great at the time, or why this so brief allusion? At first it was thought that this was the tomb of the fallen at Corinth that Pausanias saw, but the inscription of the anthemion makes the case quite clear. Pausanias saw the public monument, of which we have the fragment, and which was in memory of all the knights who fell, among them Dexileos. The present sculptured tomb belongs to the private monument of Dexileos and his family, never seen by Pausanias.

To obtain a public monument in the Kerameikos was the object of every brave man's ambition. Aristophanes,[46] in the *Birds*, touches this popular chord. The two impostors say (934)—

> "A public funeral we will have,
> And the Kerameikos shall give us a grave;
> The generals are sure to believe when we tell
> How at Orneae, fighting the foe, we fell."

Demosthenes,[47] in his oration *On the Crown*, calls to witness "those who faced danger at Marathon, they who were drawn up in battle array at Plataea, those who fought the sea-fight at Salamis, and those at Artemisium, and many another brave man honoured with a public monument of those whom the city buried, deeming them all worthy of the like glory."

The manner of their burial Thucydides[48] tells—"The ceremony is as follows: Three days before the celebration they erect a tent, in which the bones of the dead are laid out, and every one brings to his own dead any offering which he pleases. At the time of the funeral the bones are placed in chests of cypress wood, which are conveyed on hearses: there is one chest for each tribe. They also carry a single empty litter, decked with a pall, for all whose bodies are missing and cannot be recovered after the battle. The procession is accompanied by any one who chooses, whether citizen or stranger, and the female relatives of the deceased are present at the place of interment and make lamentation. The public sepulchre is situated in the most beautiful spot outside the walls; there they always bury who fall in war; only after the battle of Marathon, the dead, in recognition of their pre-eminent valour, were interred on the field. When the remains have been laid in the earth, some man of known ability and high reputation, chosen by the city, delivers a suitable oration over them, after which the people depart." Such is the manner of interment. Happily one of these funeral orations is preserved to

us, spoken by Pericles over those who first fell in the Peloponnesian war. It is perhaps the proudest utterance that ever fell from the lips of mortal man; but it is the glory, not of the individual, but of the citizen, the proud witness borne by her noblest son to those who fell for Athens, "for whose sake on the battle-field their feet stood fast"—the glory too, not of sepulchres of stone, but of a lasting praise. "For of illustrious men the whole earth is the sepulchre; and not only in their own land by columns and inscriptions are they commemorated, but in foreign lands there abides also an unwritten memorial, graven, not on stone, but in the hearts of men."

The private tomb of Dexileos has been noted in detail because of its connection with the public monument of the Corinthian warriors; but the vast multitude of other private graves must be wholly passed over, except in so far as they concern mythology. In a few scattered instances, which will be noted first, the mythological interest of individual monuments is evident; that an undeniable but less manifest mythological tradition may be traced in most, if not all, the sepulchral compositions, will be shown later.

Of the actual mythological figures that appear on tombs, the two principal ones are as follows:—

(1) The Siren.
(2) Charon.

An instance of the Siren is given in fig. 18. The grave stands some distance from the Dexileos monument, on the opposite side of the road to it, but some way back off the road. On the epistyle is written the name of the dead youth, ΑΡΙΣΤΙΩΝ (Aristion), and after, in letters that are far from clear and certain, ΣΙΩΠΕΣ. The young man is sculptured below with a strigil in his raised right hand; near him an attendant slave looks up sorrowfully. Above the epistyle is a Siren with outstretched wings, beating her breast and tearing her hair. Sirens of this sort appear frequently as adjuncts to a monument, but sometimes they seem to have formed the principal part of the decoration. Several stone Sirens in the round have been discovered, and are now in the Central Museum. On an archaic black-figured lekythos (fig. 19) in the British Museum (Cat., C. 29) a grave monument of this sort is depicted: on a pillar stands the Siren,

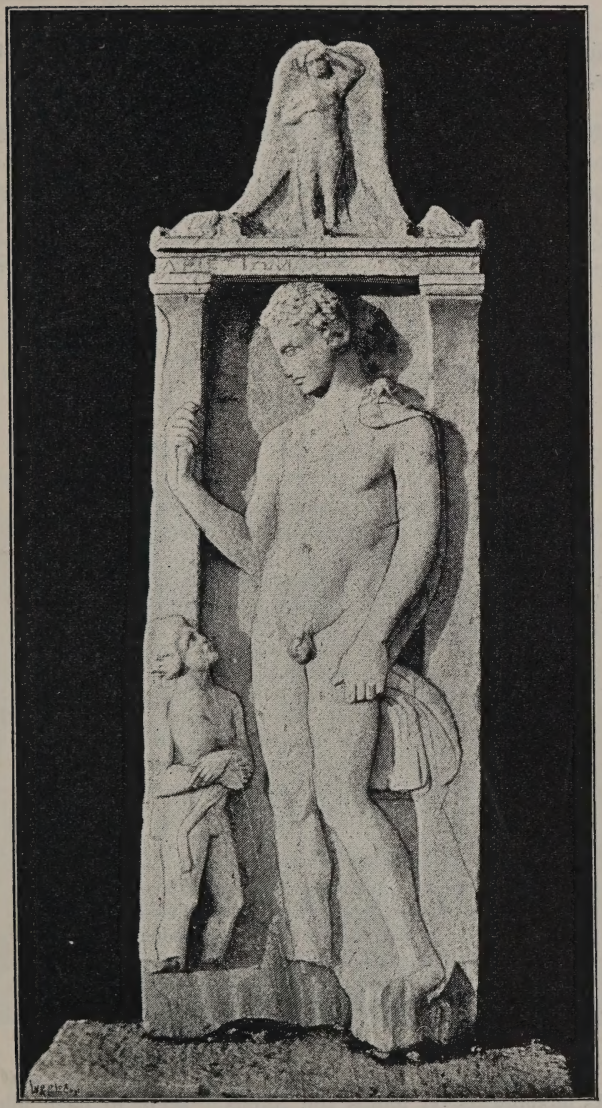


FIG. 18.—STELE OF ARISTION.

holding a lyre, on which she is playing; two men with their dogs, grouped heraldic fashion, pause to look at her. Just

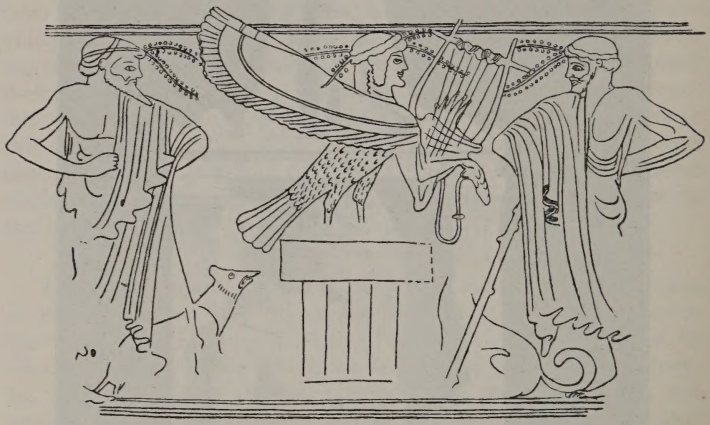


FIG. 19.—LEKYTHOS: SIREN ON PILLAR (BRITISH MUSEUM).

such a Siren adorned the grave of Baucis, according to the epitaph of Erinna—

> "Tombstones and Sirens mine, and urn of funeral
> That holds of me my little dust of death,
> To them that pass my mound, to one and all say Hail!
> To townsman and to him that travelleth,
> And say that me, a maid, the tomb holds, and say this—
> My father called me Baucis, and they know
> In Tenos them that bore me: and this epitaph, it is
> Erinna my companion writes it so."

Or again—

> "Baucis the maid lies here—oh hush, where many weep,
> But say to Hades, who in darkness dwells—
> 'Death, thou art jealous;' while this splendour of her sleep
> The most untimely fate of Baucis tells,
> How from the lights but now for the wedding march arrayed,
> Her bridegroom's father lit her funeral fires;
> And thou, O Hymenaeus, to songs for bridals made
> Did'st fit the music of Death's doleful choirs."

As monuments on tombs the Sirens[49] seem to have filled a double function; they were sweet singers, fit to be set on the

grave of poet or orator, and they were mourners to lament for the beauty of youth and maiden. It is somewhat curious that they are never sculptured on Attic tombs in the one function that makes their relation to death clearly intelligible—*i. e.*, that of death-angels. The Siren of the Attic graves must surely be somehow connected with the bird death-angels that appear on the Harpy tomb, but her function as such seems to have been usurped for Attica by the male angels Death and Sleep. The notion that the Siren destroyed as well as mourned comes out in the epitaph on Clio by Mnasalkas—[50]

> "Ah for the fatal maid whose years you wrecked at brightest bloom,
> Clio, beguiling one!
> But they that tore her now in tears are set above her tomb,
> These Sirens, carved in stone."

But this is probably a learned reminiscence of the Homeric functions of the Sirens, which seem to have had no connection

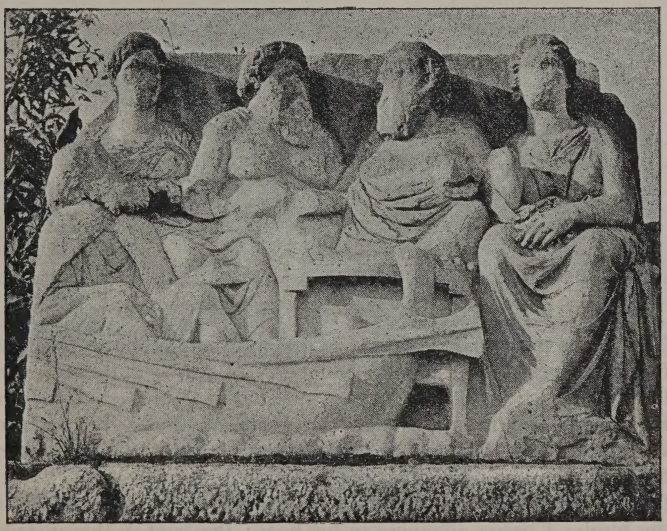


FIG. 20.—CHARON STELE (HAGIA TRIAS).

with their function as death-angels. The monument in fig. 20 is on the same side of the street with that of Dexileos, but considerably farther on; it is of Roman date, but large and impressive

in style—one of the most effective of those still left *in situ*. Two male figures recline beside a table spread with food; to either side of them is a seated woman figure; to them approaches in a boat a bearded man, who extends his hand as if in supplication. The two reclining male figures are the dead men, with their seated wives, partaking of the funeral banquet offered them at the tomb; the man in the boat is Charon, come for his share of the offerings. The identification with Charon has been contested; some would see in the figure only a fisherman, a member of the family. The presence of the table set for the banquet of the dead and the outstretched hand of the boatman make this, I think, impossible.

FIG. 21.—ATTIC LEKYTHOS: CHARON (BERLIN MUSEUM).

The scene is, in fact, to my mind a "contaminatio" of two familiar types—the "funeral banquet," of which there are countless instances; and the coming of Charon, which, but for this monument, is known only on Attic white lekythoi. That Charon was not content with his proper function of fetching souls is clear from the design in fig. 21, from a white lekythos in Berlin[51] (Cat., ii. 2681). Two maidens have come to bring offerings to the tomb; Charon advances in his boat; the boat in this instance is effaced, but the presence of the thick reeds and the pose of the boatman show that it was originally there. Charon delicately stretches out his hand and takes the offerings from the tray; beneath him are piled great melon-like fruits, part, it may be, of

the offerings he has already amassed. Here is a similar "contaminatio," but this time the two blended types are Charon and his boat, and the bringing of the ἐντάφια or offerings at the graves.

This bringing of offerings to the tomb, and the belief that prompted it, influenced the actual type of the sculptured monuments far more, as it seems to me, than is generally thought. The Greeks in early days held the faith common to many early

FIG. 22.—ATTIC LEKYTHOS: ENTAPHIA (ARCHÆOLOGICAL MUSEUM, ATHENS).

peoples, that the soul of the dead man did not wholly die, but hovered about his grave a shadowy thing, depending for its sustinence and even existence on the offerings brought by the pious survivor. This connection is gracefully expressed on a white lekythos, one of many, at Athens,[52] given in fig. 22. In the middle of the design is the grave with its sculptured stele; two maidens approach; the one bears a tray of sashes to adorn the stele, and doubtless, out of sight, other offerings; the other touches her head in token of grief, and extends the

right hand for salutation. But the noticeable point is the presence of two little winged ghosts, who flutter towards the worshippers; these undoubtedly represent the souls of the dead men who receive the offerings. These pigmy souls, however, never appear on the sculptured stele. It was a further development of the same faith that definitely influenced sepulchral sculpture, and of this development the origin and clearest expression has to be sought, not at Athens, but in the Peloponnese and most of all at Sparta.

Near to Sparta a series of reliefs[53] have been discovered which, from their large number and close similarity of composition, give a well-established type and throw much light both on Greek religious belief and also, as I believe —and this is the point in question for the moment— on the style and spirit of Greek grave reliefs in question. The relief (in fig. 23) of the Sabouroff collection, now in Berlin but found near Sparta, is the best-preserved instance of the series. Seated side by side on a carved throne, behind which is a huge bearded snake, are figures of a male and female. The man, turning full face, holds out a kantharos; the woman extends her veil with her left hand, in her right holds a pomegranate fruit. Two tiny figures approach the fruit; one bears a cock and a fruit, the second a flower and fruit, manifestly as offerings. The huge snake, the cock, and pomegranates leave no doubt that the offering is to some lower-world divinities.

FIG. 23.—GRAVE RELIEF (BERLIN MUSEUM).

It would be natural perhaps to name at once Pluto and Persephone, but it is rash to impose the orthodox and ultimately supreme Olympian names on divinities of a local cult. Reading through the Peloponnesian travels of Pausanias it is noticeable that he came upon many under-world couples bearing in different

places different names; a few of these are collected in the tabular view below—

UNDER-WORLD DEITIES

Local Cults—	
Eleusis	Θεός. Θεά.
Athens	Neleus. Basile.
Hermione	Klymenos. Chthonia.
Thespiae	Meilichios. Meilichia.
Lebadeia	Trophonios. Herkyna.
Epidauros	Asklepios. Epione.
Mykonos	Zeus Chthonios. Ge Chthonia.
Ultimately supplanted by—	
Passim	HADES (Pluto). PERSEPHONE.
Passim (later) . . .	SARAPIS. ISIS.

It is perhaps wiser to give no names to the pair of the relief, and in any case for my immediate purpose it is not necessary. A second relief (fig. 24) of similar type, but with the male figure only, leads a step further. In the middle of the slab is inscribed a name undoubtedly mortal—ΤΙΜΟΚΛΗC (Timokles). The stele commemorates Timokles, and there can be little doubt that Timokles himself is represented on it. It might be urged that he simply dedicates the slab, but there is no dedicatory formula, and no name of a god to whom dedication might be made. It is, I think, certain that we have the figure of a mortal, but of a mortal *transfigured after death into a lower-world god.* We have, in fact, an instance of the widespread custom of ancestor worship. The dead man lives, but not as Homeric fancy pictured him, a wretched shadow in the world below; rather, in the lower world he is mighty to help, a god to his descendants, and his tomb is his temple.

It may seem that this belief has little to do with the ordinary Attic grave relief. I believe it has much, and in two ways :—

(1) *As to actual composition.*—By far the larger number of Attic reliefs present this type—a seated figure approached by one or more standing figures. The beautiful and well-known stele of Hegeso may serve as an instance (fig. 25). At first sight nothing could be more simply human—a seated lady, a standing maid with a toilette-box, from which she takes a jewel. In reality it is the old hieratic Peloponnesian type ; the seated lady is the goddess,

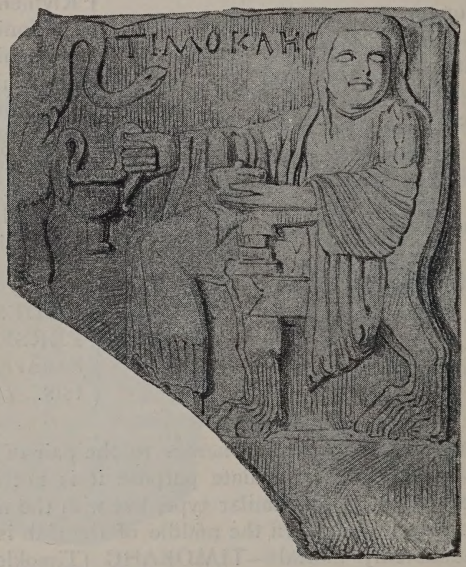


FIG. 24.—TIMOKLES RELIEF (SPARTA MUSEUM).

the maid is the approaching worshipper, the toilette-box the offering. Sometimes, as in the so-called " Leukothea " relief (fig. 26) of the Villa Albani, the analogy is still more striking. The children who come in pathetic procession to say farewell to their mother are in actual form the pigmy worshippers. I would guard my meaning from misunderstanding. I do not for a moment think that the analogy was intentional. The Athenian sculptor of the fifth and fourth century B.C. intended a purely human motive, a scene simply and plainly naturalistic, but he was heir to a great

hieratic tradition, and the heir is always the servant of the past. It has been noted how frequently the dog appears on Attic stelae; I have no hesitation in thinking that this arises, not wholly from the fondness of the Athenian for his dog, but in the fact that the dog, as has been seen in connection with Asklepios, was an attribute of the lower-world gods. In early days he crouched as a symbol beneath

FIG. 25.—HEGESO RELIEF (HAGIA TRIAS).

the god's chair; later, in naturalistic fashion, he leaps against the mortal's knee. So too the bird, so frequently held by youth and maiden, was originally the votive cock. The custom of ancestor worship influenced design also.

(2) *In the reserve with which emotion is expressed.*—Much has been said and written as to the extraordinary and almost

inhuman calm of these grave reliefs; the real main reason for this has not, so far as I know, ever been pointed out. The beautiful and touching parting scenes, the groups of women and children, are not original types; they all, as has been seen, inherit hieratic tradition, and with it hieratic calm and dignity. The woman with her toilette-box is a goddess, therefore serene; when this tradition was forgotten, scenes of unseemly distress—

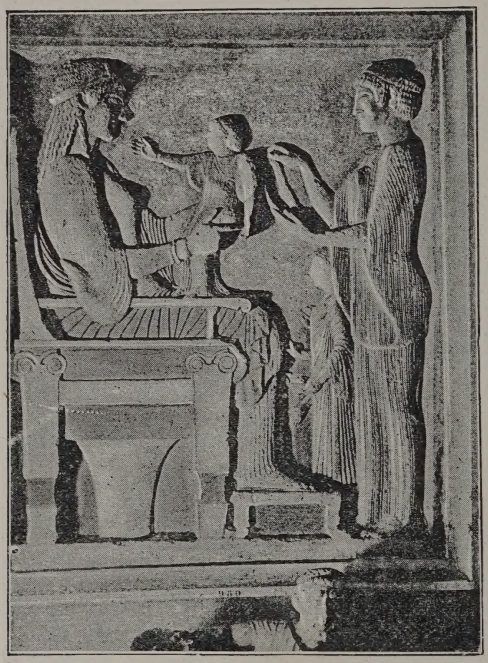


FIG. 26.—LEUKOTHEA RELIEF (VILLA ALBANI).

as, for example, the swooning lady of the Central Museum—begin to appear. It is not the fact that the Athenians of the fifth century were self-restrained, which produces the calm of their sepulchral stelae; it is not even chiefly that they regarded the expression of strong grief as inartistic; it is first and foremost because *the scene of actual human sorrow was cast in the type already fixed of divine worship.*

HISTORICAL NOTE ON THE STREET OF TOMBS

THRASYBULUS took part in the victory of Cynossema (411 B.C.), reduced the revolted cities of Thrace (407 B.C.), was superseded after the battle of Notium (407 B.C.), but took part in the victory of Arginusae (406 B.C.). He was banished by the Thirty Tyrants, but collecting a small band at Thebes, took Phyle, then with a larger force gained the Peiraeus and Munychia, and overthrew the Thirty (405 B.C.). He brought about an alliance between Athens and Thebes (395 B.C.), and, after doing good service for Athens at Byzantium, Chalcedon, and Lesbos, was killed at Aspendos (389 B.C.).

Pericles died 429 B.C.

Chabrias, after defeating the Spartans in Ægina (388 B.C.) and the Lacedaemonian fleet off Nasos (376 B.C.), commanded several different bodies of mercenaries, and was killed at the siege of Chios (357 B.C.).

Phormio was one of the Athenian generals in the Peloponnesian war, and won the victory off Naupactus (429 B.C.). He died shortly after.

The Athenians, under Leagros and Sophanes, were those who were killed at Drabeskos in the first attempt to colonise Amphipolis (465 B.C.).

Melanopos and Makartatos probably fell in the battle (457 B.C.), in which the Peloponnesians and Boeotians were engaged against the Athenians, Argives, and Thessalian cavalry. The Thessalians deserted at the beginning of the action.

The Thessalian cavalry came to help the Athenians at the time of Archidamus' invasion of Attica (431 B.C.).

The Cretan bowmen I have not been able to identify.

Cleisthenes introduced democratic reforms at Athens (510 B.C.), substituting ten local demes for the four tribes.

The Athenian cavalry next mentioned are those who fell in Attica during the invasion of Archidamus (431 B.C.).

The Kleonaians were originally independent, but seem to have become subordinate allies of the Argives about 460 B.C. The reference here is probably to those who fell during the Peloponnesian invasion of Attica.

The Athenians were engaged in a more or less desultory war with the Æginetans, who had been stirred up by the Thebans, between the years 506 and 492 B.C.

The particular occasion on which these slaves fell I have not been able to discover, but in connexion with this statement it may be noted that the slaves who had taken part in the battle of Arginusae (406 B.C.) were freed and given a modified form of citizenship, as soon as the news of the victory reached Athens. The slaves whose names were here inscribed may have fallen in some victory as popular as was Arginusae at first.

Olynthus was attacked by Philip of Macedon in 349 B.C., and taken the next year in spite of the efforts of the Athenians, stimulated by the speeches of Demosthenes.

Of Melesander I have found no further notice.

In the wars following upon the death of Alexander the Great, Cassander occupied the Peiraeus, and was there besieged by Polysperchon, but to no purpose (318 B.C.), and Athens had to capitulate.

The Argives became allies of Athens shortly after the quarrel between Athens and Sparta, which arose when the Lacedaemonians sent back the Athenian troops under Cimon, which had come to help against the Helots. The Athenians were indignant at the suspicion of want of good faith, and entered into alliance with the old enemies of Sparta, the Argives. The Argives were present at the battle of Tanagra on the Athenian side (457 B.C.).

Apollodorus was an Athenian who commanded the Persian auxiliaries sent against Philip of Macedon in 340 B.C.

Of Euboulos I have found no further notice.

Lachares made himself master of Athens in 296 B.C., when Demetrius was besieging it.

The conspirators who planned the taking of the Peiraeus are possibly those who fought against Cassander in 318 B.C.

The Athenians who fell at Corinth are perhaps those who took part in the expedition to the Corinthian Gulf in 455 B.C.

Euboea revolted, and was reconquered by Pericles in 445 B.C.

The wars in Chios and Asia I have not been able to identify.

The disastrous expedition to Sicily was in the Peloponnesian war (415 B.C.). The command was originally entrusted to Nikias, but a second detachment was sent later under Demosthenes. The whole story is too long to tell here.

The Athenians who fell in Thrace are probably those who were sent by Pericles before the Peloponnesian war.

Megara was devastated in 431 B.C., and lost its long walls in 424 B.C.

The Arcadians had been induced by the intrigues of Alcibiades to revolt from the Lacedaemonians, and were defeated by Agis, king of Sparta, at the battle of Mantinea (418 B.C.).

The Athenians under Nikias had some successes at Syracuse at first before the arrival of the Syracusan commander Gylippus.

The Athenians were engaged on the Hellespont in 411 B.C., after the battle of Cynossema, and just before the capture of Alcibiades by Tissaphernes.

The battle of Chaeronea was the end of the struggle against Philip (338 B.C.).

The Athenians who went against Amphipolis were those who took part in the expedition of Cleon during the Peloponnesian war (422 B.C.).

Delium was captured by Brasidas, and the Athenians were forced to retreat to their ships. Socrates and Alcibiades were both present (424 B.C.).

Leosthenes adopted an anti-Macedonian policy on the death of Alexander, and led an army into Thessaly. He was killed at the siege of Lamia (323 B.C.).

Cimon won several naval successes in Cyprus in 449 B.C.

Olympiodorus turned the Macedonian garrison out of Athens in 288 B.C. Nothing further is known of this Roman alliance.

Tolmides led an expedition in Boeotia against the advice of Pericles, and was slain near Coronea (447 B.C.).

Cimon defeated the Persians on the same day by sea and land at Eurymedon on the Asiatic coast (466 B.C.).

Particulars of Konon and Timotheos have already been given (p. 27).

Zeno, the famous Stoic philosopher, taught in the Stoa Poikile at Athens in the third century B.C.

Chrysippus, born 280 B.C., was a disciple of Zeno, and succeeded him as head of the Stoic school.

Nikias the painter, a disciple of Euphranor, flourished in the third century B.C.

Harmodios and Aristogeiton slew Hipparchos in 514 B.C.

Ephialtes helped Pericles in his reforms at Athens; he was assassinated in 456 B.C.

Lycurgus, the orator and politician, has been mentioned above (p. 70). He was born in 396 B.C.

M. DE G. V.

SECTION XXV

ACADEMY—KOLONOS

TEXT, i. 30.

i. 30, 1. BEFORE the entrance into the Academy is an altar of Eros, with an inscription saying that it was the offering of Charmos and the first Athenian offering to Eros. The altar to Anteros within the city is said to have been erected by foreign residents in Athens, because Meles, an Athenian, in scorn of a foreigner Timagoras who loved him, bade Timagoras climb up to the highest point and hurl himself down off the rock. Timagoras, not caring for his life, was willing to do everything the boy bade him to please him, and so consented and threw himself down. But Meles, when he saw Timagoras dead, so repented that he flung himself off the same rock, and thus falling died. Thenceforward has it been the custom for the foreign residents in Athens to worship as divine Anteros, the avenger of Timagoras.

i. 30, 2. In the Academy is an altar of Prometheus, and it is from this altar that the racers, bearing lighted torches, start for the city. The object is to keep the torch burning as well as to get in first; if the torch of the first to arrive is extinguished, the victory is not his, but passes to the second. And if the torch of the second is not burning, then the third wins. But if all the torches are out, then none is victorious.

There is an altar of the Muses and another of Hermes, and within have been built altars to Athena and Herakles. There is also an olive plant, said to have been the second to appear.

i. 30, 3. Not far from the Academy is the monument of Plato, of whom the god foretold that he would be the greatest of philosophers. This was the manner of the prophecy. On the night before Plato was to become a disciple of Socrates, Socrates in a dream saw a swan fly to his bosom. Now the

swan is a bird associated with literary genius, because story says that a certain Kyknos, a man of genius, reigned over the Ligyes on the farther side of the Eridanus in the Keltic land, and that when he died he was changed by the will of Apollo into this bird. I believe that such a man did reign over the Ligyes, but the change of a man into a bird is to me incredible.

i. 30, 4. In this district is shown the tower of Timon, the only man who saw no other way to be happy than by avoiding all human society.

A place is also pointed out here called Kolonos Hippios, the first point of Attic land reached, as the legend says, by Œdipus. Such is the story, though it differs from the account of Homer. There is an altar to Poseidon Hippios and Athena Hippia, and monuments to Theseus and Peirithöos, and to Œdipus and Adrastos. The grove and temple of Poseidon were burnt down during the invasion of Antigonus, whose army inflicted much other damage on the Athenian territory.

Commentary on i. 30.

Within the Academy Pausanias saw—

Altars of Eros.
Prometheus.
The Muses.
Hermes.
Athene and Herakles.
Sacred olive trees.

Near the Academy he saw—

The tomb of Plato.
The tower of Timon.

To the Academy of course the Athenians attributed a mythical founder; it was sacred to Academus, who revealed to the Tyndaridae the place where their sister Helen was concealed; others said the name of the founder was Echedemus, and that he was an Arcadian, brother of Marathus, who gave his name to Marathon. The hero Academus was honourably treated by the Tyndaridae, and for their sake ever after the Lacedaemonians, when they laid waste the ground, spared the Academy.[54] The legend seems

to point to Dorian influence in the founding of this great gymnasium.

The place was traditionally sacred to Academus, but to Hipparchos, son of Peisistratos, was attributed the actual founding of the gymnasium; he walled it in, and made it a regular place for exercise.[55] Cimon[56] found it dry and dusty, and left it a garden of delight, planted with plane trees and abundantly supplied with fresh water, and beneath those plane trees the young men, austerely trained in the elder days of Athens, ran races together, "crowned with white reeds, smelling of bind-weed, and careless hours, and leaf-shedding poplar, rejoicing in the fume of the spring when the plane tree whispers to the elm."[57] But even this lovely picture fades before another association more intimate to the place, a thousand times more sacred to the Athenians of the fourth century, when the young men babbled in the law-courts, and the old sedate security was shaken and troubled; to them and to us for all time the Academy was the place of "Plato's retirement." It was there he built his house,[58] and there he upreared, too, a temple to the Muses, perhaps the first "museum;" there too, later, Speusippos,[59] venerating his predecessor's cult, placed statues of the Charites. Even barbarians offered their tribute to his memory.

Mithridates, a Persian, had the statue of Plato made by the great sculptor Silanion,[60] and placed it in the temple to the Muses. When Plato died, the statue still stood there, in token of the master's still living presence; and his tomb was not far away, without the precinct.

Later, the memory of Plato paled for a time before a lesser star. A Cyrenaic, Lakydes,[61] gave lessons in the school, and it changed its name for a while to Lakydeion, probably not for long. Only once, when Sulla[62] came, do we hear that the sacred precinct was violated; he cut down the trees, and made them into engines of war; but it was speedily replanted, and even now, spite of tramways and taverns, here and there a sheltered spot, olive-shaded, may be found.

Pausanias mentions only an altar, but Athenaeus[63] tells us that there was a statue of Eros set up by Charmos in the days of the Peisistratidae. On the altar must have been engraved the inscription he notes—

> "To thee, O subtle Love, did Charmos found
> An altar 'mid the shady wrestling-ground."

Plutarch[64] gives a different account; he says the statue of Eros was set up by Peisistratos himself, who loved Charmos, and that it was from this altar of love that the torches were kindled in the sacred torch race. From this same altar, Apuleius[65] adds, the swan uprose who flew into the bosom of Socrates, and afterwards passed up to heaven, "delighting with his song both gods and men."

Elsewhere[66] Athenaeus notes that they of old time had graver thoughts of love than suited modern days, else why did they worship him in company with such reverend deities as Hermes, god of eloquence, and Herakles, god of strength; yes, and even pay sacrifice to him conjointly with Athene herself? The Eros of the gymnasium was in fact the god of that eager and intense comradeship which came of Greek athletic training rather than of any mere sensuous imagination. Ælian[67] tells us that tradition said in olden days no laughter was heard there, for men sought to keep it a place whereon the foot of idleness and insolence might never tread.

The scholiast[68] on the *Œdipus Coloneus* (quoting Apollodorus) says that Prometheus and Hephaistos, two kindred craftsmen gods, were worshipped together within the precinct of Athene in the Academy. At the entrance was a basis of early workmanship, and on it were the sculptured figures of the two gods. Prometheus was represented as the elder, and stood on the right hand holding a sceptre, Hephaistos as younger and subordinate; they were represented with an altar common to both.

The sacred olive tree of the Academy was an offshoot of the original olive of the Acropolis, with which, as we have already seen, the life and personality of the Attic nation was mysteriously bound up. All olives throughout Attica which were fabled to be of this sacred growth were called moriae, propagated (*μεμορημέναι*). They were State property, and their religious sanctity helped of course to conserve a great national source of wealth. They were under the immediate care of the Areopagus, and were inspected once a month; to uproot one of these moriae made the offender liable to banishment and confiscation of goods.[69] The olive trees were under the special protection, too, of Zeus Morios, to whom they lent their name. Zeus Morios was worshipped under the title of Katabates,[70] the "descender"—*i.e.*, the god whose lightning avenged sacrilege; his altar seems to have been near the shrine of Athene. Pausanias only mentions one olive, but there seems to have been a grove. Indeed there must have

been, as the oil for the prize in the Panathenaic contests was made from the Academy olives.

Where exactly the tower of Timon stood, Pausanias does not say. The figure of the misanthrope is familiar from Shakespeare, but it may be worth while to cite his confession of faith as given by Lucian.[71] When Timon finds the gold, he hangs up his spade and blankets as votive offerings to Pan. "I will buy some secluded bit of ground," he says, "and there build me a tower over my treasure, and live for myself only; this shall be my dwelling-place, and when I die, this tower shall be my tomb. From henceforth it is my fixed intent to have no intercourse or connection with humanity, but to despise and avoid it. The names of friend, of guest, of comrade, the altar of Mercy, are to me but the idlest talk; if I were to pity the weeper, or relieve the needy, I would hold it a weakness, nay more, a sin. Like the beasts of the field, I will spend my life in solitude. Timon alone shall be the friend of Timon. All others I will treat as foes and betrayers; to address them shall be profane, to dwell with them impious; the day on which I behold them shall be accursed. Men shall be to me but as so many statues of bronze or stone; my retreat shall be a boundary to separate us for ever. Kinsfolk, friends, fatherland, are but empty names that fools alone honour. Let Timon be rich alone, and despise the rest of the world. Let him abhor vain phrase and hateful adulation, and enjoy himself alone; alone let him sacrifice to the gods, alone hold festival, be neighbour to himself and his own companion. Alone I am resolved to live, and when I die my own hand shall place the funeral crown upon my head; the name that pleases me best is that of misanthrope."

From the Academy Pausanias passes to the place of Kolonos Hippios. Its site can be fixed with tolerable certainty, as Thucydides distinctly states that Kolonos was distant ten stadia[72] (rather more than a mile) from the city wall. It was in or near the sanctuary of Poseidon, where, instead of in the Pnyx, Peisander and his associates (411 B.C.) chose to meet. The hill at present identified with the ancient Kolonos, and on the top of which are the graves of Lenormant and C. O. Müller, is just a little over a mile from the Dipylon. The place was occasionally called in ancient times Kolonos Hippios, to distinguish it from the Kolonos Agoraios already noted, but Thucydides simply calls it Kolonos.

Pausanias saw—

1. An altar to Poseidon Hippios.
2. „ Athene Hippia.
3. A hero-chapel to Theseus and Peirithöos.
4. „ „ Œdipus and Adrastos.

He does not mention what we know from Sophocles to have existed there—

1. Sanctuary of the Eumenides.
2. The "brazen threshold."
3. The high hill of Demeter Euchlöos.

Of the worship of Poseidon Hippios and Athene Hippia at Kolonos nothing further is known; the rest of the cults here collected seem all to have taken their rise from a cult of the Eumenides, itself no doubt suggested by a natural cleft in the earth. Theseus and Peirithöos need a cleft by which to descend into the lower world. Adrastos is a hero like to Œdipus, "another example of inevitable destiny tempered by divine equity."

It has already been noted that in all probability the cult of the Eumenides, and with it the grave of Œdipus, moved from the Areopagus, the Hill of Cursing, with the extension of the city walls. Kolonos was the next hill with a cleft that was at hand beyond the new limits. It was within Attica, yet without the city proper; it could bless and sanctify the people without bringing the goddesses of imprecation within the city gate.

The diverse legends of the burial-place of Œdipus are very instructive as to Attic sentiment. The scholiast[73] preserves a Boeotian and no doubt earlier form of the legend. According to it Œdipus died at Thebes, and when his friends would have buried him there the Thebans refused to allow it, on the ground that he was unhallowed because of the calamities that had previously happened. His friends then carried him to a place in Boeotia called Keos and buried him. But certain calamities happened to the inhabitants of the village, and it was thought that the burial of Œdipus was the cause, and so they bade his friends take him away from the land, and they being in difficulties as to what had happened took him away and carried him to Eteonus, and wishing to make his burial secret, they buried him by night in the sanctuary of Demeter, not knowing what the place was. And when it was known, the dwellers in Eteonus sent to ask the god what they should do; and the god made answer that they should

"not disturb the suppliant of the goddess, . . . and the sanctuary was called the Oidipodeion."

To the Thebans he was a curse, to the Athenians a blessing. The rhetor Aristeides[74] speaks of the spirits of the men of olden time, who became the guardian angels of the land, "aye, and protect the country no less surely than Œdipus, who sleeps at Kolonos, or any whose grave in any other part of the land is believed to be for the weal of the living."

The "high hill" of Demeter Euchlöos may safely be taken to be the hill to the north of, and somewhat higher than, Kolonos itself. From thence "Œdipus[75] bade his daughters fetch him water from some fount that he should wash and make a drink-offering. And they went to the hill which was in view, the hill of Demeter, who guards the tender plants, and in short space brought that which their father enjoined." Kolonos was famous as the birth-place of Sophocles, but the poet's tragedy has overshadowed his own fame. In fact, from the definite way in which Thucydides describes its character and distance it seems probably that until invested with this double tragic glory it was of little value. At Kolonos it is not of Sophocles, it is of Œdipus and of him only we are constrained to think—of Œdipus as he came smitten and afflicted, having learnt to crave little and yet win less, and therewith to be content; as he came to a place, sacred, thick set with laurel, olive, and vine, wherein a feathered choir of nightingales made music; ground inviolable, held by the dread goddesses, daughters of earth and darkness; a place sacred altogether, where dwelt awful Poseidon and the fire-fraught god, Titan Prometheus; a spot called the Brazen Threshold, the stay of Athens. "And there he sat him on a solemn seat not shaped of man, led by some faithful omen to the goal where he should close his weary life, he, the poor wraith of Œdipus, verily the man of old no more. And for his trespass he made atonement with offering of pure water in a fair bowl crowned with fresh-shorn wool, pouring the water with his face set to the dawn, and last of all with water mingled with sweet honey but with no wine thereto; and thereafter he laid upon the dark ground, which drank the offering, nine sprays of olive, and made his prayer with voice inaudible, and after farewell said, when they had made an end of waiting, there was a stillness, and suddenly a voice of one who cried aloud to him, so that the hair of all stood up on their heads for sudden fear, and they were afraid. For the god called him with many callings and manifold. 'Œdipus, Œdipus, why delay we to

go? Thou tarriest too long.' And Œdipus was seen nowhere any more; but by what doom he perished no man can tell. No fiery thunderbolt of the god removed him in that hour, nor any rising of storm from the sea, but either a messenger from the gods, or from the world of the dead, the nether adamant riven for him in love, without pain; for the passing of this man was not with lamentation or in sickness and suffering, but above mortals, wonderful."

However strong the association with Œdipus, it is perhaps not fitting that we should part from Athens with the remembrance of one who, however beneficent, was only a stranger hero, or with associations whose beauty is so sombre. The chorus of dwellers in Kolonos shall themselves sing the city's praise:—[76]

"Stranger here in a horsemen's land, of earth's abodes you have found the best,
White Kolonos, the music-haunted; for the nightingale, our guest,
Makes the dells and the wine-dark ivy of the god's own grove her rest;
Footless sacred shadowy thicket, where a myriad berries grow,
Where no heat of the sun may enter, neither wind of the winter blow,
Where the Reveller Dionysos with his nursing nymphs will go.

"Day by dewy day the clustering clear narcissus flowers unfold
Ancient crown of the Mighty Ones, and here the crocus flames in gold
By Cephissus' wandering waters, from his sleepless fountains rolled.
Day by day unstinted, stainless, moves his river through the plain,
Nourishing the teeming earth; nor do the Muses' choirs disdain
This our land, nor Aphrodite, goddess of the golden rein.

"And this country for her own has what no Asian land has known,
Nor ever yet in the great Dorian Pelops' island has it grown,
The untended, the self-planted, self-defended from the foe,
Sea-gray children-nurturing olive tree, that here delights to grow.
None may take nor touch nor harm it, headstrong youth nor age grown bold,
For the round of heaven of Morian Zeus has been its watcher from of old;
He beholds it, and Athene, thy own sea-gray eyes behold.

"Yet once more, O mother city, do I praise and praise thee most
For a gift of the mighty god—for our land's superbest boast;
Son of Kronos, Lord Poseidon, this our proudest is from thee,
The strong horses, the young horses, the dominion of the sea.
First on Attic roads thy bridle tamed the steed for evermore;
And well swings at sea, a wonder, in the rowers' hands, the oar,
Bounding after all the hundred Nereid feet that fly before."

(Soph., *Œd. Col.* 668-719.)

At Kolonos, as nowhere else, do we learn that it was the fame peculiarly fair of Athens that she had "the perfect fear of heaven, the power above all cities to shelter the vexed stranger, and the power above all to succour him." And there, too, we learn the secret of her power over a sin-sick soul—her own joyous serenity, the virtue of a temperament glad as well as kind.

NOTES TO DIVISION E

1. Herodot., ii. 137.
2. Thucyd., ii. 17.
3. Bull. de Corr. Hell., iv. pl. 15, p. 225.
4. Lucian, Bis Acc. 9.
5. Mitt., 1888, W. Dörpfeld, p. 434.
6. Aristoph., Lys. 911. Scholion, 911—*πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Πανείου τῇ Κλεψύδρᾳ.* 913—*ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει ἦν κρήνη ἡ Κλεψύδρα, πρότερον Ἐμπεδὼ λεγομένη, ὠνομάσθη δὲ Κλεψύδρα διὰ τὸ ποτὲ μὲν πλημμυρεῖν ποτὲ δὲ ἐνδεῖν.* Schol. Aves. 1694—. . . *φασὶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἀπέραντον βάθος ἔχειν, τὸ δὲ ὕδωρ ἁλμυρόν.*
7. C. I. A., iii. 91, found near Propylaea—*πολέμαρχος* [Π]*ολύβιος Φαύστου* [Φλοε]*ὺς πολεμαρχήσας τὸν ἐπὶ . . . λάου ἄρχοντος ἐνιαυ*[*τὸν* Ἀπ]*όλλωνι* Ὑπακραίῳ [*ἀνέθ*]*ηκεν.* Found near the Erechtheion—[*ὁ δεῖνα βασιλ*]*εύσας* [Ἀπ]*όλλωνι* [*ὑ*]*π' ἄκραις.*
8. Eur., Ion, 500.
9. Herodot., vi. 105.
10. Mylonas, Mitt. v., 1880, p. 353, Taf. xii.
11. "Bas-reliefs de l'île de Thasos," Rayet, Monuments de l'Art Antique.
12. Mitt., 1880, Taf. vii. p. 206, Milchhoeffer.
13. Longus, Daphnis and Chloe, 15.
14. Jebb, Attic Orators, ii. p. 212.
15. Æschyl., Eum. 683.
16. P., v. 14, 3.
17. Plut., Pyrrhus, v.
18. P., ix. 4, 1.
19. Cic., De Leg. ii. 11, 28—Nam illud vitiosum Athenis, quod Cylonio scelere expiato Epimenide Crete Saadente, fecerunt Contumeliae fanum et Impudentiae.
20. Polemon apud schol. Soph., Œd. Col. 502 — *οὗ* [Ἡσύχου] *τὸ ἱερόν ἐστιν παρὰ τὸ Κυδώνιον ἐκτὸς τῶν ἑννέα πυλῶν*, where O. Müller reads *Κυλώνειον* for *Κυδώνιον.*

20*a*. Æschyl., Eum. Trans. A. W. Verrall.

21. P., ii. 11, 4.
22. Soph., Œd. Col. 40.
23. Schol. Æschines c. Tim. p. 747—*τρεῖς ἦσαν αὐταὶ αἱ λεγόμεναι Σεμναὶ θεαὶ ἡ Εὐμενίδες ἢ Ἐρινύες· ὧν τὰς μὲν δύο ἑκατέρωθεν Σκόπας ὁ Πάριος ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ λυχνίτου λίθου τὴν δὲ μέσην Κάλαμις.*
24. Clem. Alexandr., Protrept. 47, p. 41—*μὴ οὖν ἀμφιβάλλετε εἰ τῶν Σεμνῶν Ἀθήνησιν καλουμένων θεῶν τὰς μὲν δύο Σκόπας ἐποίησεν ἐκ τοῦ καλουμένου λύχνέως* [λυχνίτου] *λίθου Κάλως* [Κάλαμις] *δέ, ἣν μέσην αὐταῖν ἱστοροῦνται ἔχουσαι, Πολέμωνα δεικνύναι ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν πρὸς Τίμαιον . . .*
25. Schol. Soph., Œd. Col. 39—

Φυλαρχός, φησι δύο αὐτὰς [Εὐμενίδας] εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἀγάλματα δύο, Πολέμων δὲ τρεῖς αὐτάς φησι.

26. Jebb, Œd. Col., Introd. p. xxvii.
27. Mitt. iv. Taf. 9 and p. 176.
28. Æschyl., Eum. 904 and 938. Trans. D. S. MacColl.
29. Iliad, xxiii. 677.
30. Val. Max., v. 3 — Œdipodis ossa inter ipsum Areopagum et excelsam praesidis Minervae arcem honore arae decorata quasi sacrosancta colis.
31. Æschyl., Eum. 416.
32. Robert, Aus Kydathen, p. 101.
33. C. Waldstein, "Panathenaic Festival," American Journal of Archæology, i. 10.
34. The earliest *literary* evidence to the peplos *as the sail of a ship* is, I believe, the fragment of Strattis preserved by Harpocration from the "Macedones"—

τὸν πέπλον δὲ τοῦτον
ἕλκουσ' ὀνεύοντες τοπεῖοις ἄνδρες
ἀναρίθμητοι
εἰς ἄκρον, ὥσπερ ἱστίον τὸν ἱστόν.

Strattis was the younger contemporary of Aristophanes. As the mention of the *ship* in relation to the peplos only occurs in the scholiast (Aristoph., Pax 417), I cannot take that as conclusive earlier evidence.

35. The principal passages on the route of the Panathenaic procession have been cited in relation to other points. They are —Himerius, Or. iii. 12 (quoted note 16 on Division A), and Philostrat., Vit. Soph. ii. 1, 5 (quoted note 168 on Division A).
36. Ἀθηναῖον, i. p. 395—

Μιτροβάτης
Ἀρτέμιδι ἀνέθηκε.

Ἀθηναῖον, viii. p. 235. The inscription runs to twenty-five lines; we only quote here—

"ἀναθεῖναι [αὐ]τοὺς καὶ στήλην ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆς Ἀρτέ[μιδο]ς."

37. Ælian, Var. Hist. viii. 16—ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν δημοσίᾳ παρὰ τὰς πύλας πρὸς τῷ τείχει ἐν δεξιᾷ ἐσιόντων, καὶ περιῳκοδόμητο αὐτῷ ὁ τάφος.
38. Lucian, Scyth. 1, 2.
39. Cic., De Fin. v. 2, 5.
40. Athenaeus, iv. 60.
41. Ps. Plut., Vit. X. Orat., Lyc.
42. C. I. A., 442.
43. Hermes, xvii. 623.
44. Published on p. 1 of Curtius and Kaupert, Atlas von Athen.
45. For the position of this and the other tombs, see plan in A. Z., 1871, Taf. 42 and accompanying text.
46. Aristoph., Aves, 394.
47. Dem., De Corona, 297.
48. Thucyd., ii. 34.
49. For the whole subject of the Sirens, see Myths of the Odyssey, J. E. Harrison, p. 146, and Hellenic Journal, 1885, pl. xlix.
50. Anth. Pal. vii. 491.
51. A. Z., 1885, Taf. 3, F. von Duhn, Charondarstellungen.
52. O. Benndorf, Griechische und Sicilizische Vasenbilder, Taf. xiv. and text.
53. Mitt. ii. p. 292, Dressel und Milchhoeffer; viii. p. 123, Milchhoeffer; and for general discussion of the subject, see P. Gardner, Hell. Soc. Journal, v. p. 105, and Furtwängler, Coll. Sabouroff.
54. Plut., Thes. 32.
55. Suidas, *sub. voc.* τὸ Ἱππάρχου τεῖχος.
56. Plut., Cim. 13.
57. Aristoph., Nubes, 1005.
58. Plut., De Exil. p. 602.
59. Diog. Laert., iv. 1.
60. Diog. Laert., Vit. Plat. iii. 25.
61. Diog. Laert., iv. 60.
62. Appian, B. M. p. 191.
63. Athenaeus, xiii. 89—Συνέβη δὲ ὡς φησι, τὸν Χάρμον ἐράστην τοῦ Ἱππίου γένεσθαι καὶ τὸν πρὸς

'Ακαδημίᾳ Ἔρῶτα ἱδρύσασθαι πρῶτον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπιγέγραπται.

Ποικιλομήχαν' Ἔρως σοὶ τὸν δ' ἱδρύσατο βωμὸν
Χάρμος ἐπὶ σκιεροῖς τέρμασι γυμνασίου.

64. Athenaeus, xiii. 12.
65. Plut., Vit. Solon., 1.
66. Apuleius, De Dogm. Plat. i. *sub init.*
67. Ælian, Var. Hist. iii. 35.
68. Schol. ad Œd. Col. 55 — περὶ τοῦ τὸν Προμηθέα παρὰ τὴν 'Ακαδημίαν καὶ τὸν Κολωνὸν ἱδρύσθαι 'Απολλόδωρος γράφει οὕτως· Συντιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν 'Ακαδημίᾳ τῇ 'Αθηνᾷ κάθαπερ ὁ Ἥφαιστος καὶ ἐστὶν αὐτῷ παλαιὸν ἵδρυμα, καὶ ναὸς ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς θεοῦ δείκνυται καὶ βάσις ἀρχαία κατὰ τὴν εἴσοδον, ἐν ᾗ τοῦ τε Προμηθέως ἐστὶ τύπος καὶ τοῦ 'Ηφαίστου· πεποίηται δὲ ὡς καὶ Λυσιμαχίδης φησὶν ὁ μὲν Προμηθεὺς πρῶτος καὶ πρεσβύτερος ἐν δεξιᾷ σκῆπτρον ἔχων· ὁ δὲ Ἥφαιστος νέος καὶ δεύτερος. καὶ βωμὸς ἀμφοῖν κοινός ἐστιν, ἐν τῇ βάσει ἀποτετυπωμένος.
69. Lys., Orat. 7, for the two sorts of olives—ὃς δυὸ ἔτη ἐγεώργησεν, οὔτε ἰδίαν ἐλαίαν οὔτε μορίαν οὔτε σηκὸν παραλαβών. For commissioners, p. 25; penalty, p. 41.
70. Apollod. ap. Schol. Œd. Col. 705—περὶ 'Ακαδημίαν ἐστὶν ὅ τε τοῦ Καταιβάτου Διὸς βωμός ὃν καὶ Μόριον καλοῦσι [ἀπὸ?] τῶν ἐκεῖ μόριων παρὰ τὸ τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρυμένων.
71. Lucian, Timon, *passim.*
72. Thucyd., viii. 67.
73. Schol. ad 92—ἐνταῦθα κάμψειν, καταλύσειν, τελειώσειν. εἰσί γε οἵ φασι τὸ μνῆμα τοῦ Οἰδίποδος ἐν ἱερῷ Δήμητρος εἶναι ἐν 'Ετεωνῳ, μεταγαγόντων αὐτὸν ἐκ Κεοῦ, τινὸς ἀσήμου χωρίου, κάθαπερ ἱστορεῖν φήσιν 'Αρίζηλον Λυσίμαχος δ' 'Αλεξάνδρευς ἐν τῷ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ τῶν Θηβαϊκῶν, γράφων οὕτως "Οἰδίπου δὲ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τῶν φίλων ἐν Θήβαις θάπτειν αὐτὸν διανουμένων, ἐκώλυον οἱ Θηβαῖοι διὰ τὰς προγεγενημένας συμφοράς, ὡς ὄντος ἀσέβους· οἱ δὲ κομίσαντες αὐτὸν εἴς τινα τόπον τῆς Βοιωτίας καλούμενον Κεὸν ἔθαψαν αὐτόν. γιγνομένων δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ κατοικοῦσιν ἀτυχημάτων τινῶν, οἰηθέντες αἰτίαν εἶναι τὴν Οἰδίπου ταφὴν ἐκέλευον τοὺς φίλους ἀναιρεῖν αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς χώρας. οἱ δὲ ἀπορούμενοι τοῖς συμβαίνουσιν, ἀνέλοντες ἐκόμισαν εἰς 'Ετεωνού. βουλόμενοι δὲ λάθρα τὴν ταφὴν ποιήσασθαι καταθάπτουσι νυκτὸς ἐν ἱερῷ Δήμητρος, ἀγνοήσαντες τὸν τόπον· καταφάνους δὲ γενομένου, πέμψαντες οἱ τὸν 'Ετεωνὸν κατοικοῦντες τὸν θεὸν ἐπηρώτων τί ποιῶσι, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἶπε μὴ κινεῖν τὸν ἱκέτην τῆς θεοῦ, διόπερ αὐτοῦ τέθαπται τὸ δὲ ἱερὸν Οἰδιπόδειον κληθῆναι.
74. Aristides—ὑπὲρ τῶν τεττάρων, p. 284, quoted by Prof. Jebb, Introduction to Œdipus Coloneus, p. xxix.
75. Soph., Œd. Col. 1586.
76. Soph., Œd. Col. 668-719. Trans. D. S. MacColl.

TRANSLATOR'S NOTE

(A) TEXT

WHERE no statement to the contrary is made, the readings adopted are those given by J. H. C. Schubart (Teubner, 1881). A few passages needing special comment are cited below.

I. 3, 1.—The text here is deficient, but it is evident from a passage of Hesiod that it was Phaethon whom Aphrodite made guardian of her temple. The passage of Hesiod (*Theog.* 986), which may have been repeated in the *Eoae*, the poem about women referred to by Pausanias, is as follows :—

> αὐτάρ τοι Κεφάλῳ φιτύσατο φαίδιμον υἱόν,
> ἴφθιμον Φαέθοντα, θεοῖς ἐπιείκελον ἄνδρα.
> τόν ῥα νέον τέρεν ἄνθος ἔχοντ' ἐρικυδέος ἥβης
> παῖδ' ἀταλὰ φρονέοντα φιλομμειδὴς Ἀφροδίτη
> ὦρτ' ἀνερειψαμένη, καί μιν ζαθέοις ἐνὶ νηοῖς
> νηοπόλον νύχιον ποιήσατο, δαίμονα δῖον.

I. 8, 4.—The MSS. read Kalades, but of him nothing is known. Suggestions made are Kalliades the archon, and *καὶ Λᾶσος* ("and Lasos") the poet, in which case the word *νομούς* must be taken to mean, not *laws*, but *rhythms*. But in the absence of any notice of the statue except this one by Pausanias, it would be rash to determine who was represented by the side of Pindar.

I. 21, 2.—The MS. reading *καί* before *τῆς γραφῆς* is retained, as there seems not sufficient reason for rejecting it.

I. 21, 4.—The name of the nephew of Daidalos is given as Talos and not Kalos, as there seems to be more authority for the first form.

I. 24, 3.—This passage is marked as defective, following Schubart and other editions. But see the following note :—

THE SUPPOSED LACUNA IN PAUSANIAS, I. 24, 3

The discussion of the old temple on the Acropolis, whose foundations were discovered by Dr. Dörpfeld, has given to this "lacuna" an unusual importance. This note will deal solely with the question, whether there is sufficient evidence for the supposed loss. I venture to think that the internal evidence at least is quite untrustworthy, and that, on the contrary, the connexion of the words is such as to make it highly improbable that anything has been lost.

The passage runs thus:—λέλεκται δέ μοι καὶ πρότερον, ὡς Ἀθηναίοις περισσότερόν τι ἢ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐς τὰ θεῖά ἐστι σπουδῆς. πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν Ἐργάνην, πρῶτοι δ' ἀκώλους Ἑρμᾶς, ὁμοῦ δέ σφισιν ἐν τῷ ναῷ Σπουδαίων Δαίμων ἐστίν. The whole, it should be observed, is an incidental remark, such as a modern writer would put in a foot-note. The reference is to i. 17, 1, where see translation, and note particularly the remark δῆλά τε ἐναργῶς, ὅσοις πλέον τι ἑτέρων εὐσεβείας μέτεστιν, ἴσον σφισὶ παρὸν τύχης χρηστῆς.

The meaning, if somewhat obscure, is not more so than might be expected in a note, probably reproduced from a brief jotting, by a writer so very far from finished as Pausanias. Expressed fully and perspicuously, it would have run thus:—"The zeal of the Athenians towards religion, which I have mentioned before, is illustrated by a collection of objects which I saw in one place together, a figure of Athene *Ergane* (a name of Athenian origin), a limbless figure of the kind called *Hermae* (another Athenian name), and a figure representing the *Blessing of Zeal*." In some temple or shrine shown to Pausanias these objects were associated, either casually or, more probably, for the express object of illustrating the remark made upon them by Pausanias' guide and duly taken down by the traveller. In this interpretation *Ergane* (ἔργον, ἐργάζεσθαι) stands for *activity* or *earnestness*, *Hermes* (ἕρμαιον) stands as usual for *good fortune*, and the union of these two specially Athenian emblems with the third and frankly allegorical figure, the *Blessing* or *Good Fortune of the Zealous*, signifies the doctrine stated plainly by Pausanias in the passage to which he refers, that the good fortune of Athens was the reward of her religious zeal. That this is the connexion is clearly shown by the correlation of the words σπουδῆς . . . Σπουδαίων. What Pausanias actually says is this—"The Athenians are specially distinguished by religious zeal. The name of *Ergane* was first given by them, and the name *Hermae*; and in the temple along with them is a *Good Fortune of the Zealous*," words which are quite as apt for the meaning above explained as those of the author often are in such cases.

The lacuna supposed lies between Ἑρμᾶς and ὁμοῦ, and it is further supposed that Σπουδαίων is an error. But it is most improbable that if a piece had been lost, the two ends casually coming together should have casually

exhibited such correlation as they do; while if, after a loss, they had been corrected to make sense, the correction would certainly have been more explicit. The text, as it stands, is precisely such as is least open to suspicion of error—that is to say, where the interpretation is certain, yet obscure.

Where was the ναός to which Pausanias refers, we cannot say, nor was it for his purpose worth mentioning. In the Greek, as in the corresponding English, τῷ ναῷ (*the temple* or *the shrine*) means merely that temple in which were the *Ergane* and *Hermes*.

On the archæological controversy itself I do not presume to say a word; all I would say is that any argument which postulates this lacuna rests (unless there is some external evidence not yet produced) upon a foundation worse than uncertain.

A. W. V.

I. 26, 7.—The reading κατατηξίτεχνον has been adopted in place of the κακιζότεχνον of the MS. retained by Schubart, as κατατηξίτεχνος is the title given to Kallimachos by Pliny (*N. H.* xxxiv. 92) and Vitruvius (iv. 1, 10), and obviously alluded to in the κατατήκειν of Dionysus of Halicarnassus (*De Vit. Dem.* 51). It is clear that Pausanias used a complimentary epithet in this passage, and the reading κακιζότεχνον is very probably due to a misunderstanding of the word *calumniator* used by Pliny.

(B) TRANSLATION

ἱερόν and ναός.—The word ἱερόν has been uniformly translated *sanctuary*, and the word ναός *temple*, as it seemed desirable to distinguish throughout between the holy place and the building whenever Pausanias does so. But in some cases a false impression is probably conveyed to the English reader by the use of the word *temple*, which suggests a building of considerable size, and, but for the necessity of maintaining uniformity, *shrine* would often be a more appropriate rendering than *temple*.

ἔργον and τέχνη.—As it is possible that Pausanias intended to express a difference of meaning when he used the word τέχνη instead of his more usual ἔργον in giving the name of the artist of a work he was describing, different renderings of the two phrases have been observed in the translation. ἔργον is represented by *the work of*, and the word *by* stands for τέχνη on the five occasions when it occurs in the first book of Pausanias. What the distinction was—if any was intended—it does not seem possible to ascertain.

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